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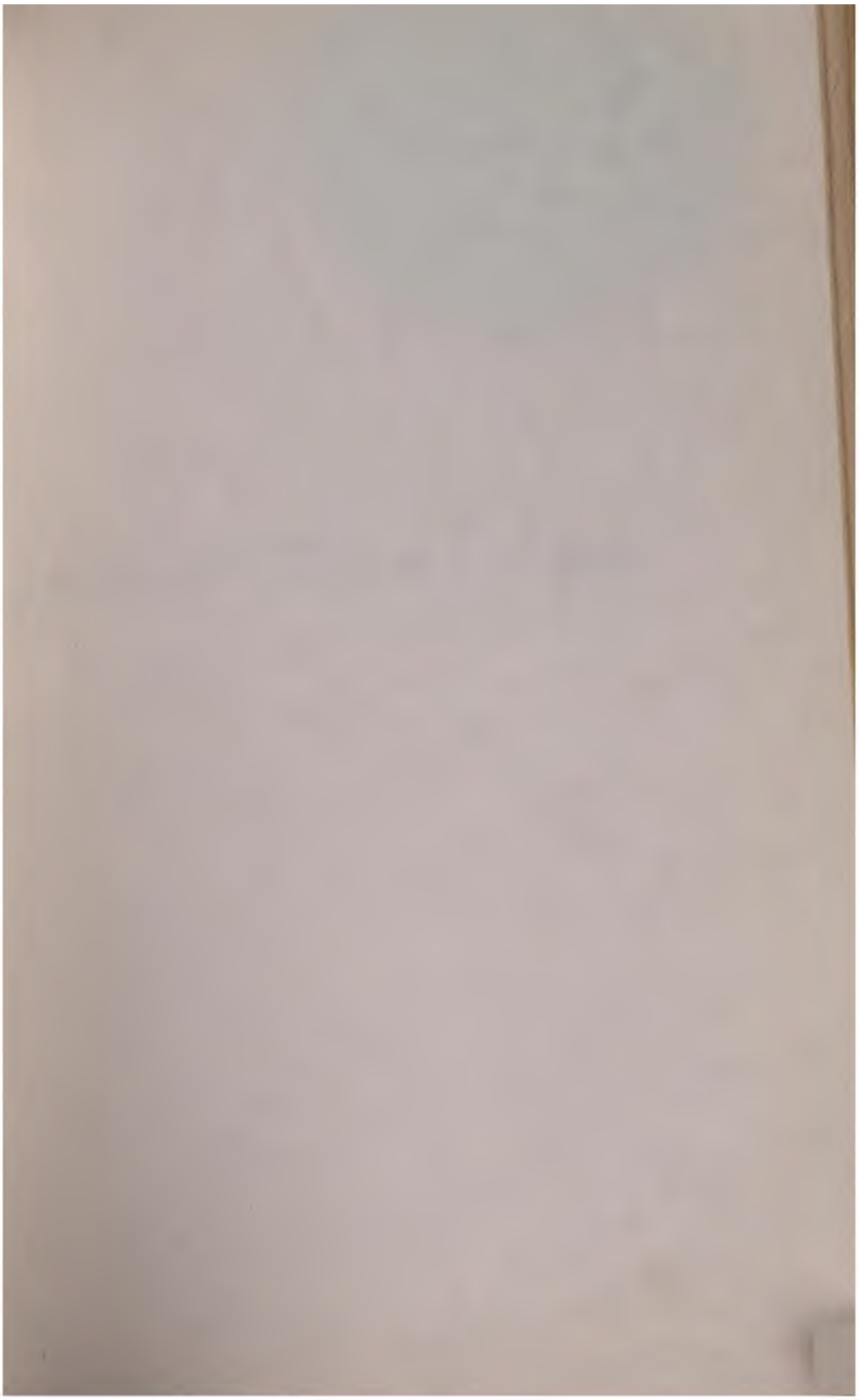
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Founders and Settlers of New York City

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ENGRAVERS.

A. BOBBIT, J. M. RICHARDSON, JOHN KARST, JOHN P. DAVIS, PHILIP MEEDER, JOS. HARLEY, JAMES S. FOY, D. C. HITCHCOCK, E. A. WINHAM, RICHARD M. SMART, CHRISTIAN WEBER, BOOKHOUT, GEORGE F. SMITH, THOMAS L. SMART.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1790-1793.

REMOVAL OF THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT.

PRESIDENT WASHINGTON. — LIFE IN NEW YORK. — THE JOHN STREET THEATER. — SOCIAL CELEBRITIES. — NEW YEAR'S DAY. — THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT. — THE NATIONAL DEBT. — OLIVER WOLCOTT. — THE PRESIDENT AND HIS SECRETARIES. — THE McCOMB MANSION IN BROADWAY. — ORIGIN OF THE TAMMANY SOCIETY. — HAMILTON'S FINANCIAL SYSTEM. — INDIAN WAR IN OHIO. — INDIAN CHIEFS IN NEW YORK CITY. — VERMONT. — ARRIVAL OF JEFFERSON. — THE CITY TREASURER. — DEATH OF FRANKLIN. — CHANCELLOR LIVINGSTON. — THE FAVORITE DRIVE OF NEW YORK. — POLITICAL QUESTIONS. — THE PERMANENT SEAT OF GOVERNMENT. — AARON BURR. — NEW YORK MEN AND MEASURES. — THE TONTINE ASSOCIATION. — NEW YORK ELECTION.

THE winter of 1790 opened auspiciously. New York City was in promising health and picturesque attire. The weather until February was remarkably mild and lovely. "I see the President has returned fragrant with the odor of incense," wrote Trumbull to Wolcott in December. "This tour has answered a good political purpose, and in a great measure stilled those who were clamoring about the wages of Congress." The community at large was full of pleasing anticipations. People flocked into the metropolis from all quarters, and the presence of so much dignity of character, statesmanship, legal learning, culture, and social elegance produced new sensations, aspirations, and ambitions. 1790.

Washington was the observed of all observers. His wonderful figure, which it has pleased the present age to clothe in cold and mythical disguises, was neither unreal nor marble. He stood six feet three inches in his slippers, well-proportioned, evenly developed, and straight as an arrow. He had a long muscular arm, and probably the largest hands of any man in New York. He was fifty-eight, with a character so firm and true, kindly and sweet, kingly and grand, as to remain unshaken as the air when a boy wings his arrow into it, through all subsequent history. His great will-power and gravity seem to have most attracted the attention of mankind. His abilities as a business man, the accuracy of his accounts, which through much of his life he kept with his own hand, and his boundless generosity should also be remembered. He took care of his

money; at the same time he cast a fortune worth at least three quarters of a million into the scale — to be forfeited should the Revolution fail. But the greatest of all his traits was a manly self-poise founded upon the most perfect self-control. He was withal essentially human, full of feeling, emotional, sympathetic, and sometimes passionate. He was fond of society, conversed well, enjoyed humor in a quiet way, and was sensitive to the beauty and open to the appeal of a good story.

While loyal to every duty, and closeted with Jay, Hamilton, and Knox for hours each day in shaping the conduct of the departments, he found time for healthful recreation. The citizens of New York grew accustomed to his appearance upon the streets in one or another of his numerous equipages, or on horseback, and on foot. His diary throws many a domestic and private light upon the pleasing picture. He tells us, for instance, how after visiting the Vice-President and his wife one afternoon, at Richmond Hill, with Mrs. Washington, in the post-chaise, he walked to Rufus King's to make a social call, "and neither Mr. King nor his lady was at home, or to be seen." On another occasion he sent tickets to Mrs. Adams, Mrs. Greene, General Philip and Mrs. Schuyler, Secretary and Mrs. Hamilton, and Mr. and Mrs. Rufus King, inviting them to seats in his box at the little John Street theater. Music commenced and the audience rose the moment Washington and his friends entered the building. The play was *Darby's Return*, written by William Dunlap. Darby, an Irish lad, proceeded to recount his adventures in New York and elsewhere, to his friends in Ireland. Washington smiled at the humorous allusion to the change in the government: —

> "Here, too, I saw some mighty pretty shows —
> A revolution without blood or blows;
> For, as I understood, the cunning elves,
> The people all revolted from themselves."

But at the lines: —

> "A man who fought to free the land from woe,
> *Like me*, had left his farm a soldiering to go,
> Then having gained his point, he had, *like me*,
> Returned, his own potato ground to see.
> But there he could not rest. With one accord
> He is called to be a kind of — not a lord —
> I don't know what; he 's not a *great man*, sure,
> For poor men love him just as he were poor";

the eyes of the audience were fixed curiously upon the President, who changed color slightly, and looked serious; when Kathleen asked,

> "How looked he, Darby? Was he short, or tall?"

and Darby replied that he did not see him, because he had mistaken a man "all lace and glitter, botherum and shine," for him, until the show was out of sight, Washington's features relaxed and he indulged in a rare and hearty laugh.

The next day, Washington says he called upon Chief Justice Jay and Secretary Knox on business, made informal visits to Governor Clinton, Mr. Ralph Izard, General Philip Schuyler, and Mrs. Dalton, entertained Dr. Johnson, lady and daughter, Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Izard and son, and Chief Justice Jay at dinner; "after which went with Mrs. Washington to the dancing assembly, and remained until ten o'clock."

Mrs. Izard had spent several winters prior to the Revolution in the brilliant society of London, after which she had resided in Paris, accompanied her husband to the Court of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and visited nearly all the points of interest on the European Continent. She was handsome, witty, and universally admired. She was a New York lady, as the reader has hitherto learned, one of the famous De Lancey family so conspicuous in New York's public affairs, the granddaughter of Lieutenant-Governor Colden, great-granddaughter of Stephanus Van Cortlandt, the first lord of the manor, with a line of distinguished ancestry reaching backward to the very first little dorp on Manhattan Island. Her marriage with the accomplished Ralph Izard of Charleston, South Carolina, in 1767, whose education at the University of Cambridge had engendered foreign tastes, and whose liberal fortune had enabled him to gratify them, separated her in a measure from the influences conspiring to attach the De Lanceys to the Crown. Her affections and her sympathies must have been severely tried, for while she was moving in the honored circle of the most illustrious character in modern history, her favorite brother, who had commanded the forces raised to fight for the king in Westchester,



Mrs. Ralph Izard.
Alice De Lancey.
[From the painting by Gainsborough.]

was an exiled wanderer from the land of his birth. Her sister, Mrs. John Watts, resided in Broadway; and during the first session of the first Congress entertained Senator Izard and his family in the spacious Watts mansion. While Mrs. Izard was in London her portrait was painted by Gainsborough. One of Copley's finest pictures represents both Mr. and Mrs. Izard in a Roman palace, with a window in the background looking out on one of the most interesting parts of the Eternal City.

Washington's note-book affords further bewitching glimpses of the inner life of the city at this period. On the 10th of December Mrs. Rufus King, Colonel and Lady Kitty Duer, Senator and Mrs. William Few, Mr. and Mrs. Harrison, Miss Brown, Oliver and Mrs. Wolcott, Cyrus Griffin, former President of Congress, and Lady Christiana and daughter were guests at the President's table. On the 12th he "exercised with Mrs. Washington and the children in the coach between breakfast and dinner — went the fourteen miles round." On the 14th, "walked round the Battery in the afternoon." On the 16th, "dined with Mrs. Washington at Governor Clinton's, in company with the Vice-President and Mrs. Adams, Colonel and Mrs. Smith, Mayor Richard Varick (recently elected) and wife, and the Dutch Minister, Van Berckel, who had just returned from Europe with his daughter. It would seem that the President's family rarely dined alone. On the 17th the company consisted of Chief Justice and Mrs. Jay, Senator Rufus King, Colonel and Mrs. Lawrence, Egbert Benson, Bishop Provost, Rev. Dr. Linn and his wife, and Mrs. Elbridge Gerry. On Christmas, which was Friday, the following entry is characteristic of the great man who penned the lines: "Went to St. Paul's Chapel in the forenoon. The visitors to Mrs. Washington this afternoon were not numerous, but respectable." On Saturday, the 26th, the President mentions exercise on horseback, and tells us that Chief Justice Morris, Mayor Varick, and their ladies, Judge Hobart, Colonel Cole, Major Gilman, Miss Brown, Secretary Samuel A. Otis of the Senate, and Mr. Beekley dined with him. On the Tuesday following he records a storm, and "not a single person appearing at his levee." On the last day of the outgoing year his dinner-table was enlivened by the Vice-President and Mrs. Adams, Colonel and Mrs. Smith, Chancellor and Mrs. Livingston, and Miss Livingston, one of the Chancellor's sisters, Baron Steuben, Elbridge Gerry, George Partridge, Thomas Tudor Tucker, and Alexander White from North Carolina.

New Year's day brought a cessation of all kinds of labor. During the early morning hours the streets were pervaded with a Sabbath stillness.

Jan. 1. But as the day waned handsome equipages laden with gentlemen in the showy costume of the day moved rapidly from

point to point, and the narrow sidewalks were filled with pedestrians stepping briskly along as if impelled by some unusual and agreeable impulse. The custom of making New Year's calls was one of the peculiar institutions of New York. It was a novelty to Washington. It had been introduced by the Dutch with the first settlement on Manhattan Island, and the Huguenots had helped to perpetuate the pleasant observance. No other American city or town had then even so much as thought of borrowing the fashion — and it was likely to find little favor in places more purely of English origin and population.

Between the hours of twelve and three o'clock the President was visited by the Vice-President, the governor, the senators, and representatives, foreign public characters, and all the principal gentlemen of the city, either in public or private life. Later in the afternoon a great number of gentlemen and ladies visited Mrs. Washington, as usual, the day being Friday. In the evening such guests as remained were seated and served to tea, coffee, and plum and plain cake. We can almost see Washington in the flesh, as, balancing in his hand one of the exquisite cups and saucers for which his table was famous, he asked of a New-Yorker near him whether such usages were casual or otherwise, and being told that New Year's visiting had always been maintained in the city, observed: "The highly favored situation of New York will, in the process of years, attract numerous emigrants, who will gradually change its ancient customs and manners; but whatever changes take place, never forget the cordial and cheerful observance of New Year's Day."

John Pintard, then a young man of fashion, says many persons took advantage of the day to pay their respects to Washington who were personally unacquainted with him, but no one complained of the stateliness which about this time alarmed a sagacious Virginia colonel for the safety of the Republic. The latter stated at the table of Governor Randolph that Washington's "bows were more distant and stiff" than any he had seen at the Court of St. James! The critic's words reached Washington's ears, who calmly expressed his sorrow that his bows should not have been acceptable, as they were the best he was master of. "Would it not have been better," he asked, "to throw the veil of charity over them, ascribing their stiffness to the effects of age, or to the unskillfulness of my teacher, rather than to pride and dignity of office?"

New York City was then regarded by all good puritanical New-Englanders as a "vortex of folly and dissipation." But the mother of Oliver Wolcott, on the same New Year's evening while Mrs. Washington was dispensing hospitalities, holding an open letter in her hand written from the capital eleven days before by her subsequently distinguished son, read

as follows: "There appears to be great regularity in the city. Honesty is as much in fashion as in Connecticut, and I am persuaded that there is much greater attention to good morals than has been supposed in the country. So far as observance of the Sabbath is a criterion of religion, a comparison between this city and many places in Connecticut would be in favor of New York. We have not been able to hire a house, and shall continue in lodgings till the spring. Great expense is not required, nor does it add to the reputation of any person."

As Washington himself, on his late tour through Connecticut, on one occasion passed thirty-six hours at a very poor country tavern because "it was contrary to law and disagreeable to the people of the State to travel on the Sabbath day," and New York did not suffer by comparison in the mind of a keen Connecticut observer, the inference is clear.[1]

Oliver Wolcott had been appointed Auditor of the Treasury in September, at a yearly salary of fifteen hundred dollars,[2] an office which he hesitated about accepting. Hamilton wrote to him, "I am persuaded you will be an acquisition to the department. I need scarcely add that your presence here as soon as possible is essential to the progress of business." Ellsworth furnished him with an estimate of the cost of living in New York, and remarked that he could keep his expenses within one thousand dollars per annum, unless he should change his style, which was wholly unnecessary. Wolcott, after reaching the city and instituting personal investigations, decided to enter the service. He wrote to his wife announcing the fact, saying, "The example of the President and his family will render parade and expense improper and disreputable." Writing a few days later to his father upon the condition of affairs, he said, "What arrangements are in contemplation with respect to the public debt I have not been able to learn, though I believe, from the character and manners of the Secretary, that they will be prudent, sensible, and firm."

The organization of the Treasury Department occupied much time. The machinery must be constructed upon a plan of indefinite expansion, suited to every object and exigency of the great untried future. The numberless official forms to be used in every branch of business were

[1] *Diary of Washington.*

[2] Oliver Ellsworth wrote to Oliver Wolcott, September 12, 1789, as follows: "The Treasury Department is at length arranged and filled.

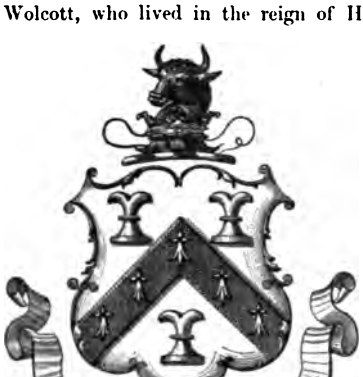
Secretary,	salary,	$3,500,	Colonel Hamilton of New York.
Comptroller	"	2,000,	Mr. Eveleigh of South Carolina.
Auditor	"	1,500,	Oliver Wolcott, Jr., of Connecticut.
Register	"	1,250,	Mr. Nourse, Pennsylvania.
Treasurer	"	2,000,	Mr. Meridith, Pennsylvania.

I think your merit would have justified your standing higher on the list, but you are young enough to rise, and I believe you ought to accept the appointment." — *Family Archives.*

to be prescribed for the first time; custom-houses and loan-offices regulated; provision made for the efficient collection and distribution of the revenue; the accounts of receipts and expenditures systematized; in all of which the easy attainment of complete information at the Treasury was to be united with the preservation of central and local accountability. Everything connected with the finance of the country was in a state of almost inextricable confusion. The national debt, originating chiefly in the Revolution, was of two kinds, foreign and domestic. The foreign debt, amounting to nearly twelve millions, was due to France, Holland, and a fraction to Spain. The domestic debt, due to individuals in America for loans to the government or supplies furnished to the army, reached forty-two millions. Another class of debts, amounting to some twenty-five millions, rested upon a different footing; the States individually had constructed works of defense within their respective limits, and advanced pay, bounties, provisions, clothing, and munitions of war to Continental troops. Hamilton proposed not only that the foreign debt should be paid strictly according to the terms of contract, but that all domestic debts, including those of the particular States, should be funded, and that the nation should become responsible for their payment to the full amount.

Oliver Wolcott[1] was a young man of thirty, but not without experience in finance, having been for nine years almost constantly employed by his

[1] For the origin of the Wolcott family in America, see Vol. I. 593, 594. A tradition exists concerning the Wolcott coat of arms which is of interest to the curious in matters of heraldry. John Wolcott of Wolcott, who lived in the reign of Henry V., and who married Matilda, daughter of Sir Richard Cornwall of Bereford, Knight, won a game of chess in a contest with the king through skilful uses of the castles; whereupon Henry, in recognition of the remarkable event, changed Wolcott's coat of arms by substituting castles on the shield in place of sheaves of wheat. (*Stiles's History of Ancient Windsor.*) Henry Wolcott came to America in 1630; was in 1635 among the first settlers of Windsor; participated in the first legislative proceedings of both Massachusetts and Connecticut; and was annually re-elected to the councils of the latter State during life. His daughter Anna married Matthew Griswold, the first magistrate of Saybrook, and founder of Lyme, and among her illustrious descendants is the present Chief Justice of the United States, Morrison R. Waite. Simon Wolcott, one of the sons of Henry, married the beautiful Martha Pitkin, and their fourth son was the famous Governor Roger Wolcott, who rose to highest military and civil honors. Among his numerous children were Governor Oliver Wolcott (born 1726, died 1797), who signed the Declaration of Independence; and Ursula, who married her cousin, Governor



Wolcott Arms.

native State in public matters of a financial character. Since 1788 he had been Comptroller of Connecticut. He belonged to that line of remarkable men of whom it was said that "none other in America were more honored and trusted." Indeed, as a matter of history, no family on this continent has preserved through all its generations a purer fame.

There was yet no recognized cabinet; and, strictly speaking, no cabinet meetings, according to the usual ministerial consultations at the courts of Europe. The secretaries were the President's auxiliaries rather than counselors. He called them together in council at intervals, but it was chiefly to give them instructions; for the cabinet as an advisory body was unknown to the Constitution and the laws of Congress. The President was made responsible for the administration of the departments, and although he drifted into the habit of consulting with the secretaries, such a course was wholly at his option. In England, according to long-established usages, if the ministers, being the heads of the governmental departments, failed to command the confidence of a majority in the House of Commons, a ministerial disruption immediately followed, and the sovereign intrusted the formation of a new cabinet to a person in favor with that majority. Such change defeated one system of politics and established another. But Congress, although in the prac-

Matthew Griswold of Lyme, and was the mother of Governor Roger Griswold — the lady who had eleven governors among her own immediate family connections and descendants, with at least thirty judges, and numerous lawyers and clergymen of prominence. The Wolcotts have intermarried with many New York families, and their descendants are nearly as numerous in the New York of to-day as in Connecticut.

Oliver Wolcott, the financier, and third governor in the Wolcott family (born 1760, died 1833), was the son of Governor Oliver Wolcott, senior, and a graduate from Yale in 1778. He married Elizabeth Stoughton. He was the Comptroller of the U. S. Treasury from 1791 to 1795, and Secretary of the Treasury from 1795 to 1800, when he was appointed Judge of the United States Circuit Court. In 1802 he removed to New York City, and soon after commenced an extensive manufacturing enterprise at Wolcottville, near Litchfield, in connection with his brother Frederick, who married Betsy Huntington of Norwich; among the children of the latter is Frederick Henry Wolcott of Astoria, Long Island. Mary Ann Wolcott, the youngest sister of Oliver and Frederick, was the distinguished beauty who married Chauncey Goodrich. The wife of Oliver Ellsworth, the chief justice, was Abigail Wolcott, cousin of the governor. Nearly all the Wolcott ladies were celebrated for personal beauty. None more so, however, than Jerusha Wolcott, daughter of Samuel, the brother of Governor Oliver Wolcott, senior, who married Epaphras Bissell, a descendant of John Bissell, one of the founders of Windsor, and projector of the first ferry across the Connecticut River; her sister Sophia married Martin Ellsworth, son of the chief justice. Edward, eldest son of Epaphras and Jerusha Bissell, married Jane Ann Maria Reed in 1823, whose second son, Dr. Arthur Bissell of New York, married Anna Browne, daughter of Judge Browne of Rye, New York, a descendant of Thomas Browne of Rye, England, one of the original founders of the town of Rye, New York, himself a descendant from Sir Anthony Browne, standard-bearer of England, whose wife was daughter of Marquis of Montague—brother of the Earl of Warwick.



"He drove on Friday to Federal Hall in Wall Street, in a coach drawn by six horses preceded by Colonel Humphreys and Major Jackson in uniform, on horseback, and followed by Messrs. Lear and Nelson." Page 369

tice of requiring the heads of departments to appear in person and give explanations upon any desired subject during Washington's administration, had no power to disturb such officials, and regarded them as under the executive, and of subordinate importance.[1]

Hamilton was not slow in applying all the skill and method of which he was master to the production of an elaborate report of the condition of the Treasury; he also unfolded his plans for the maintenance of the public credit, and on Saturday, the 2d of January, submitted both to the President, who, after reading, and conversing for some time with the secretary on the subject, walked to Chief Justice Jay's residence, with whom he still further discussed the important matter, remaining to drink tea informally with the chief justice and his family. Secretary Knox presented his report of the state of the frontiers to the President on the 4th, the day on which commenced the second session of the first Congress. Jan. 2.

It is interesting to note the formalities observed by President Washington in his early intercourse with the legislative branch of the government. Following the example of the king and parliament of Great Britain, he inaugurated a custom of delivering in person his message on the opening of Congress to the two houses sitting in a joint session — which was subsequently abandoned. Arrangements having been perfected by a committee, he drove on Friday, the 8th, at eleven o'clock in the morning, to Federal Hall in Wall Street, in a coach drawn by six horses preceded (quoting his own language) "by Colonel Humphreys and Major Jackson in uniform, on my two white horses, and followed by Messrs. Lear and Nelson in my chariot, and Mr. Lewis, on horseback, following them. In their rear was the Chief Justice of the United States, and the Secretaries of the Treasury and War Departments, in their respective carriages, and in the order they are named. At the outer door I was met by the door-keepers of the Senate and House, and conducted to the door of the Senate-Chamber; and passing from thence to the chair through the Senate on the right, and the House on the left, I took my seat. The gentlemen who attended me followed and Jan. 8.

[1] "In the month of July the Senate ordered that the Secretary of Foreign Affairs attend the Senate to-morrow, and bring with him such papers as are requisite to give full information relative to the consular convention between France and the United States. The secretary appeared according to the resolution, and made the required explanations. The secretaries were the creatures of the law, not of the Constitution; and for that reason Mr. Jefferson was of opinion that neither branch of Congress had a right to call upon the heads of the departments for information or papers, except through the President. That practice has long since been abandoned; and all communications between the houses of Congress and the departments are by correspondence." — *Shaffner's History of America*, Div. III.

took their stand behind the Senators; the whole rising as I entered. After being seated, at which time the members of both Houses also sat, I rose, as they also did, and made my speech; delivering one copy to the President of the Senate, and another to the Speaker of the House of Representatives — after which, and being a few moments seated, I retired, bowing on each side to the assembly (who stood) as I passed, and descending to the lower hall, attended as before, I returned with them to my house."

The importance attached to details in the mind of Washington is curiously revealed in his circumstantial diary. When consulted as to the time and place for the delivery of the answers of the Senate and House to his speech, he decided upon Thursday, at the hours of eleven and twelve, and named his own residence; giving as reasons for choosing this place, that it seemed most consistent with usage and custom, and because there was no third room in Federal Hall prepared to which he could call the gentlemen, and to go into either of the chambers appropriated to the Senate or Representatives did not seem proper. Accordingly, "at the hours appointed, the Senate and House presented their respective addresses, the members of both coming in carriages, and the latter with the Mace preceding the Speaker. The address of the Senate was presented by the Vice-President, and that of the House by the Speaker thereof." After the ceremony, twelve members remained to dine with the President.

Jan. 14.

The same day Hamilton appeared before Congress with his proposition for the funding of the public debt. He presented the subject clearly, and with such courage and consistency that his arguments carried great weight. He said the foreign debt should be paid strictly according to the terms of the contract, and this no one pretended to deny. But when he touched upon the domestic debt, a multiplicity of objections were immediately aroused; and his fearless advocacy of making no difference between the creditors of the Union and those of the States, because both descriptions of debt were contracted for the same objects, gave rise to some of the most exciting debates ever heard in our Congressional halls. As the national legislators comprised a large portion of the prominent characters of the country, and the two parties, friends and opponents of Federal principles, were about equally balanced, every subject being discussed with direct reference to its bearings on State sovereignty — the original apple of discord — a glimmer of the violence of the tempest may be perceived from the first. Hamilton proposed to open a loan to the full amount of the debt, as well of the particular States as of the Union; and to enable the Treasury to bear an increased demand upon it, he

recommended an increase of duties on imported wines, tea, etc., and a duty on home-made liquors.

The sharpest controversy hinged on the assumption of the State debts, and the terms as to the period of payment and rate of interest of the general debt thus proposed to be established. The debts of the respective States were very unequal in amount; and investigations concerning the services rendered by each State brought to the front all the local prejudices of a century, and all manner of invidious comparisons. Another prominent question upon which the members were almost evenly divided was the payment of the whole amount, rather than the mere market value of the government paper. This paper had in most cases passed through many hands, and was immensely depreciated below its nominal value. The original creditors, therefore, and the subsequent holders, had lost in proportion to the scale of depreciation. The proposal to assume the whole debt as it stood on the face of the paper, and pay it to the present holders, was said to be inequitable, inasmuch as these had purchased it at the depreciated value, and had no claim to be remunerated for the losses of the previous holders.

Other business of grave importance came before this session of Congress in New York City, not least of which was the enumeration of inhabitants of the Union, the establishing of a uniform rule of naturalization, the providing of means of intercourse with foreign nations, and for regulating treaties and trade with the Indians, and the location of the permanent seat of government.

Meanwhile the city was gay with all manner of festivities public and private — the balls and dinners were more numerous than the evenings — and the principal statesmen were constantly meeting in social circles, and everywhere discussing the great topics of the hour. Mrs. Washington's levees on Friday evenings were largely attended, and Mrs. Jay, Mrs. Hamilton, and Mrs. Knox each had a special evening, aside from giving dinners every week.

The residence of Washington in Franklin Square proved inconvenient on account of the great distance out of town, and as Postmaster-General Osgood wished to return to his house, having lived at his country-seat three miles to the north during the interim, the President arranged on the 1st of February for removal to the McComb mansion in Broadway, a little below Trinity Church — the former residence of the French minister. On the 3d he tells us that he visited the various apartments of his future home, "and made a disposition of the rooms, fixed on some furniture of the Minister's to be sold, and directed additional stables built"; on the 6th, he walked to the place to decide upon the exact site for the projected

stables; on the 13th, walked again down Broadway to the new house and gave directions for the arrangement of the furniture; and on the 20th, entered the following paragraph in his diary: "Sat from nine until eleven for Mr. Trumbull. Walked afterwards to my new house — then rode a few miles with Mrs. Washington and the children before dinner; after which I again visited my new house, in my coach (because it rained)." The appointments of the Broadway residence were ostensibly arranged for substantial comfort, but such were the tastes and habits of Washington, and the fashion of the times, that the whole mansion when prepared for his occupancy had a very luxurious air. Pictures, vases, and other articles of ornament had been brought from Mount Vernon, china and glass were imported, much of it having been made to order, and the old family plate was melted and reproduced in more elegant and shapely style. The tea-service was particularly massive, the salver twenty-two inches long by seventeen wide, and every piece bore the family arms. The President's birthday, for the first time being celebrated in nearly all the large cities of the Union, and honored by the "Tammany Society or Columbian Order," in New York,[1] with resolutions to commemorate the occasion forever afterward, was chiefly employed by him in superintending the transfer of his furniture; and on Tuesday the 23d, after



The McComb Mansion.
[Washington's Residence in Broadway.]

[1] Shortly after Washington's inauguration, May 12, 1789, the "Tammany Society or Columbian Order" was founded. It was composed at first of the moderate men of both political parties, and seems not to have been recognized as a party institution until the time of Jefferson as President. William Mooney was the first Grand Sachem; his successor in 1790 was William Pitt Smith, and in 1791 Josiah Ogden Hoffman received the honor. John Pintard was the first Sagamore. De Witt Clinton was scribe of the council in 1791. It was stictly a national society, based on the principles of patriotism, and had for its object the perpetuation of a true love for our own country. Aboriginal forms and ceremonies were adopted in its incorporation; the year was divided into seasons of blossoms, fruits, and snows, and the seasons into moons. Its officers were a Grand Sachem — chosen from thirteen sachems — a Sagamore, and a Wiskinskie. This was done partly to conciliate the numerous tribes of Indians who were devastating our defenseless frontiers, and partly to counteract the anti-republican principles of the Society of the Cincinnati. It was named from Tammany, the celebrated Indian chief whose legendary history has been curiously sketched by Dr. Mitchell. To John Trumbull, the author, belongs the distinction of first originating the designation "St. Tammany." He thought, it is said, it not worth while to let Great Britain monopolize all the saints in the calendar, and so chose a genuine American guardian.

dinner, he wrote, "Mrs. Washington, myself, and children removed and lodged in our new habitation."

The Indians about this time appeared determined to prevent through barbarous depredations the existence of towns beyond the Ohio River. A New England company, formed in 1787, had purchased a large territory from the general government, and commenced settlements the following year, of which Marietta was the first. But the savages harassed the settlers so perpetually that Congress directed Knox to investigate the whole subject, who, in his able report, stated that over fifteen hundred persons had either been murdered or carried into captivity during the two years since 1788, and an immense amount of property destroyed. Vigorous steps to check the mischief were at once taken. Washington had hoped to give security to the pioneers of Ohio by pacific arrangements, but found it necessary to institute offensive operations in that direction, which, beginning in the summer of 1790, were not terminated until after the signal victory of General Wayne in 1794.

In the Carolinas and Georgia the Indians quarreled with their white neighbors; and the Spaniards tampered with the Creeks of Alabama, Georgia, and Florida, furnishing them with fire-arms and clothing. Several attempts had been made hitherto by the government, without success, to treat with these latter tribes. An ingenious plan was devised in February to lure their great chief, Alexander McGillivray, an educated half-breed, to New York City, for the purpose of convincing him of the propriety of a treaty to avert the calamities of war, about to be precipitated by the disorderly and disreputable people of both nations. On the 10th of March Washington held a long conversation with Colonel Marinus Willett, who had agreed to undertake a mission to the Creeks which must necessarily be conducted in the most delicate manner, and who shortly started for their country at the South. On the 1st of July official information reached the President that Willett was on his return, accompanied by McGillivray and twenty-eight of his principal chiefs and warriors, and had advanced as far as Hopewell, in South Carolina. Messages were at once sent to the governors of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, requesting them to show every possible respect to the travelers, at the public expense.

March 10.

Their arrival in New York created a sensation. The members of the Tammany Society, arrayed in Indian costume, went out to meet them, with the military, and escorted them, to the house of Secretary Knox where they were received with great ceremony. They were then taken and introduced to the President, and from thence to Governor Clinton; after which they dined at the city tavern, Knox and a great number

of distinguished men being present. They remained in the city about six weeks. A military review by the President and Secretary Knox, for their benefit, on Colonel Rutgers's grounds, July 27, was rendered memorable by the large array of officers in full uniform. On the 2d of August the Indians were entertained with a great banquet, at which were present all the notable statesmen of the day. The Tammany Society enlivened the occasion with songs, and the Creek sachems danced. The orators of both parties made long speeches, and wine flowed freely. Washington dined several of the chiefs one day at his own table, and after the meal invited them to walk down Broadway. Curious to see the effect upon the savage mind of the large full-length portrait of himself which Trumbull had just completed for the city corporation, he led them suddenly into its presence. They stood stiff and mute with astonishment for some minutes. One of the chiefs finally advanced and touched the cold flat surface with his hand, exclaiming, "Ugh!" Each of the others slowly followed his example, and all turned away, suspicious of the art which could imprint a great soldier, dressed for battle, and standing beside his war-horse, upon a strip of canvas. Trumbull afterwards tried in vain to obtain their portraits. Knox, after some time spent in preliminaries, succeeded in negotiating the terms of a satisfactory and much-desired treaty, which, indeed, ceded to the Indians nearly all the disputed territory, and which was ratified in Federal Hall with great ceremony on the 13th of August. Washington and his suite appeared at noon of that day in the Hall of Representatives, and presently the Tammany sachems ushered in McGillivray and his chiefs, adorned with their finest feathers. The treaty was read and interpreted; and the President in a short forcible speech explained the justice of its various provisions — to each of which the Indian potentates grunted approval. McGillivray made a short speech in reply; the treaty was duly signed, Washington presented the chieftain with a string of wampum, for a memorial, with a paper of tobacco as a substitute for the ancient calumet, then came a general shaking of hands, and the ceremonies were concluded by a song of peace, in which the Creek warriors joined in their own peculiar fashion.

Early in March the legislature of New York appointed commissioners to settle, if possible, the chronic controversy with Vermont. New York had opposed the petition of Vermont for admission into the confederacy in 1776, and Congress had hesitated until the people became indignant, when the second appeal was made in 1777; again in 1787 New York had interposed a protest to defeat an application, although at that time the population of Vermont was increasing so rapidly that New York found it difficult to establish her jurisdiction in the declared rebellious

districts. But the commissioners, of whom the scholarly Chancellor Livingston was one of the most conspicuous, were in 1790 empowered to declare the consent of New York to the admission of Vermont into the Union — New York relinquishing all claims to lands in Vermont or jurisdiction over them, upon the payment of thirty thousand dollars; and the commissioners were also to decide upon the perpetual boundary between the two States. Vermont acceded to the proposition, and in March of the following year had the honor of being the first State admitted into the Federal Union.

Foreign affairs created intense anxiety at this juncture. With Great Britain several points of difference existed; Adams had found it impossible to negotiate a commercial treaty on favorable terms, and the British Cabinet declined to send a minister to the United States. The old grudges and jealousies of the war had by no means been extinguished, and Americans, regarding the Britons as natural enemies, were ready to take offense easily, as well as eager for an opportunity to retaliate. An effort to treat with Portugal had failed, owing — it was confidently believed — to the adverse influence of England. The Emperor of Morocco had been faithful to his agreements; but the corsairs of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli plundered American vessels and enslaved their masters, which many attributed, together with the bloody incursions of the western savages, to the machinations of the British. And the intricate and embarrassing disputes with Spain concerning the free navigation of the Mississippi helped to render the commerce of the country more restricted than when it had formed a part of the British Empire.

Washington had just returned from St. Paul's Chapel on the morning of March 21, when Jefferson was announced. "Show him in," March 21.
exclaimed the President, his face brightening with real pleasure, then, not waiting an instant, advanced to meet his guest in the entrance passage. The greeting was one of special warmth and cordiality. Jefferson's coming on that day was particularly opportune. Not twenty-four hours had elapsed since Washington and Jay had been engaged in earnest consideration of the course to be pursued with regard to certain captives in Algiers, and the sending of persons in the character of chargés d'affaires to the courts of Europe. Jefferson, fresh from the Old World atmosphere, and bringing the latest intelligence concerning its public affairs, was welcome indeed. He had been a fortnight on the route from Monticello — his beautiful Virginia country-seat — a storm of snow having greatly impeded his progress. Obliged, on account of bad roads, to leave his private carriage in Alexandria, to be sent to New York by water, he had consigned himself to a slow stage, which moved only two or three miles

an hour by day and one at night; but his horses were led, and he mounted one of them from time to time to relieve his fatigue. At Philadelphia he visited Franklin, who, although in bed and very feeble, listened with excited interest to a detailed account of the French Revolution.

Jay, Hamilton, Knox, Osgood, Livingston, and the circle of New York's principal citizens, hastened to do honor to the new Secretary of State. "The courtesies of dinner-parties," wrote Jefferson, "placed me at once in their familiar society." He tried to obtain a house on Broadway, but not succeeding rented a small cottage in Maiden Lane, near the residence of Thomas Hartley, member of Congress from Pennsylvania. Business had accumulated in expectation of his arrival, and he was quickly immersed in its perplexing details. But he was amazed at the tenor of table conversations. When he went abroad the democratic tendencies of his own country were at full tide, and he found France heaving with the coming earthquake. His house in Paris had been the resort of the leaders of political reform, and he had taken a deep interest in the success of the revolutionists; had even traveled through their country on foot, entered the hovels of the peasants, peeped into the pot to learn what the poor woman was preparing for dinner, handled the miserable black bread that mothers gave their hungry children, and felt of the bed, on which he had taken care to sit, to ascertain its material and quality. "My conscientious devotion to natural rights cannot be heightened," he wrote, "but it is roused and excited by daily exercise." He had returned home to find the favorite sentiment, according to his observations, a "preference for kingly instead of republican government." He was disappointed with the Constitution. There was, moreover, a practical question before Congress, the assumption of the State debts, which disturbed his sense of justice; and Hamilton's project of a national bank he regarded as an evil of superlative magnitude — a fountain of demoralization.

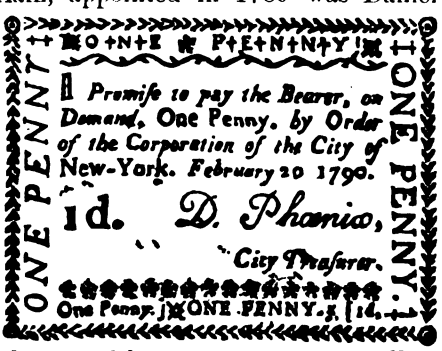
In personal appearance Jefferson was not altogether prepossessing. He had reached the age of forty-seven, was nearly as tall as Washington, well-built but awkward and loose-jointed, with a fair complexion, cold-blue eyes, and reddish hair. His wife dying many years before, he had filled the place of both parents to his lovely daughters, and was a tender and indulgent father, whom they venerated as wiser and better than other men. He possessed original and solid merit, together with great magnetism of intellect, and matchless intensity of convictions upon all subjects to which he gave his attention.

It was at Hamilton's dinner-table that he first advocated aiding France to throw off her monarchial yoke. Hamilton shook his head and

declared himself in favor of maintaining a strict neutrality. This question presently assumed vital importance. Jefferson opposed Hamilton's funding system, and seemed to distrust all his measures. The most stormy discussions were of constant occurrence, trifles were exaggerated, and political excitement spread through the country. Thus developed that division in politics, which, gradually rising to the dignity of party organization, was known as Federalism and Republicanism.

A new edifice had arisen upon the site of the ruins of Trinity Church, which was consecrated on the 25th in presence of a distinguished audience; Washington and family were seated during the exercises in the richly ornamented pew set apart by the wardens and vestrymen for the President of the United States, with a canopy over it[1]; another pew was arranged for the governor of New York. On the same evening the Chief Justice and Mrs. Jay, General Philip and Mrs. Schuyler, Secretary Jefferson, Secretary and Mrs. Hamilton, Secretary and Mrs. Knox, Mrs. Greene, Senator Carroll, Senator Henry, Judge Wilson, James Madison, and Colonel William S. Smith dined with the President and Mrs. Washington at their home in Broadway. On the following Thursday we find Governor Clinton, Lieutenant-Governor Van Cortlandt, Speaker John Watts of the New York Assembly, Judge Duane, Baron Steuben, Arthur Lee, Rufus King, Theodore Sedgwick, Mr. Clymer, Stephen Van Rensselaer, the patroon, Mr. Heister, Dr. Hugh Williamson, and other members of Congress, gathered about Washington's dinner-table. March 25.

The city treasurer, or chamberlain, appointed in 1789 was Daniel Phœnix, an eminent and wealthy New York merchant, who continued to hold the position for twenty years — until compelled to resign from declining health. A specimen of money issued under his auspices in 1790 will be seen in the sketch. He had been largely instrumental in placing the New York hospital in a position to fulfill the intentions of its founders; and he was a trustee as well as



[1] The resolution to set apart a pew in Trinity Church for the President was adopted March 8, 1790. The wardens were Chief Justice John Jay and ex-Mayor James Duane. Among the vestrymen were Andrew Hamersley, Hubert Van Wagenen, Thomas Randall, John Jones, John Lewis, William S. Johnson, Robert C. Livingston, Matthew Clarkson, William Laight, James Farquhar, Charles Stanton, Nicholas Kortright, Alexander Aylesbury, George Bominick, Nicholas Carman, Moses Rogers, Anthony L. Bleecker, and Richard Harrison.

the treasurer of the NewYork Society Library. He took an active part, indeed, in the inception of many of the city institutions, contributing liberally to their support. He was also connected with almost every mercantile institution of his day. His name is particularly and pleasantly identified with the history of the Wall Street Presbyterian Church, of which he was a trustee from 1772 to 1812, and the manager, almost exclusively, of its financial concerns.[1]

The treasurer of the State at this time was Gerard Bancker, of the wealthy Dutch family whose representatives had filled positions of responsibility in city and State affairs during every generation of that remarkable century. The auditor was Peter T. Curtenius. The latter united with many other citizens, as the spring opened, in an indignant protest against cutting away the beautiful trees with which the streets of the city were ornamented in accordance with an order of the corporation to be executed before the first of June. Some medical philosopher had convinced the authorities that the public health demanded the sacrifice, but the public taste was wounded in a vital point, for the trees were of a rich variety, and had been selected and planted with care.

The news of the death of Franklin, April 17, produced a profound sensation in New York; a resolution moved in Congress by James
April 17. Madison was unanimously adopted, that the members should wear mourning badges for one month as a tribute of respect and veneration.

[1] Daniel Phœnix was the son of Alexander Phœnix, and the great grandson of the Alexander Phœnix traditionally reported to have been a younger son of Sir John Fenwick, Bart. of the great Northumbrian family of Fenwicks, who removed to New York City in 1640, and whose descendants have ever since been among the substantial citizens of the metropolis. Daniel Phœnix was born in 1742, and died in 1812. He was liberally educated, and early entered into the business of importing goods from Great Britain, and amassed a large fortune. He was a patriot, and adhered strictly to the non-importation measures, although they fell with special severity upon himself, entirely suspending his business for several years. He was one of the Committee of "One Hundred," and when the British entered the city retired to Morristown with his family. Upon his return, in 1783, he found his house had been burned and much of his property irretrievably lost. But he soon reinstated himself in the commercial world, and was honored by his fellow-citizens with the highest trusts. He married, first, Elizabeth Treadwell; second, Elizabeth Platt. It is recorded as a curious fact, that at the funeral of the latter, in 1784, "the pall-bearers were ladies." His children were: Gerard, died in infancy; Alexander, graduated from Columbia College in 1794, and became pastor of the Congregational Church at Chicopee, Massachusetts — born in 1777, died at Harlem in 1863; Elizabeth, married Nathaniel Gibbs Ingraham, and was the mother of Judge Daniel P. Ingraham of the Supreme Court of New York; Rebecca, married Eliphalet Williams of Northampton, Massachusetts; Amelia, died in infancy; Jennet, married Richard Riker, the well-known District Attorney and Recorder of New York; Sydney, died in 1800, unmarried.

The male line of the descendants of Daniel Phœnix was continued only in the children of his second son, Alexander. — *Contribution by Stephen Whitney Phœnix, in Chamber of Commerce Records.*

The Tammany Society, the Cincinnati, indeed all public bodies, in every part of the Union, adopted similar resolutions, and wore the insignia of mourning. When the news reached France, Mirabeau addressed a silent and sympathetic audience, proposing a decree that the National Assembly should wear mourning three days, for "the genius that could tame tyrants and thunderbolts, which freed America, and rayed forth upon Europe torrents of light — the sage claimed by two worlds, the man for whom the history of science and the history of empires were disputing — one of the greatest men who ever aided philosophy and liberty"; and Lafayette and Rochefoucauld seconded the motion, which was adopted by acclamation. The President of the Assembly addressed a letter to the President of the United States on the loss which the human race had sustained; the Abbé Franchet pronounced a eulogy upon his life and genius in presence of the Commune of Paris; the revolutionary clubs, the Academy of Sciences, the printers, and the municipal authorities of Paris, each held a ceremonial in honor of the departed patriot; and everywhere throughout the kingdom were demonstrations of reverence and of sorrow.[1]

While France was doing homage to the memory of Franklin, New York was again in mourning. One of her own native statesmen had completed his useful and eventful life. William Livingston, the widely famed New Jersey governor, died at "Liberty Hall," July 25, at the age of sixty-seven. Few of the great men of the Revolution were more truly of heroic mold, or had exerted a more salutary influence over the forming community. He was consigned to the tomb with touching tenderness, and with every mark of distinguished and genuine respect.

Three weeks prior to the sad event Brockholst Livingston, the governor's son, delivered an oration in St. Paul's Chapel on the occasion of the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. The President was present, with his retinue, the heads of departments, the members of Con-

[1] Sarah, only daughter of Dr. Benjamin and Deborah Franklin, born September 11, 1744, was married October 29, 1767, to Richard Bache; her eight children were: 1. Benjamin Franklin, 2. William, 3. Sarah, 4. Elizabeth Franklin, 5. Louis, 6. Deborah, 7. Richard, 8. Sarah. Her descendants, numbering at the present time nearly two hundred, embrace many distinguished characters, scientists, physicians, men of letters, and philanthropists. Her seventh son, Richard, married, in 1805, Sophia Dallas, daughter of Alexander James Dallas, Secretary of the Treasury in 1814, and sister of George Mifflin Dallas, Vice-President from 1845 to 1849; and one of their sons was Alexander Dallas Bache, the intellectual giant who conceived the scientific methods for the development of the Coast Survey of the United States, a work which conferred benefits upon navigation beyond expression in language, and made his name honored throughout the civilized world; another son, George, was an officer of the United States Navy, and lost his life in 1846, while in command of an expedition engaged in the hazardous business of sounding the Gulf Stream.

gress, foreign characters, and all that was notable in the pulpit, halls of learning, or private walks of life in the metropolis. Washington expressed himself greatly pleased with the good sense and eloquence of the speaker,[1] the tendency of whose discourse, he said, was to compare "the excellent government of our own choice with what it would have been had we not succeeded in our opposition to the attempts of Great Britain to enslave us; and to show how we ought to cherish the blessings within our reach and cultivate the seeds of harmony and unanimity in our public councils."[2] Two years before this, Chancellor Livingston had figured as the orator of the 4th of July celebration in the same sacred edifice, and with keen political foresight pointed out the course in which things were moving, while he enriched with many sagacious reflections and happy aphorisms his varied knowledge of historic and general affairs. Brockholst Livingston dwelt more definitely upon the results which were then undeveloped, and with the habitual flexibility of a lawyer who had chosen the bar as a pathway to the career of public life, entered with much imagery and humor into the popular spirit of the moment. He was then thirty-three. His cousin, the Chancellor, was forty-three, and without the sparkling fancy and vivacity which were the former's natural gifts, was cultured and accomplished to a degree of elegance not often met at that period even in the higher circles of thought.

The mansion of the Chancellor, in lower Broadway, was sumptuously furnished. Its walls were adorned with Gobelin tapestry of unique design, and beautiful paintings and costly ornaments greeted the eye in every apartment. He was a great lover of art-treasures, and his well-filled purse enabled him to import whatever fancy or inclination suggested. He was subsequently one of the founders of the American Academy of Fine Arts, an association organized in 1801 and incorporated in 1808, of which he was chosen the first president. His table-service was of solid silver valued, it is said, at upwards of thirty thousand dollars; four side-dishes each weighed twelve and one half pounds; the center-piece used on state occasions was one of the most exquisite and costly of its kind. His country-seat at Clermont, on the shore of the Hudson, with its library opening into a greenhouse and orangery, its half-mile lawn, its richly cultivated gardens, its blossoming orchards, and its magnificent forests, was for many a long year the seat of a princely hospitality. Foreign notables,

[1] Brockholst Livingston was appointed, in 1802, judge of the Supreme Court of New York, and in 1806 one of the justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. The grandfather of Brockholst Livingston was Philip, second Lord of the Manor. The grandfather of the Chancellor was Robert, younger brother of Philip, to whom was granted the property at Clermont. Thus the two Livingstons, Brockholst and the Chancellor, were second cousins.

[2] *Washington's Diary.*

and all that was most distinguished in the world of politics and letters, were entertained under its roof; and on numerous occasions, as, for instance, when a brilliant reception was given to Lafayette, the shining waters of the Hudson, as far as the eye could reach, were white with vessels freighted with gay visitors. While New York was the capital of the nation, Washington, more particularly after his removal from the Walter Franklin to the McComb mansion, in Broadway, was in the practice of dropping in to see the Chancellor informally at any hour suiting his convenience, the residence of the latter being only a few rods distant.



Chancellor Robert R. Livingston.
First President of the Academy of Fine Arts.
[From a painting by Vanderlyn in possession of the New York Historical Society.]

Justice Iredell reached New York with his family after a tiresome and protracted journey through the Southern States, and established his residence at 63 Wall Street. Born in England, he came to North Carolina at the age of seventeen, and studied law with Governor Samuel Johnston, whose sister he married in 1773. Two of his brothers were clergymen in England; and his son, James, became a statesman of distinction—at one time governor of North Carolina. Judge Iredell was on intimate social terms with Dr. Hugh Williamson, who resided with his wife's family at the Apthorpe mansion. The favorite drive for the New-Yorkers of 1790 was what Washington styled "the fourteen miles' round," the route being over the "Old Boston Road," on the line of Third Avenue, crossing Murray Hill nearly on the line of Lexington Avenue, and bearing westward to McGowan's Pass, thence to the Bloomingdale region, where the beautiful country-seats were like a villa

of villas, and so down on the Hudson River side of the Island. The President's chariot and six horses were on this road nearly every pleasant day, with many other imposing equipages. Dr. Williamson drove into town every morning, and Judge Iredell often returned with him in the afternoon, to discuss politics and the climate of America, the learned doctor being about to write his celebrated octavo volume on that subject. Iredell was invited to dine with the President soon after his arrival, and writing of the occasion, he said, "We had some excellent champagne; and after it I had the honor of drinking coffee with Mrs. Washington."

During the controversy over the site of the permanent seat of government the President was incessantly active and observant. Harlem Heights, Westchester, and portions of Long Island were from time to time suggested as suitable localities for the proposed district. Brooklyn and Kingston were both discussed as eligible. "Where could a situation be found for the capitol and other public buildings comparable to the heights of Brooklyn?" One great objection was its exposure to hostile invasion. Yet the harbor was claimed to be as capable of defense as that of Philadelphia or Georgetown. Kingston was declared admirably adapted for the site of a great city, and secure from the attacks of an enemy. The gentleman from Connecticut, who broached the subject, was asked if he had forgotten that Kingston was sacked and burnt by the British in the War of Independence? New York City was preferred by the majority; the members from the East could reach it with ease, and it was accessible by sea to those from the South. But neither the State nor the city authorities, writes Duer, were willing to cede the territory and the jurisdiction of the ten miles square which must include it. Washington having previously sent over his servants, horses, and carriage, crossed to Brooklyn, and drove through the Long Island towns of Flatbush, New Utrecht, Gravesend, Jamaica, and beyond for many miles. He breakfasted at Henry Onderdonk's, on the shore of Hempstead Bay, at what is now the pretty village of Roslyn, and dined at Flushing, twelve miles distant. Mrs. Jay wrote to her husband, whose duties as chief justice had carried him as far as Boston on his first circuit through New England, saying: "Last Monday the President went to Long Island to pass a week there. On Wednesday, Mrs. Washington called upon me to go with her to wait upon Miss Van Berckel, and on Thursday morning, agreeable to invitation, myself and the little girls took an early breakfast with her, and then went with her and her little grandchildren to breakfast at General Morris's at Morrisania. We passed together a very agreeable day, and on our return dined with her, as she would not take a refusal. After which I came home to dress, and she was so polite as to

take coffee with me in the evening." In another letter Mrs. Jay wrote: "Mr. and Mrs. Hamilton dined with me on Sunday and on Tuesday." She also mentioned having entertained Mrs. Iredell and her daughter, and Mr. and Mrs. Munro. In the brilliant circle which gathered about Mrs. Hamilton's table was Stephen Van Rensselaer, the patroon, who was the newly elected State senator, although scarcely twenty-six, a model of masculine beauty and courtly manners, and the husband of Margaret, Mrs. Hamilton's sister. His only brother, Philip, had recently married Ann, the daughter of Lieutenant-Governor Pierre Van Cortlandt. In the early part of July a pleasure-party was inaugurated for a drive and a dinner at the Roger Morris mansion, which, with its extensive acres surrounding, had been confiscated, and was in the hands of a common farmer. Washington, the gentlemen of his family, Mrs. Lear, the children, Vice-President and Mrs. Adams, the son of the Vice-President and Miss Smith, Secretary and Mrs. Hamilton, Secretary and Mrs. Knox, and Secretary Jefferson, proceeded in carriages to Harlem Heights, and visited the battle-fields and the old position of Fort Washington, discussing the fine views to be obtained from the picturesque elevation.

While New England was content to have New York remain the capital of the nation, Pennsylvania clamored for its establishment on the banks of the Delaware; and Maryland, Delaware, and Virginia were anxious that it should be on the Potomac. The South Carolinians objected to Philadelphia because her Quakers "were eternally dogging Southern members with their schemes of emancipation." The Philadelphians would not listen to a thought of New York, because "it was a sink of political vice." Dr. Rush wrote to Speaker Muhlenberg, upon hearing that the discussion had turned upon the Susquehanna, "Do as you please, but tear Congress away from New York in any way; do not rise without effecting this business."

"The question of residence is continually entangling every measure proposed," wrote Wolcott from New York in the early part of July, "and a party which is gained by one proposition is frequently lost by the resentment which another party can excite in bringing up some other question." The Assumption Bill and the site of the future capital of the Union were the main points at issue. But the subject of slavery, introduced by a petition from the Quakers of Pennsylvania, that the negroes should receive their freedom, signed by many persons from other States, created no little warmth; and laws of great variety and significance, pensions for Revolutionary services, the patenting of useful inventions, regulation of the mercantile marine, securing to authors the copyright of their works, forming the groundwork for a criminal Code, and making

provision for embassies, light-houses, and a "military establishment," were among the problems to be studied and solved by this Congress. The Assumption Bill created such feuds, that when it was lost in the House by a vote taken one hot July afternoon, the whole business of the nation was in a dead-lock. The Northern members threatened secession and dissolution of the Union. Congress actually adjourned from day to day because opposing parties were too much out of temper to discuss or do business together. Hamilton was in despair. Even Washington was alarmed, and begged Jefferson to act as a peace-maker among the members.

He was on his way to see the President one morning when he met Hamilton on the street, and the two walked arm in arm backward and forward in front of the President's house in Broadway for half an hour, Hamilton explaining with the utmost earnestness the anger and disgust of the creditor States, and the immediate danger of disunion, unless the excitement was calmed through the sacrifice of some subordinate principle. Hamilton appealed so directly to Jefferson for aid in silencing the clamor which menaced the very existence of government, that the latter yielded, and afterwards said he "was most innocently made to hold the candle" to Hamilton's "fiscal manœuvre" for assuming the State debts. He proposed that Hamilton should dine with him the next day, inviting two or three other gentlemen; and at the dinner-table the situation was discussed in all its bearings. It was finally agreed that two of the Virginia members should support the Assumption Bill, and that Hamilton and Robert Morris should command the Northern influence sufficient to insure the location of the seat of government on the Potomac.

The compact thus entered into resulted in the adoption of Hamilton's funding system by a small majority in both houses, and in the decision that founded the city of Washington on its present site. The residence of government for the ten coming years was to be in Philadelphia, to give opportunity for the erection of public buildings and such private dwellings as would be required for the accommodation of persons engaged in public affairs.

Hamilton's original proposition concerning the State debts was modified in the process of bloom. The specific sum of twenty-one and a half millions of dollars was assumed, and apportioned among the States in a proximate ratio to the amounts of the debts of each. An act was passed by which the whole of the domestic debt became a loan to the nation, redeemable at various times and at various rates of interest.

When the great national debt had been brought into tangible shape, steps were taken for its payment; but some years elapsed before the

system was completed. The public credit, however, was immediately improved, and the effect upon the prosperity of the country was magical. Commerce was invigorated, and men entered into agricultural and other pursuits with hopeful and brightening views. In allusion to Hamilton's financial scheme and its bearing on the public welfare, Daniel Webster, a half-century afterward, exclaimed: "He smote the rock of the national resources, and abundant streams of revenue gushed forth."

Meanwhile the experiment was to be tried, and half the nation doubted its success. Jefferson honestly believed the whole system fraught with mischief. Party discords and personal enmities, local interests and State jealousies, jarred Congress, disturbed the harmony of Washington's cabinet, and retarded the execution of every measure. The adversaries of any plan are not prone to cease hostility after having strenuously opposed and suffered defeat. In all free communities there must be two parties, they are a balancing necessity, and every man must belong to one or another; therefore his motives and principles should be judged by his conduct and character, rather than by the side he takes. "An empire so circumstanced," wrote Judge Iredell, "requires to be discussed with the joint aid of the most enlarged and comprehensive minds, and with the utmost moderation and candor to make allowances for those unavoidable differences of opinion, which on such momentous and difficult subjects will arise among men of the greatest abilities and the purest and most candid intentions."[1] Washington had refrained from expressing his sentiments in regard to the act for funding the public debt, while it was under debate in Congress, but he was a decided friend to the measure. He was also silently in favor of the bill which located the future seat of government within easy drive of his own Virginia estate.

The newspapers of New York during the summer abounded with pungent paragraphs for and against the removal of the government. When the final decision was announced, a caricature print appeared representing Robert Morris marching off with the Federal Hall upon his shoulders, its windows crowded with members of both Houses encouraging or anathematizing this novel mode of deportation, while the devil from the roof of the Paulus Hook ferry-house beckoned to him patronizingly, crying, "This way, Bobby!"

[1] *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, by G. J. McRee. Iredell was the justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, who was quoted in England as "a judge who could ride nineteen hundred miles upon a circuit." When he removed his residence from the metropolis to Philadelphia, Robert Lenox, a distinguished merchant and citizen of New York, who had acted as his agent, wrote to him: "It was never my intention to make charge for any service I have been so fortunate as to render you. I am sufficiently repaid in the acquaintance of a gentleman for whom I have so much respect; and if I have been so fortunate as to have laid a foundation for your friendship also, I am repaid indeed."

Congress adjourned on the 12th of August, to meet in Philadelphia in December; both Houses having passed resolutions thanking the corporation of the city of New York "for the elegant and convenient accommodations which had been furnished them." The day following, Federal Hall was the scene of the famous Indian treaty ratification described upon a former page. This was the last time that President Washington drove to Federal Hall in an official capacity. His six prancing horses with their painted hoofs, and his cream-colored state coach, ornamented with cupids supporting festoons, and with borderings of flowers around the panels, would no longer be the admiration of Wall Street. But the principles upon which alone the government could live had been determined in that great heart of the nation, and the initiatory questions of interpretation settled. The blended acuteness and argumentation of thinkers, philosophers, orators, jurists, and statesmen had rendered the locality memorable. More complex, intricate, or profound subjects, or of greater importance than those debated in 1790, never came before a body of legislators. Illustrious memories will ever be cherished, in spite of the changes which have placed the marble structure which guards the golden treasures of our government upon the site of Federal Hall, and converted Wall Street into the vital business point where all the life pulses ebb and flow of a great community, which has its financial, commercial, social, and domestic roots stretched to the remotest quarters of the globe.

Aug. 12.

Aug. 13.

On the 14th of August Washington sailed for Newport, accompanied by Secretary Jefferson, Governor Clinton, Judge Blair, and other prominent characters. He was welcomed with great enthusiasm; after spending a few days he visited Providence, and returned to the city on the 21st much improved in health. He immediately made preparations for a journey to Mount Vernon. The day before his departure from New York he entertained at dinner the mayor and corporation of the city, and Governor Clinton; also Lieutenant Governor Van Cortlandt, and his son Pierre, a young man of excellent parts who, two years later was a member of the State legislature, and who must have been forcibly reminded of an incident in connection with one of Washington's former dinner invitations — which he was fond of relating in after years. Being a lad of fourteen at the breaking out of the war, he was consigned to the new college at New Brunswick, for his education, his father writing a letter introducing him to Washington, then in New Jersey. Young Pierre presented the letter, but his courage oozed away, to use his own language, in the stately presence, and when invited to dinner the next day he stammered a faint "Yes." As the time drew

Aug. 14.

Aug. 21.

near, however, to appear again before the great personage, he was overcome with timidity, and after marching towards headquarters for a little distance he turned about and ran home. The next morning he accidentally met Washington, who, before he could escape, exclaimed, "Master Cortlandt, where were you yesterday?" The boy tried to articulate an excuse. "Master Cortlandt," interrupted Washington, with grave solemnity, "Mrs. Washington and myself expected you at dinner yesterday; we waited a few moments for you; you inconvenienced my family by failing to keep your word; you are a young lad, Master Cortlandt, and let me advise you, hereafter, when you make a promise or an engagement, never fail to keep it; Good morning, Master Cortlandt!"

The rules for entertaining company which Washington established in New York were maintained in Philadelphia with little change. On Tuesdays, at three o'clock in the afternoon, his dining-room was thrown open, from which the chairs had previously been removed, and the President was seen by the approaching visitor standing before the fireplace in coat and breeches of rich black velvet, with a white or pearl-colored satin vest, silver knee-buckles and shoe-buckles, a cocked hat in his hand, his hair powdered and gathered into a silk bag, and an elegant sword in its scabbard of polished white leather at his side. He was usually surrounded by the gentlemen of his cabinet and others of distinction, and citizens and strangers, properly introduced, were always admitted. He never shook hands on these occasions. At the levees of Mrs. Washington on Fridays he appeared as a private gentleman, without hat or sword, and conversed without restraint.

He regretted leaving the McComb mansion, although that of Robert Morris, the handsomest house in Philadelphia, was placed at his disposal. The latter was three stories high, and about thirty-two feet wide, with a front displaying four windows in the two upper stories, and three in the first — two on one side of the hall and one on the other. The door was approached by three heavy steps of gray stone, and on each side of the edifice were gardens filled with trees and shrubbery. Washington thought it would hardly accommodate his family without additions. He was not well pleased with certain difficulties he encountered in trying to ascertain what it would cost him, and fancied the policy of delay with its lessee was to see to what heights rents would rise. After writing to his secretary a detailed account of the manner in which it should be furnished if alterations and additions were made, he added: "When all is done that can be done, the residence will not be as commodious as that I leave in New York." As for the stables, he said they were good, but for twelve horses only. There was a room over them which might serve

the coachman and postilions, and a coach-house which would hold all his carriages. He had also observed a smoke-house which he thought might "possibly be more valuable for the use of servants than the smoking of meats." He gave minute directions for the packing of porcelain, glass, and other articles. And, what is more, he suggested in his written communications the precise and particular spot where every household god was to be placed when unpacked in his new home. He told Mr. Lear that he might appropriate "a small room adjoining the kitchen for the Sêvres china, and other things not in common use," and questioned whether a green or a yellow curtain should be "appropriated to the staircase above the hall."

The President's final farewell to New York was extremely touching. He had intended to avoid all ceremony. But as the hour of his
Aug. 30. departure approached on the morning of the 30th, Broadway filled with people, and Governor Clinton, Lieutenant-Governor Van Cortlandt, with the principal officers of the State, Mayor Varick and the corporation of the city, the clergy, the society of the Cincinnati, and a large number of distinguished New-Yorkers appeared, to do the final honors, in connection with the officers of the national government. The President passed the threshold of his residence at half past ten o'clock, accompanied by Mrs. Washington and the various members of his family, and was escorted to the beautiful barge which had been presented to him on his arrival at the metropolis the year before. At the wharf he turned and surveyed the scene. The crowd was immense, standing in tearful silence. He spoke a few words, expressive of the sense he entertained of the courtesy and kindness of the citizens during his residence among them, but seemed overcome with emotion. The instant he stepped into the barge thirteen guns announced the fact from the battery; he stood upright while the boat shoved off, and waved his hat, with the single word, "Farewell," at which a prolonged shout arose from the multitude which seemed to drown even the echo of the guns. Governor Clinton, Chief Justice Jay, Mayor Varick, and Hamilton, Knox, and Osgood accompanied him to Paulus Hook.

The rough corduroy road from this point to Newark proved very tiresome to the whole party. The coachman showed such want of skill in driving, that before reaching Elizabeth they were obliged "to take him from the coach and put him on the wagon. This he turned over twice," wrote Washington, "and has also got the horses in the habit of stopping."

Many another horse acquired the same habit during the months that followed. The removal of households to Philadelphia commenced immediately; and during the whole autumn the roads through New Jersey,

writes Griswold, "looked like a street in New York on the first of May." The New-Englanders were less pleased with the change than the New-Yorkers themselves. They could not discover that the Quakers were so much better than other men. "Some of them wore powder, silver buckles, and ruffles!" Oliver Wolcott wrote in September from New York: "I have at length been to Philadelphia, and with much difficulty procured a house. The rent is one hundred pounds, which is excessive, being near double what would have been exacted before the question of residence was determined. Philadelphia is a large and elegant city. It did not, however, strike me with all the astonishment which the citizens predicted. I have seen many of their principal men, and discover nothing that tempts me to idolatry."

The family of Vice-President Adams tarried on the bank of the Hudson until frost came. Their furniture was shipped in a small vessel for Philadelphia. Mrs. Adams reached the Quaker City to find her new residence, Bush Hill, on the Schuylkill, in possession of painters, brushes in hand. She wrote to her daughter, "It is a beautiful place, but the grand and sublime I left at Richmond Hill." In the midst of the confusion of "boxes, barrels, chairs, tables, trunks," fires that would not burn because of wet fuel, cold, damp rooms, and fresh paint, nearly every member of the household sickened with colds or rheumatism; "and every day, the stormy ones excepted, from eleven until three, the house was filled with ladies and gentlemen." Mrs. Adams said she endeavored to have one room decent for their reception, and was constantly assured that she was much better off than Mrs. Washington would be upon her arrival, whose house was not likely to be completed before the end of the year. "And when all is done it will not be Broadway!" Mrs. Adams thought if New York wanted any revenge for the removal, her citizens would need only to come to the new capital, where it was not possible for the satellites of government to be half as well accommodated as in the metropolis — at least for a long time to come. "Every article has risen to almost double its price," she wrote. "One would suppose that the people thought Mexico was before them and Congress its possessors." "You cannot turn round without paying a dollar," said Jeremiah Smith of New Hampshire. And even James Monroe remarked, "The city seems at present to be mostly inhabited by sharpers."

Matters gradually adjusted themselves, and regrets for New York were lost in the agreeable and stirring events of the winter. Congress commenced its third session on the 6th of December, and was actively busy with public affairs until the 3d of March, 1791. Two important measures, the tax on distilled spirits of domestic manufacture, Dec. 6.

and a national bank, were vehemently and angrily discussed, and finally adopted. The opponents of the bank denied its necessity or utility, and said that Congress had no authority from the Constitution to create any corporation whatever. The question involved principles of the utmost importance to the United States, and the subject was viewed in every shade of light. Hamilton, with scholastic logic, calmly reasoned that the measure in question was a proper method for the execution of the several powers which were enumerated, and also contended that the right to employ it resulted from the whole of them taken together. The preamble to the bill foretold "that it would be conducive to the successful conducting of the national finances, give facility to the obtaining of loans for the use of the government in sudden emergencies, and be productive of considerable advantage to trade and industry in general." Jefferson was intolerant of banks. He said they were "instituted by a moneyed aristocracy," and that the public was "abandoned to avarice and swindlers by a paper currency." Hamilton's projects were in his eyes only powerful engines for the completion of machinery by which the whole action of the legislature would be under the direction of the Treasury — and shaped to further a monarchial system of government. Hamilton and Jefferson wrangled continually. "Why should either of you be so tenacious of your opinions as to make no allowance for those of the other?" exclaimed Washington.

The bank went into operation, and although the question of its expediency agitated the public mind and divided the national councils for many years afterwards, experience has shown the absolute necessity of such an institution to enable the government to manage its great concerns.

The city of Washington was not yet laid out, and immediately after Congress adjourned in the spring of 1791 the President made a tour through the Southern States, his first business being to confer with the landholders and arrange for the purchase of the site of the future capital.

1791. March 21. He left Philadelphia on the 21st of March, precisely at noon, and was attended for some miles by Jefferson and Knox. The roads were so muddy that he was five days in journeying to Annapolis. In his diary, he wrote: "I was accompanied by Major Jackson; my equipage and attendance consisted of a chariot and four horses drove in hand, a light baggage-wagon and two horses, four saddle-horses, besides a led one for myself, and five dependents, to wit, my valet de chambre, two footmen, a coachman, and a postilion."

New York languished for several months after the removal of the seat of government. The winter was particularly dull. The chief excitement grew out of the election of Aaron Burr to the Senate of the United

States. Schuyler had, on casting lots, drawn the shortest term, which would expire with the present session of Congress; hence it became necessary to fill the seat thus made vacant. Schuyler was a candidate for re-election, and Burr was his competitor. Schuyler was a man of integrity and commanding appearance, but a strong partisan, who bore the scars of former political contests; and he was thoroughly identified with Hamilton, whose financial scheme was rending the community in twain. Personally he was reputed austere and aristocratic, which did not enhance his popularity. Burr was a new man in politics, was opposed to the ultras of both parties, and stood before the people an educated and accomplished gentleman, who would represent the State fairly through his moderation. He was opposed to Hamilton's measures, and he was to all appearances equally opposed to Clinton. He was thirty-five years of age, small of stature and well-formed, with handsome features, black eyes of piercing brilliancy, and an irresistibly pleasing address. His specialty was to shine. Except Hamilton, he was thought to be the finest orator in the State, and by many was considered one of the most eloquent and persuasive public speakers of the age. It was nine years since he puzzled the writers of biographical gossip by marrying Mrs. Prevost, the widow of a British officer ten years older than himself, who had two rollicking sons, and no great estate. The lady was not even beautiful; but she was highly cultivated, with great loveliness of character, and the marriage had proved a happy one, notwithstanding Burr's moral defects. They were not much in society; but Burr often said in after years that if his manners were superior to those of men in general it was owing to the insensible influence of his wife. He had been two years Attorney General of the State, prior to which time, in addition to great industry in his profession, he had served one term in the Legislature. He had also been one of three commissioners, in 1790, upon whom New York devolved the duty of classifying and deciding upon the claims of individuals for services rendered and losses sustained in the Revolutionary War. These claimants were legion. Some had served in the State militia, others in the Continental army, many in both. Some had supplied provisions to both descriptions of troops, others had had their estates overrun and houses pillaged or burned by the enemy. Some of the claims were for thousands of dollars, others for the value of horses, cattle, or a few tons of hay. In the throng of claimants were numberless rogues whose accounts needed the closest scrutiny. And when, after all the trouble, the justice of a claim was established, it was often a difficult point to decide whether it was the national or the State government that ought to discharge it. In some cases both seemed liable, and the commissioners must decide in

what proportion. The investigation occupied many months, and at its close Burr drew up a report which was remarkable for its clear and concise statement of the principles upon which claims had been allowed, rejected, or excluded from consideration, and which was accepted by the Legislature without opposition or amendment.

In 1791 he was appointed to serve on another commission of grave importance, the issue of which advanced the reputation of no one concerned. It was to dispose of the wild unappropriated lands in the State of New York, which at the close of the war amounted to more than seven millions of acres. As a matter of State policy it was thought best to offer inducements to such persons as were willing to find a lodgment in the vast wilderness, therefore a law was enacted authorizing these commissioners to sell land "in such parcels, on such terms, and in such manner as they should judge most conducive to the interests of the public." Powers more unlimited were never confided to any body of men, not excepting the old Dutch mercantile companies. The vote in the Legislature creating the statute was nearly or quite unanimous, and evidently met the approval of both political parties. The commission consisted of Governor Clinton, the State secretary, Lewis Allaire Scott, the attorney-general, Aaron Burr, the State treasurer, Gerard Bancker, and the auditor, Peter T. Curtenius.

During the summer these gentlemen sold the enormous quantity of five and a half millions of acres, at an average price of about eighteen cents per acre, in prodigious tracts — one for three shillings an acre, another for two shillings, and some for one shilling. The most extraordinary sale of all was one to Alexander McComb, of more than three million six hundred thousand acres, at the seemingly incredible price of eightpence per acre, payable in five annual instalments, without interest, subject to a discount of six per cent if paid in advance. Large parcels were sold to other persons, among whom were James Caldwell and John and Nicholas Roosevelt.

As soon as these transactions were made public an outcry arose in all parts of the State, and resolutions of censure were moved in the Legislature. It was broadly insinuated that the governor and his friends were personally interested in the purchases. This met with a total denial on the part of the commissioners, who emphatically asserted that no higher offers for the land could be obtained, and that the chief object of the State in selling was to bring private interest to bear upon the actual settlement of the waste places. Hammond says, "After a long and acrimonious discussion of the resolutions of censure, they were finally rejected, and Melancthon Smith, as pure a man as ever lived, introduced a resolution

approving of the conduct of the commissioners, which was adopted in the Assembly by a vote of thirty-five to twenty."

One of the curiosities in the turn of the political wheel was the support given to Burr, in opposition to Schuyler, by the Livingstons. The Chancellor suddenly veered from the Federal party, giving as a reason his want of sympathy with the views of Hamilton. Some said he was disappointed in not having been made Chief Justice of the United States, or at least tendered some of the great offices of the general government. His brother-in-law, Morgan Lewis, received the appointment of attorney-general when Burr took his seat in the Senate. Schuyler felt his defeat acutely, and Hamilton was excessively annoyed. As for Burr, his transcendent abilities and corrupt principles were henceforward cast into the political caldron. His career as a senator commenced October 24, 1791, with the compliment of being named chairman of a committee of three, to prepare a reply to the annual speech of President Washington before the two Houses assembled in the Senate Chamber.

The merchants of New York about this time formed an association with the purpose of providing a business center for the commercial community, called the "Tontine Association" in honor of Tonti, a Neapolitan, who introduced a similar scheme into France in 1653. The word "Tontine" was to designate "a loan advanced by a number of associated capitalists for life annuities, with benefit to survivorship." The Tontine building was erected on the corner of Wall and Water Streets, between the years 1792 and 1794, and the Association was formally incorporated during the year last mentioned. Among the merchants who pushed forward the enterprise were John Broome, John Watts, Gulian Verplanck, John Delafield, and William Laight.[1]

[1] John Broome, for six successive years lieutenant-governor of the State, was born and educated in New York, studying law in the office of Governor William Livingston, although diverted from the legal profession into the importing business by his brother, Samuel Broome, who married Miss Nugent, niece and adopted daughter of Admiral Sir Peter Parker, commander of the British fleet on our coast. *Biographies of Francis Lewis and Morgan Lewis*, by their granddaughter, Julia Delafield. His father was an Englishman, his mother a Frenchwoman, Marie de la Tourette. The parents of this lady were the young Count and Countess de la Tourette of an ancient Huguenot family, and were residents at the old château in La Vendée, when the Edict of Nantes was revoked. The count was informed that his name was on the list of the proscribed, and that an unsuccessful attempt to escape would cost him his life. He proceeded to give a large entertainment to which all the neighboring gentry were invited, and when the gayety was at its height, stole with the countess from the banqueting hall and escaped on foot to the sea-shore, where a vessel bound for Charleston lay at anchor, taking with them only their jewels and their Huguenot Bible. The ship was cast away on Staten Island, where the countess gave birth to the daughter who subsequently became the mother of John Broome. The reader has observed the name of this gentleman on the Revolutionary committees and in the New York Congress during the war. He married Rebecca

Gouverneur Morris wrote constantly from France, and his letters were filled with the shocking excesses of the Revolutionists in that troubled kingdom. In the spring of 1792 he was appointed by the President, minister plenipotentiary to the French Court; but his services in that direction were destined to be of short duration. Down to this period the great mass of Americans were ardent sympathizers with the French reformers. But Washington, Hamilton, Adams, Rufus King, and other leading conservatives began to think the French Revolution essentially diabolical, an opinion which deepened when the news came that Lafayette had lost his authority and was in personal danger, and that the French nation was governed by Jacobin clubs. "Ah! the fact is," said Jefferson, "Gouverneur Morris is a high-flying monarchy man, shutting his eyes and his faith to every fact against his wishes."

1792.

Meanwhile New York must needs elect a governor, as Clinton's term of office expired in the summer. Both political parties were intensely excited on the subject. The Federalists were some time in fixing upon a candidate. They applied to Judge Yates, and to Stephen Van Rensselaer, the patroon, both of whom declined. Chancellor Livingston was invited and declined. Chief Justice Jay was much desired, but his high office under the national government and his aversion to party warfare made it seem improbable that he would permit his name to be used. Aaron Burr was suggested. Through the influence of Schuyler and Hamilton, Jay finally accepted the nomination, and Stephen Van Rensselaer that of lieutenant-governor. On the other hand, George Clinton and Pierre Van Cortlandt were nominated for a re-election.

The council of appointment consisted of David Pye, Philip Van Cortlandt, the military son of the lieutenant-governor, Stephen Van Rensselaer, and William Powers. The State canvassers were David Geltson, Thomas Tillotson, whose wife was one of the Chancellor's sisters, Melancthon Smith, Daniel Graham, Pierre Van Cortlandt, Jr., David McCarty, Jonathan N. Havens, Samuel Jones, Isaac Roosevelt, Leonard Ganesvoort, and Joshua Sands. The election was the closest and angriest the State had yet seen, and the issue exasperated parties more than the strife itself. There was an informality in the canvass, and both sides claimed

Lloyd, of Lloyd's Neck. He was an alderman of the city, at one time City Treasurer, President of the Chamber of Commerce, and also President of the New York Insurance Company. His daughter Sarah married James Boggs, many years President of the Phœnix Bank; and his daughter Julia married Colonel John Livingston, great-grandson of the second Lord of the Manor, who purchased an estate on Lake Skaneateles and afterwards received a premium for the best cultivated land in the country, and who was also marshal of the northern district of New York for twenty-seven years. Mrs. Boggs left two daughters, Mary, married Richard Ray, and Julia Augusta, married Lewis H. Livingston.

the victory. Of the eleven canvassers named, seven announced that Clinton had carried the State by a majority of one hundred and eight votes, while the remaining four declared that the victory belonged to Jay. After many stormy discussions they agreed to request the opinion of New York's two United States Senators, Rufus King and Aaron Burr.

It was a peculiar question. The law then required the votes of a county to be sealed by the inspectors of election, and delivered to the sheriff, who was to convey it intact to the Secretary of State. On this occasion the County of Otsego had no sheriff. Richard R. Smith had held that office, but his term had expired. Another sheriff had been appointed, but had not yet been sworn in; and during the interregnum the important business of receiving and conveying the votes had presented itself. Of course Smith performed the duty. But he was not the sheriff. He had been elected to the board of supervisors, an office incompatible with that of sheriff, and had actually taken his seat at the board and performed official acts. The Republicans protested that the votes received and sent by him could not be legally canvassed. The county had given Jay about four hundred majority, and if those votes were not excluded Jay was governor. The two senators, upon conference, found that an irreconcilable difference of opinion existed between them on the subject. King was for admitting the votes, Burr for rejecting them. Each consulted several of the best lawyers in the land before giving his opinion, and could exhibit an imposing array of names in its support. King was for having justice done; Burr for having the law observed. The canvassers, thus left to choose, followed the political preferences of the majority of their number, and pronounced George Clinton duly elected.

The exasperation of the Federalists was, for a time, almost beyond control, and the State seemed in danger of anarchy. As each senator had decided in favor of his own party, the motives of both were assailed. Public meetings were held, and the governor was denounced as a usurper and the canvassing committee as corrupt. Loud protests were made against the legality of Clinton's acts. At this juncture nothing but the conduct of John Jay saved the State from temporary confusion.

He was holding Circuit Court at Bennington, in Vermont, when the decision of the canvassers was made known. Upon his return his political friends met him in crowds at the State line, and his journey home was one continued ovation. Public dinners, addresses, and salutes of artillery greeted him at Albany, Lansingburg, Hudson, and other towns on the route. When within eight miles of New York City, he was met by a body of citizens and escorted to his house with every demonstration

of affection. A public meeting was called, and amid highly inflammatory addresses expression was given to the general indignation because of the measures taken to deprive him of the office to which he had been elected. Jay was calm and dignified through all these exciting scenes, and his words breathed such a spirit of conciliation and moderation that order was restored. "They who do what they have a right to do, give no just cause of offense," he said, "therefore every consideration of propriety forbids that difference of opinion respecting candidates should suspend or interrupt the mutual good-humor and benevolence which harmonize society and soften the asperities of human life and human affairs." A few days later a public dinner was given to Jay, and on retiring from table, the whole company, as a mark of respect, waited upon him to his house. It was an unusual spectacle, that of a popular leader striving to modify the temper of those who believed him to be the rightful governor and were burning to redress his wrongs. Governor Clinton took the oath of office on the 18th of July, and on the 19th a great
July 19. dinner was tendered him by his political friends. Samuel Osgood, as chairman of a committee, addressed Clinton, animadverting with much severity on the conduct of his opponents; to which Clinton replied in a gentlemanly and conciliatory manner. When the legislature con-
Nov. 6. vened in November, petitions on the subject of the canvass poured in from all parts of the State. A tedious investigation ensued. The law regulating elections had made the decisions of the canvassers final; and after some time the Assembly, by a majority of four votes, resolved, "That it does not appear to this House that the canvassers conducted themselves with any impropriety in the execution of the trust reposed in them by the law."

National affairs absorbed the public mind as winter approached. The second election of a chief magistrate occurred, and Washington was again chosen by a unanimous vote. Not so the Vice-President. Herculean efforts were made to defeat the re-election of Adams, and Governor George Clinton was the opposing candidate. The force of the blow was directed chiefly against the measures of Hamilton. Clinton's strength was feared by the Federalists. He was a man of property, integrity, unblemished private life, and had been distinguished above all others in the United States for his resistance to the adoption of the Constitution. Jefferson and Burr were named as candidates in private circles and in public prints, though not regularly nominated.[1] Hamilton thought Burr ap-

[1] In Aaron Burr's letters to his wife he said he dared not trust the public mail with political secrets. When he wrote about politics it was in ciphers. As, for instance, he requested "18 to ask 45, whether, for any reasons, 21 could be induced to vote for 6, and if he could,

peared upon the stage to play the game of confusion in favor of Clinton, and wrote to Rufus King, "I take it he is for or against nothing, but as it suits his interest or ambition. He is determined, as I conceive, to make his way to the head of the popular party, and as much higher as circumstances will permit. Embarrassed, as I understand, in circumstances, with an extravagant family, bold, enterprising, and intriguing, I feel it to be a religious duty to oppose his career." The electoral votes, being cast in their respective States, were forwarded to the seat of government, and opened on the 13th of February, 1793. Clinton received the entire vote of New York, of Virginia, of North Carolina, and of Georgia. But Adams was declared elected by a small majority. 1793. Feb. 13.

It was a trying moment in the affairs of America when Washington took the oath of office, and entered upon his new four years' term of labor and self-sacrifice. The French Revolution had just reached its highest point of fanaticism, and war threatened all Europe. Would the United States escape the storm? The King of France had been dethroned and murdered, and a republic declared; should the United States receive a minister from that republic? Were the treaties annulled by the Revolution? "What the government of France shall be is the very point in dispute," wrote Hamilton to Jay on the 9th of April. "A regent will doubtless arise who may himself send an ambassador to the United States. Should we in such case receive both?" Two days later Hamilton wrote again to Jay: "Would not a proclamation prohibiting our citizens from taking commissions on either side be proper? Would it not be well that it should include a declaration of neutrality? If you think the measure prudent, could you draught such a thing as you would deem proper? I much you would." Jay replied without delay: "Let us do everything that may be right to avoid war. The enclosed will show what my present ideas of a proclamation are; it is hastily drawn, it says nothing about treaties, it speaks of neutrality, but avoids the expression, because in this country often associated with others. I shall be in Philadelphia on my way to Richmond. I think it better at present that too little should be said than too much." March 4. April 9. April 11.



Jay Arms.

The difficulty and delicacy of deciding what course to pursue was only

whether 14 would withdraw his opposition to 29, and 11 exert his influence in favor of 22." This mode of correspondence was not unusual at that time among politicians, but Burr was one of the most mysterious of them all.

equalled by its importance. Washington sought the advice of his Cabinet. With England diplomatic intercourse had been opened by the appearance of George Hammond in 1791, the first minister plenipotentiary to the United States from that government, but little progress had been made in adjusting differences. Hammond, indeed, had no powers to conclude a treaty of commerce, and Jefferson had interpreted his lack of authority as an evidence of unfriendly sentiments on the part of the British nation. War might easily be precipitated. The multitude who fancied that a brand snatched from our own altars had lighted the fire of liberty upon the wrecks of ancient tyranny, that a political millennium had begun, was ready to plunge into any extreme. Would it not be better to avoid partnership in European jealousies and confusions?

On the 22d the celebrated Proclamation of Neutrality was issued. Its necessity was proven by the uproar it created and the strifes it enkindled. The opposing party broadly accused the administration of hostility towards their former allies. Meanwhile Edmond Charles Genet, sent on a secret mission by the unsettled republic to involve the United States in a war with England, and thus effect a diversion in behalf of France, was already in South Carolina, distributing naval and military commissions. Chief Justice Jay, holding court in Richmond, when it became known that privateers were being fitted out in American ports to prey upon British commerce under commissions furnished by Genet, gave the public to understand in his charge to the jury that the Supreme Court would fearlessly discharge its duty and punish acts forbidden by the neutral position of the nation. But Genet, regardless of the opinions of courts, the proclamation of the President, and the remonstrances of individuals, continued to direct, within the United States, naval and military operations against the enemies of France; and the British Minister at Philadelphia presented a long catalogue of complaints to Washington, demanding restitution. The news of the declaration of war by France against Great Britain and Holland, coming at the same time, increased the excitement, and disposed men everywhere to co-operate with their former friend against their old enemy. Genet's progress from Charlestown to Philadelphia was marked by the most extraordinary evidences of popular infatuation and diplomatic arrogance. Public authorities and private citizens vied with each other in glorifying the representative of European democracy. French views of universal reformation spread like a prairie fire. Foreigners were pouring into the United States, and, although never having known liberty, were most anxious to teach it Europe following the example of America! The very notion was blinding to the national eyesight. Few Americans knew the direction events

April 22

were really taking in France, and the foresight of Washington, Jay, Hamilton, and others, in predicting a speedy dissolution of the scheme of the Convention, was condemned rather than appreciated.

Political clubs began to multiply, and the great theme was France. New York was profoundly agitated. About this time Aaron Burr was offered and declined the office of judge of the supreme court of the State, and Morgan Lewis received the appointment, Nathaniel Lawrence becoming attorney-general in his stead. General Matthew Clarkson was elected state senator. He had in 1791 been appointed by Washington marshal for the district of New York, at the recommendation of Chief Justice Jay, who wrote, "I think him one of the most pure and virtuous men I know. During the war he was a firm and active Whig, and since the peace a constant friend to national government. Few men here of his standing enjoy or deserve a greater degree of the esteem and goodwill of the citizens than he does, and in my opinion he would discharge the duties of that, or any office for which he is qualified, with propriety and honor." In the early part of 1793 Clarkson purchased the site of the Clarkson family residence, which was destroyed by fire while the city was occupied by the British as mentioned on a former page, and erected thereon the three-story brick house illustrated in the accompanying sketch. The entrance was on Pearl Street at first, but it was subsequently changed to Whitehall Street. This continued to be his home during the remainder of his life.



Residence of General Matthew Clarkson

CHAPTER XL

1793-1797.

PRESIDENT WASHINGTON'S SECOND TERM.

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS IN FRANCE. — EFFECTS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION IN NEW YORK. — CITIZEN GENET. — HAMILTON AND JEFFERSON. — THE TWO POLITICAL PARTIES. — GOUVERNEUR MORRIS RECALLED. — WAR IN PROSPECT. — CHIEF JUSTICE JAY IN ENGLAND. — "BEDFORD HOUSE." — FAMILY OF CHIEF JUSTICE JAY. — THE WHISKEY REBELLION. — ROBESPIERRE. — HAMILTON'S RETIREMENT FROM THE TREASURY. — LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR VAN CORTLANDT. — GENERAL PHILIP VAN CORTLANDT. — THE ELECTION OF GOVERNOR JAY. — THE JAY TREATY. — EVENTS OF THE SUMMER OF 1795. — THE YELLOW FEVER IN NEW YORK. — APPROPRIATION FOR PUBLIC SCHOOLS. — THE NEW YORK SOCIETY LIBRARY. — CITY IMPROVEMENTS. — THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY. — THE FRESH WATER POND. — STEAM NAVIGATION. — POLITICAL AFFAIRS.

DURING the violent scenes of revolutionary change in France, Gouverneur Morris remained firmly at his post, although surrounded with innumerable difficulties, and constantly receiving advice from many quarters to follow the example of other foreign ministers and leave the country. He was at one time arrested in the street and taken before the tribunal of arrests, at another his house was searched by a body of armed men, and again, while on a journey into the country, he was arrested and sent back to Paris under pretense that his passport from the government was out of date. These insults were in every case followed by apologies from the governing body, who claimed that it was impossible to control all the acts of subordinate agents. The swift transitions from one form of anarchy to another, and the blood and carnage with which human monsters worked their way to power, rendered the laws of nations and of honor but feeble protection to any individual within their reach.

1793.

The French government had been deserted by all the world, and really had no motive for offending and alienating the United States, their last and only friend. To escape the horrors and disorders of Paris, Morris bought a country-house with twenty acres of land about thirty miles from the city, where he resided during the rest of his stay in France; but

his secretary, Henry Walter Livingston, of Livingston Manor, remained chiefly in Paris. His official duties consisted in protests against the restrictions on the commerce of the United States, imposed by decrees of the Convention in violation of the treaty between the two countries; in remonstrances against the outrages of French privateers upon American shipping, and reclamation of vessels unlawfully seized; in urging the petitions and claims of American captains, whose ships were detained in French ports on various pretenses; and in applying for the release of American citizens, who had fallen into prison, through being taken for Englishmen, or some informality in their papers: all of which required indefatigable industry, and from their complex character the most judicious management. "The state of government here is a great plague," he said, "for it is difficult to discover the best mode of compassing an object, when the parties who are to decide are constantly changing. Our old Congress was nothing to this Convention." To Robert Morris he wrote: "You tell me, that in my place you would resign and come home; but this is not quite so easily done as said. In the first place, I must have leave to resign from the President; but further, you will consider that the very circumstances which you mention are strong reasons for abiding, because it is not permitted to abandon a post in the hour of difficulty. I think the late decrees respecting our commerce will show you that my continuance here has not been without some use to the United States."

New York was visibly disturbed by the irregularities attending the French Revolution. Three of her own citizens, at this juncture, were chief among the great actors whose conduct of national affairs was to determine the course America should take in the emergency. Jay and Hamilton, each in their high places, wielded exceptional power; and both were endowed with political foresight, and incomparable originality of thought and action. Morris, as Minister to France, was watched by friends and foes throughout the city with unspeakable interest. And, besides, New York was the natural refuge of French exiles. They came mostly from the nobility, and introduced French fashions, manners, language, furniture, cookery, and customs into the city, although many of them returned to France at the downfall of Robespierre.

It is the tendency of political parties to magnify their differences on all theoretical questions, and apparently to diverge wider and wider from each other. The Federalists accused the Republicans of encouraging the outrages which made the French people appear like a nation of lunatics, and the Republicans charged the Federalists with being unfriendly to liberty and freedom, and ungrateful to those who had come so bravely

to the aid of America in the struggle for independence. But when news reached New York that Gouverneur Morris had interposed at the risk of his life to save Madame de Lafayette from a horrible fate, arguing, in her behalf, that the family of Lafayette was beloved in America, where the whole people entertained a grateful recollection of his services, and that the death of his wife might lessen their attachment to the French republic, and further the interests of the enemies of France, the reaction of sentiment was singularly marked. The subsequent tragedies of the Reign of Terror under Robespierre stunned the reflective mind. Even the Jacobinical advocates became alarmed and listened at intervals to the logic of rule and right.

It was impossible for the masses to understand how little the French Revolution, the most gigantic and appalling illustration of the natural depravity of the human race in the annals of the world, resembled in principles our own conflict for independence. It had been decreed by the Convention that there was no God; an impious philosophy was accepted by the rabble of Paris; and all private worth and public respectability seemed destined for the guillotine. The more honorable and astute American intellect could not keep pace with such a surging tide. The grateful affections and political sympathies which had become enthusiasm, when France assumed the name and form of a republic, were knocked about like foot-balls until time mercifully revealed the whole picture; and in the height of the fever men were ready everywhere to believe that Washington, Adams, Jay, and Hamilton were all traitors and conspirators. Nothing but the immovable disregard of public clamor and private treachery which characterized the President, and the temper actuating his principal advisers which could resist a storm of aggressive action while doing justice with loftiest heroism, saved America from a fearful calamity.

Genet found sympathizers on every hand. His reception in Philadelphia was like that usually accorded to a conquering hero. People were in a frenzy. The title "citizen" became as common for a time in the Quaker City as in Paris. When Genet visited the President he was indignant at perceiving in the vestibule a bust of Louis XVI., and complained of it as an "insult to France." "At a dinner in Philadelphia," writes Griswold, "a roasted pig received the name of the murdered king, and the head, severed from the body, was carried round to each of the guests, who, after placing the liberty-cap on his own head, pronounced the word "Tyrant!" and proceeded to mangle with his knife that of the luckless creature doomed to be served for so unworthy a company."

The excitement was such when it became known that the President

had received Genet coldly, that thousands of men paraded the streets of Philadelphia, threatening to drag Washington from his house and compel the government to declare war in favor of France and against England. A riot was imminent, and Adams afterwards wrote: "I myself judged it prudent and necessary to order chests of arms from the war office to be brought through by-lanes and back-doors, determined to defend my house at the expense of my life, and the lives of the domestics and friends within it." Jefferson was believed by the Federalists to have given encouragement to the proceedings of Genet, with whom he was on terms of intimacy; and the *National Gazette*, edited by Freneau, Jefferson's confidential clerk, freely denied Washington's capacity and integrity, and denounced every measure of his administration; taking care to send three copies each day to the President himself.

When Genet found that the government would enforce its laws at all hazards, he took umbrage and threatened an appeal to the people. Washington immediately sent a full account of the matter, with all the correspondence, and a demand for Genet's recall, to Gouverneur Morris, to be laid before the French government. About the same time England threw firebrands into the powder by an order designed to distress France by cutting off her supplies, but which operated with peculiar force upon American commerce. Then, again, on the 3d of August the French frigate, *l'Ambuscade*, at anchor in New York harbor, was challenged to single combat by the British ship *Boston*, Captain Courtney, which was cruising off Sandy Hook. The French vessel spread her wings and sailed forth to meet the issue; a severe action ensued, the *Boston* was much damaged, and Courtney killed. Bets had run high as to the results of the encounter, and when the frigate returned to her anchorage in triumph, the delight of the multitude gathered in the lower part of the city burst forth in cries as wild as ever resounded through Paris under the bloody ministers of misrule. Aug. 3.

Before the ferment subsided a French fleet of fifteen sail entered the Hudson, and her crew, as well as officers, immediately landed, and were treated with the most extravagant civility. The tricolor was seemingly in every hand, and affixed to every watch-chain. And to add to the delirium Genet arrived in the city from Philadelphia. The papers had heralded his approach, a committee went out to meet him at Paulus Hook, and the salute of cannon, the ringing of bells, and the demonstrations of joy from the people who filled the streets, together with flattering addresses from innumerable societies, were convincing, even had he not before been assured that the cause he represented would receive the unhesitating support of the country. Anger at Great Britain Aug. 7.

was in a full blaze, and the wonder is that the flames were extinguished without serious warfare.

Genet was fêted by many distinguished persons in New York within the next ten days, not least among whom was Governor George Clinton, with whose daughter, Cornelia, he fell in love. This celebrated Frenchman was a member of one of the first families of France; his father was connected with the ministry of foreign affairs for forty-five years; one of his sisters, Madame Campan, was well known for her intimacy with the royal family; and another sister was the beautiful Madame Anguie, mother-in-law of Marshal Ney. Such was his intellectual precocity, that at the age of twelve he received a flattering letter and a gold medal from Gustavus III. for a translation of the History of Eric XIV. into the Swedish language, with historical remarks by himself. His culture was exceptional, he was master of many languages, was a member of the most distinguished learned societies in Europe, wrote well, and was an accomplished musician. He was about thirty years of age, of fine presence, graceful bearing, and polished manners; was possessed of a kindly nature, and in conversation sparkled with anecdote. He had been from his boyhood employed in honorable public offices; at fourteen he was translating secretary for the eldest brother of Louis XVI., and subsequently attached to the embassies of Berlin, Vienna, London, and St. Petersburg, remaining in Russia five years as chargé d'affaires. It was his indignant protest against the order of the Empress of Russia to leave her dominions when Louis XVI. was dethroned which won for him a flattering reception by the revolutionary government on his return to Paris. Hence his appointment on the mission to America.

Congress assembled in December, notwithstanding the yellow fever had visited Philadelphia during the autumn and swept away four thousand victims, and in reply to the opening speech of the President, expressed unqualified approval of his policy of preserving peace if possible, and of being prepared for war if inevitable. Almost every nation of Europe had taken up arms since the year commenced; and the arrogant endeavor of the French republic to embark America in the quarrel was beginning to assume an offensive aspect through whatever light it might be viewed.

Dec. 2.

"The French cause has no enemies here — their conduct many," wrote Rev. Jedediah Morse, the geographer, some two weeks later, from Charlestown, Massachusetts;[1] "there are some who undistinguishingly and undoubtedly approve both, and most bitterly denounce as aristocrats all who do not think as they do. The present is considered a most

Dec. 16.

[1] *Rev. Jedediah Morse to Oliver Wolcott*, December 16, 1793.

interesting period. The issue of General Wayne's expedition, of Genet's threatened prosecution of Chief Justice Jay and Rufus King, of the President's request to have Genet recalled, of the combined attempts of Britain, Spain, Algiers, etc., to ruin our commerce, of the powerful and increasing operation against France, are events of great expectation. The body of the people repose confidence in the wisdom of the President, of Congress, and of the heads of departments. The President's speech meets with much approbation. It is worthy of himself. We have some grumbletonians among us, who, when the French are victorious, speak loud and saucy, but when they meet with a check, sing small. They form a sort of political thermometer, by which we can pretty accurately determine what, in their opinion, is the state of French politics."

The strife in the Cabinet between Hamilton and Jefferson was at its highest ebb during this month. Jefferson's report upon "the privileges and restrictions on the commerce of the United States, in foreign countries," his last official act before retiring from the Cabinet, was so framed as to intensify the hatred of Great Britain in America, and favor the feeling of regard for France. In the remarkable Congressional debates which followed, Madison was the chief exponent of the Jeffersonian opinion, and Smith, of South Carolina, of that of Hamilton.[1] The genius of these two great men were the magazines from which opposing speakers armed themselves; and it is wonderful to observe the sensitiveness for the honor of France that was exhibited. Every imputation upon her conduct and principles was visited with an unaccountable promptness of indignation, and the action of Great Britain was made the daily topic of excited denunciation. "The great effort appears to be to enter into a system of discrimination in our foreign commercial connections, favorable to France and unfavorable to England," wrote Oliver Wolcott to his father.

News came presently that the wheel had revolved in France, and the party by whom Genet had been employed rendered powerless. His recall, in compliance with Washington's demand transmitted through the hands of Gouverneur Morris, followed. But the French government solicited the recall of Morris as an act of reciprocity, which could not be refused. Morris remained in Europe until 1798, traveling through many countries and visiting some of the principal courts. He was in constant

[1] *Abridgment of the Debates of Congress*, Vol. I. 458; *Marshall's Life of Washington*, Vol. II., 229 – 314; *Fisher Ames's Speech on Madison's Commercial Resolutions; Lord Dorchester's Speech to the Indian Deputies at Quebec*, February 20, 1794; *Jefferson's Writings; Tucker's Life of Jefferson; Pitkin's Political and Civil History of the United States; Adams's Life of Madison; Spark's Writings of Washington; Gibbs's Administration of Washington and Adams; Shaffner's History of America*, Div. IV.; *Sparks's Life of Gouverneur Morris; Jay's Life and Correspondence of John Jay; Hildredth's United States; Lossing.*

correspondence with Washington, and the public men of America, often communicating matters of great moment.[1] Genet did not deem it expedient to return to France, but chose a home in New York, where he married the daughter of Governor Clinton, and spent the remainder of his life.[2]

An interesting incident is told in connection with the appointment of a minister to succeed Morris at the French capital. The Opposition in Congress agreed to recommend Aaron Burr, and a committee waited upon the President, of whom Madison was chairman and James Monroe one of the members, to secure his nomination. Washington stood silent for some minutes after listening to the Congressional message, and then said it had been the rule of his public life never to nominate for a high and responsible office any man of whose integrity he was not assured. The committee retired and reported. The party they represented were indignant, and passed resolutions in favor of Burr, directing the committee to inform the President. When Madison the second time proposed Burr's name, Washington was irritated, and replied with some warmth that his decision was irrevocable: "But," he added apologetically, "I will nominate you, Mr. Madison, or you, Mr. Monroe." Madison said he had long since made up his mind not to go abroad. Monroe, who belonged to the republican party, and in common with many others believed the French nation would eventually establish a free government upon the ruins of ancient despotism, was finally appointed, reaching Paris in August, 1794.

[1] When Henry Walter Livingston returned to New York, he was the bearer of the following communication to President Washington from ex-Minister Gouverneur Morris: "This will be delivered to you by my late Secretary of Legation, Mr. Henry Walter Livingston; in it you will find matters of consequence, which are not to be trusted to the public mails. You will find Mr. Livingston is to be trusted for although at a tender age his discretion may always be depended upon; he is modest, polite, sensible, and brave, and will, I feel sure, should he want to continue in the diplomatic line, become an honor to it," etc., etc. Young Livingston, however, sought no further promotion in the service. He came into possession of a large estate, married the beautiful and wealthy granddaughter of Chief Justice Allen of Pennsylvania, and built the fine mansion at the Livingston manor, illustrated on page 320 of the first volume of this work, near the site of the original manor-house, which long since disappeared. (See Vol. II. 296.) He was the son of Walter Livingston, one of the first commissioners of the United States Treasury, who was the eldest son of Robert Livingston, third lord of the manor. The children of Henry Walter and Mary Allen Livingston were: Ann, married her second cousin Anson Livingston, the son of Judge Brockholst Livingston; Mary, married James Thompson, died in Paris, April 14, 1880; Cornelia, married Carroll Livingston, son of Judge Brockholst Livingston; Walter, married Mary Greenleaf; Allen, died unmarried; Elizabeth, married William D. Henderson; Henry W., married Caroline de Grasse De Pau, granddaughter of Admiral Comte de Grasse, commander of the French fleet during the Revolution.

[2] The second wife of Genet was the daughter of Postmaster-General Osgood. (See Vol II. 330, 331.)

It was apparent to all that measures must be taken to check the aggressions of Great Britain and protect the rights of the nation. The posts on the frontiers, eight in number, had not yet been evacuated in conformance with the treaty. Officers commanding these posts excluded American citizens from the navigation of the Great Lakes. Compensation had never been received for the negroes carried off by the British when the war ended. And the recent seizures of vessels laden with merchandise for France, under the new order, together with the searching of vessels within the acknowledged jurisdiction of the United States under pretense of looking for and impressing English seamen, outraged the national understanding of the principles of neutrality.

With the arrival of his successor Genet's influence waned. In justification of his proceedings he published the secret instructions under which he had acted. Nothing could exceed the bitterness with which his partisans assailed Chief Justice Jay and Rufus King for having given publicity to his threat to "appeal to the people from certain decisions of the President." The darkest motives were assigned for the disclosure. "Has it become a crime," they asked, "to speak of consulting the people? Is the President a consecrated character, that an appeal from his decisions involves criminality?" The complaints of those impatient for a closer connection with France were uttered in language undignified and almost as disrespectful to the national administration as to the sovereign of England. Congress was divided as to the proper course to pursue in the emergency. The opponents of the administration urged the adoption of commercial restrictions. The Federal party, of which Washington was the soul, insisted that unless Great Britain could be induced by negotiation to abandon her unjust pretensions, an appeal should be made to arms. An honorable peace or an open war, they said. The Opposition proposed to sequester all debts due from American citizens to British subjects, thus constituting a fund for the indemnification of such as had suffered from British spoliations. This was resented by those who entertained proper respect for national faith and honor of whatever party. Its discussion was interrupted by the introduction of another project — a resolution to suspend all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, until full compensation should be received for losses sustained under her orders in council, and the posts surrendered. During the stormy discussion that followed, Spain assumed an offensive attitude; and a scheme was detected for attacking the Floridas by a force from Georgia organized under French agents, which was defeated by the vigilance of the legislature of South Carolina. About the same time an angry remonstrance reached the President from Kentucky in relation to the navigation of the

Mississippi, with obscure threats revealing the same seditious spirit which was soon to break forth in Pennsylvania.

In the midst of the turmoil Hamilton was cheerfully bestowing information upon members of Congress who were daily applying for data to aid in supporting or invalidating arguments. The principles dividing the two parties were more inseparably connected with the financial than with any other acts of the government. States were brought into court as defendants to the claims of land companies and individuals; and British debts rankled. The erection of a fiscal system in the face of the inveterate prejudices, conflicting interests, and violent opposition of those who gave little knowledge and less study to the subject was one of the marvels of that century. "A committee of fifteen members are investigating the state of the Treasury Department," wrote Wolcott on the 2d of March. "Some of them are enemies to the Secretary, but he is an honest and able man, and, as everything in relation to his official conduct is capable of a solid defense, no injury can be inflicted. It will occasion some hard work, but this we are used to and do not mind." It was not, however, merely as the head of a department that Hamilton's talents were exercised. He had brought the whole of his mental resources and great vigor of intellect to bear upon every fundamental maxim of government.

1794.

March 2.

The perils to which American commerce was exposed induced the government on the 26th to lay an embargo for thirty days on all vessels bound to foreign ports. Measures were also taken for increasing the regular military force, and for organizing eighty thousand troops. Thus were the relations between the two countries rapidly approaching a state of open hostility.

March 26.

At this juncture Chief Justice Jay was called to Philadelphia by the term of the Supreme Court. He wrote to his wife on the 9th of April: "Yesterday I dined with the President. The question of war or peace seems to be as much in suspense here as in New York when I left you." On the 10th he wrote again: "Peace or war appears to me a question which cannot be solved. Unless things should take a turn in the mean time, I think it will be best on my return to push our affairs at Bedford briskly. There is much irritation and agitation in this town and in Congress. Great Britain has acted unwisely and unjustly; and there is some danger of our acting intemperately."

April 9.

April 10.

The President turned to the chief justice in this moment of painful anxiety, while preparations for the expected war were in progress, and before the decisions on the various commercial propositions had been reached, urging his acceptance of a mission to England for the purpose,

if possible, of averting the calamities of war. Between Washington and Jay the most confidential and uninterrupted intercourse had existed since the beginning of the Revolution; and such was the President's faith in the integrity, good judgment, and executive ability of the chief justice, that he promised him exceptional powers. Jay hesitated. He had other plans and pleasures in prospect; and yet he felt the impulse of duty strongly. He wrote to his wife on the 15th: "The object is so interesting to our country, and the combination of circumstances such, that I find myself in a dilemma between personal and public considerations." The question was, however, speedily settled by the receipt of some conciliatory explanations from Lord Grenville, accompanying the news of the revocation of the offensive order of the 6th of November by the British government; and thus an opportunity seemed to offer itself for the amicable adjustment of existing difficulties. "I venture to assure you," wrote Oliver Ellsworth to Governor Oliver Wolcott, senior, "Mr. Jay will be sent to the court of London. He is now here, and has this moment informed me of his determination to accept the appointment if it shall be made. This, sir, will be a mortifying movement to those who have endeavored by every possible means to prevent reconciliation between this country and Great Britain." On the same date Chief Justice Jay was nominated envoy extraordinary to the British Court. Aaron Burr sharply opposed his confirmation by the Senate, but the vote was, nevertheless, in his favor, at the ratio of eighteen to eight.

April 15.

April 16.

The Opposition boldly criticised the appointment as tending to teach judges to aspire to executive favors. The Jacobin or democratic societies abused the President with renewed acrimony. Their newspapers vilified the mission and his minister. The House determined if possible to render the journey of Jay void of results, and succeeded in passing a bill on the 21st, cutting off all commercial intercourse with England, which was, however, lost in the Senate by the casting vote of Vice-President Adams. The chief justice sailed on the 12th of May, accompanied by his eldest son, Peter Augustus, and by John Trumbull as his secretary. About the same time John Quincy Adams was commissioned resident minister to The Hague.

May 12.

"Bedford House," the home of Chief Justice Jay for twenty-eight years after he retired from public life, was in process of erection at the time he was called into the diplomatic field, together with numerous other improvements upon his Bedford estate. A large landed property had descended to him through his mother, Mary Van Cortlandt, located in the Bedford region some forty-five miles north of New York City, and about

midway between the Hudson River and Long Island Sound, where they are thirty-one miles apart. The mansion was placed upon an eminence overlooking the whole beautiful rolling region between the two great bodies of water — a landscape varied with sunny slopes, circles of hills, charming valleys, and bits of river peeping through rich foliage. It was not finished and occupied until half a dozen years later. But in 1801 wings were added, one of which, conspicuous through its garment of clambering vines, contained the library; thenceforward to the end of his life the chief justice enjoyed his family, his books, and his friends in this delightful retreat, where notable Europeans sought him as a species of homage to public virtue. It was then a two days' journey from the metropolis, and a mail coach was not seen oftener than once a week.

The mansion is now the summer residence of the grandson of the



"Bedford House."
Home of Chief Justice Jay.

chief justice, Hon. John Jay, late United States Minister to Austria. It has undergone comparatively few alterations. Although railways have cut their way through the country on either hand, it is still four miles from a car-whistle. The estate at the present time comprises at least seven hundred acres. The dwelling is a half-mile from the main road, from which it is reached by a private avenue, winding among forest trees up a gentle elevation, deftly illustrated in the accompanying sketch, and which finally cuts a circle in a wide velvet lawn, and terminates under the shadow of four superb lindens in front of the edifice.

Upon a picturesque wooded height in the rear is a pretty school or

summer-house of stone, which the chief justice[1] built for the use and amusement of his children. His library, twenty-five feet square, with windows on three sides, remains to the present time as originally fash-

[1] The children of Chief Justice John (born December 12, 1745, died May 17, 1829) and Sarah Livingston Jay were: 1. Peter Augustus, born at "Liberty Hall," Elizabethtown, January 24, 1776; 2. Susan, died young; 3. Maria, born at Madrid, Spain, February 20, 1782, married Goldsboro Banyer; 4. Anne, born at Passy, France, August 13, 1783; 5. William, born at New York, June 16, 1789, died 1858; 6. Sarah Louisa, born at New York, February 20, 1792.

Peter Augustus Jay, the eldest son, who was his father's private secretary in London, became a distinguished lawyer of New York, was Recorder of the city, in 1819, served in the Assembly, and was President of the New York Historical Society. He married, in 1807, Mary Rutherford, daughter of General Matthew Clarkson. Their children were: 1. John Clarkson Jay, M. D., married Laura, daughter of Nathaniel Prime; 2. Mary, married Frederick Prime; 3. Sarah, married William Dawson; 4. Helena, married Dr. Henry Augustus Du Bois; 5. Anna Maria, married Henry Evelyn Pierrepont; 6. Peter Augustus, married Josephine Pierson, and their son, Augustus, married Emily, daughter of De Lancey Kane; 7. Elizabeth Clarkson; 8. Matilda, married Matthew Clarkson. Children of Dr. John Clarkson and Laura Prime Jay: 1. Laura, married Charles Pemberton Wurtz; 2. Augustus; 3. John; 4. Mary, married Jonathan Edwards; 5. Cornelia; 6. Peter Augustus, married Julia, daughter of Alfred C. Post; 7. John Clarkson Jay, Jr., M. D., married Harriet, daughter of General Vinton; 8. Alice; 9. Sarah; 10. Matilda.

William Jay, the second son of the chief justice, was distinguished as a jurist, philanthropist, and author. He married Augusta, daughter of John McVickar. Their children were: 1. Augusta, married John Nelson; 2. Maria Banyer, married John F. Butterworth; 3. John Jay, statesman and author; 4. Louisa, married Dr. Alexander M. Bruen; 5. Eliza, married Henry Edward Pellew, of England; 6. William, died young; 7. Augusta, after the death of her sister Eliza, married, at the American Legation, Vienna, May 14, 1873, Henry Edward Pellew. John Jay, born June 23, 1817, late United States Minister to Austria and Hungary, the third child and only surviving son of Judge William Jay, succeeded to the Bedford estate; he married Eleanor Kingsland, daughter of Hickson W. Field. Their children: 1. Eleanor, married Henry Grafton Chapman; 2. William Jay, Colonel U. S. A., born February 12, 1841, married Lucie, daughter of Henry Oelrichs; 3. John, died young; 4. Augusta, married Edmund Randolph Robinson; 5. Mary, married Major William Henry Schieffelin; 6. Anna, married H. E. Lieutenant-General Hans Lothar Von Schweinitz, German ambassador at Vienna, and later at St. Petersburg.

Eve, the sister of Chief Justice John Jay, married Rev. Harry Munro. (See Vol. I. 602, 603.) Frances Jay, the daughter of Augustus Jay, married Frederick Van Cortlandt, whose daughter Eve married Henry White; and their daughter Margaret married Peter Jay Munro; whose daughter Frances was the wife of Bishop De Lancey. (See Vol. I. 552.) Edward N. Bibby married Augusta White, one of the great-granddaughters of Frances Jay. For references to the ancestry of the Jay family, see Vol. I. 696, 697; Vol. II. 163, 164. Through the wife of Augustus Jay, whose mother was the daughter of Govert Loockermans (Vol. I. 137, 138, 251), and through the wife of Peter Jay, one of the distinguished family of Van Cortlandts (Vol. I. 61, 90) whose mother was the daughter of Frederick Philipse (Vol. I. 226, 270, 271, 272), and through the wife of Chief Justice John Jay, who was a Livingston (Vol. I. 275, 319), the careful reader will trace the family thread which connects the past with the present, and brings into review a whole line of public characters, reaching backward to the earliest settlement upon Manhattan Island.

A graphically interesting memoir of the Jay family, with a special sketch of Chief Justice

ioned. One division contains the favorite tomes first placed upon its shelves, weighty folios of Grotius, Puffendorf, Vattel, and other masters of the science of international law, standard theological and miscellaneous works, and the classic authors of antiquity. The table used by the chief justice, and four quaint high-backed chairs which graced Federal Hall in Wall Street while New York was the capital of the nation, lend a peculiar charm to the apartment.

Mrs. Jay, during her husband's absence in Europe, assumed the charge of domestic affairs, assisted occasionally by his nephew, Peter Jay Munro,



Library of Chief Justice Jay, "Bedford House."

and her letters were filled with practical matters, such as particulars of moneys paid in and reinvested in the new national bank, and in stocks, with quotations of their rise, the sale of lands, and the progress of the

Jay, was read in December, 1878, before the "Académie des Belles Lettres, Science, et Arts de La Rochelle," in France, by "Monsieur de Richemond Archeviste de la Charente Inférieure, et Officier de l'Instruction Publique," at their public session, entitled "La Rochelle d'outre mer." The Jay family was described as one whose hospitable mansion had sheltered the first religious reunions of the Protestants of La Rochelle; and the device upon the Jay seal was quoted, "Deo duce perseverandum," as having guided the family in the New World. (See Vol. II. 387.) The paper, while testifying to the interest with which the Academy of Rochelle has followed the course of its former citizen beyond the seas, has added to our knowledge of the family trials in its ancient home "when the last of the five churches of La Rochelle had been demolished, when the Protestants had lost in Colbert their last defender, and when Louvois had let loose the Royal dragoons to wage a war of extermination." — *Family Archives.*

mill and dam, and other improvements on the Bedford estate. In one instance she describes the horses brought to the city by their farmer at Bedford, and relates her experience in finding a man to break them for use before her carriage. "He has undertaken it," she adds, "but he says the coachmen of the city require as much breaking as the horses." The schools of New York, particularly those for girls, were as yet of an indifferent character, and Mrs. Jay placed her two daughters, Maria and Anne, aged twelve and eleven, at the celebrated Moravian school for girls at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, where, it has been said, "were educated a large proportion of the belles who gave the fashionable circles of New York and Philadelphia their inspiration during the last twenty years of the century."

This summer was signalized by an insurrection in the western counties of Pennsylvania; the population scattered thinly over a frontier country was composed largely of foreigners, many of whom were wild and lawless characters — and a great amount of whiskey was distilled in that region. The tax imposed upon domestic spirits in 1791 had been resisted from the first, and in many instances barbarous outrages were perpetrated upon the revenue officers — such as whipping, tarring, and branding. Congress revised the law in 1792, modifying its most obnoxious features, hoping to avoid all reasonable objections, and the general opposition abated. But with the French fever local discontent broke out afresh, and the enemies of the administration attempted to turn the excitement to political advantage, by coupling censures of other measures with declamation against the excise law. In July an armed mob attacked the house of the revenue inspector, General John Neville, one of the Executive Council of Pennsylvania, living near Pittsburg, who defended it so well that the assailants retired to increase their force. The combination swelling to five hundred men, Neville was obliged to fly for his life, and his house, barns, and granaries were burned. The marshal of the district was seized and compelled to enter into stipulations to forbear the execution of his office; and both the inspector and the marshal made their escape down the Ohio and by a circuitous route to the seat of government.

The effect was electrical. Mails were seized, liberty poles erected, seditious hand-bills circulated, armed meetings held, all occupation, even the course of law, was suspended, and the country launched into open rebellion.

An outbreak so violent had not been contemplated by the instigators, who only aimed for the political embarrassment of the government. They were themselves alarmed at the fury of the storm. Several talented men

of great personal popularity, who had hitherto stimulated opposition to the law, exerted their utmost influence to quell the excitement and preserve order. But without avail. As soon as it was discovered that the civil force and local militia were powerless, that the property and even the lives of those who were willing to obey the law were in peril, harsher measures were adopted. "Every circumstance indicates that we must have a contest with those madmen," wrote Wolcott. The President
Aug. 7. issued a proclamation on the 7th of August, commanding the insurgents to disperse before a given time. To prevent bloodshed if possible, commissioners were sent both by the President and Governor Mifflin of Pennsylvania, offering a general amnesty on condition of peaceable submission. The insurrectionary spirit still continuing at its height, the militia assembled with alacrity from the different States at
Sept. 25. the call of the President, and Hamilton, whom nothing could deter from continuing to recommend measures for the support of the public credit, was given the direction of the army.

Committing the management of the Treasury to Wolcott, Hamilton marched into the disorderly country, and fulfilled his task with such prudence and moderation that not one life was sacrificed. Jefferson, from his retirement at Monticello, ridiculed the force employed as greatly disproportioned to the object; but other leading men of the same party who accompanied the army believed that a less force would have proved inadequate. The flight of the principal leader removed the great obstacle to a pacification, and a general submission followed the arrival of the militia. A few arrests were made, and a few obscure persons convicted, who were, however, subsequently pardoned. A small body of troops was left during the winter as a precautionary measure.

The turbulent societies which had adopted the absurdities and extravagances of the French to an almost incredible extent throughout the United States, and were captious about heraldic bearings, and scandalized at the sight of a spread eagle on the coin, and upon the printed acts of Congress, received a deadly blow in the mean while. The remnant of the French Convention, rendered desperate by the ferocious despotism of the Jacobins, sought safety from their wholesale butcheries by confronting danger. Robespierre himself was doomed; the form of trial was quickly enacted, and early in the evening of July 28, the guillotine terminated his existence. Thus fell the Jacobin clubs in France; and as the boldest streams must disappear when their feeders are drained, the Jacobin societies in America sunk into disgrace, as if their destinies were suspended on the same thread.

During Hamilton's absence Wolcott was unremitting in his devotion

to the business of the department, and evinced remarkable capacity for continued hard work. He wrote to his father on the 25th of October: "Europe is hastening to ruin; the Dutch will probably resign themselves to their fate without any great struggle. This I hear in a way which I credit. We have reason to fear the French have reversed the plan of commercial depredation. Several of our vessels trading to the British dominions have been captured and carried into France. We must, however, persist in the idea that we will not engage in the war. Mr. Jay's mission will probably issue favorably, but it is not safe to encourage sanguine expectations." Soon after the opening of the winter session of Congress, Thomas Pinckney was sent to the Spanish Court as envoy extraordinary, to conclude a treaty with that government; thus the prospects of peace were improving, notwithstanding the temper of the Opposition. Oct. 25.

Hamilton had for some time intended retiring from the Treasury, and on the 31st of January, 1795, sent in his resignation. His last official reports comprehended his plans for supporting the public credit on the basis of the actual revenues, and for the improvement of the revenue. The first reviewed all the previous legislation upon the subject of public credit; the last entered at length into the consideration of the objects and principles of taxation generally, and the alterations required in the existing laws. This completed his fiscal system. The assumption of the debt, the creation of a bank, the imposition of a tax, each involving questions of infinite political moment, had been accomplished, and the Treasury could henceforth take its natural level in point of national importance. During the six years since the formation of the new government most of the problems likely to arise had been solved and settled, and a general adherence to the principles thus established was henceforward to be expected. On the 2d of February, Wolcott, who had fully entered into the views of Hamilton, with no favorite schemes to engraft on that which seemed perfect in itself, and well acquainted with the resources of the country, as well as versed in the business of the department, was appointed his successor. 1795. Jan. 31. Feb. 2.

The original Cabinet was thus entirely changed. Knox had already resigned, and been succeeded by Timothy Pickering. Edmund Randolph was the successor of Jefferson in the Department of State, and William Bradford was Attorney-General.

New York was shaken by all these great events. No place in America was so much affected by the changeable affairs and "hypocrisy of morals" in France. No other community watched the movements of Great Britain with deeper interest, or were more sharply divided in opinion

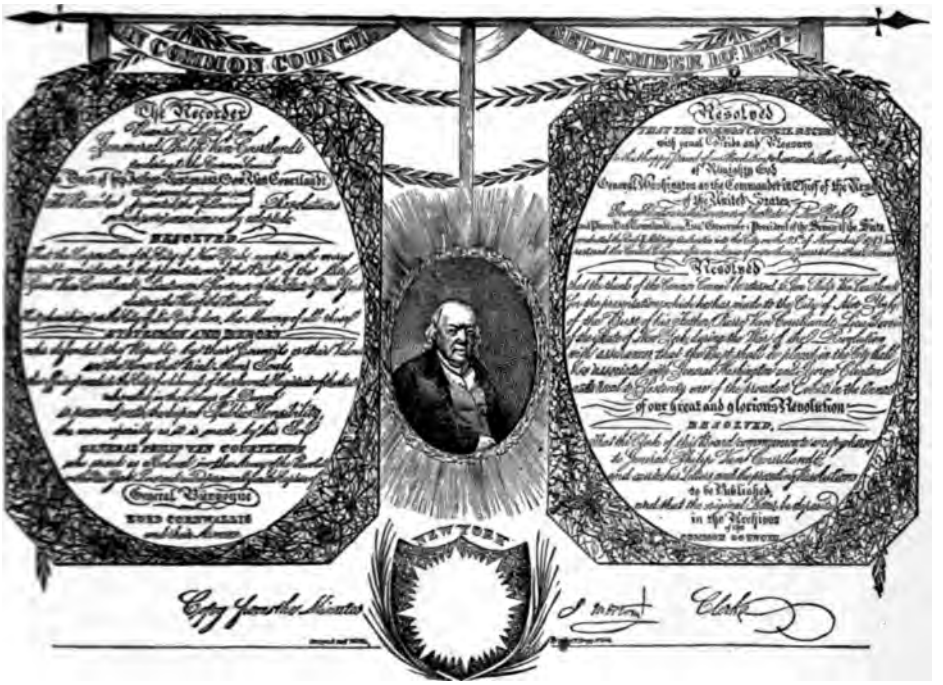
as to what constituted the dignity of a republic in the great emergency. And the merchants of no city were more vitally concerned in all that related to commerce with the different nations of Europe.

The six-year-old government stood firm, a great recognized power among the powers of the world. Internal agitations were to be expected. Jefferson said truly, "The people cannot be all and always well informed; the part which is wrong will be discontented in proportion to the importance of the facts they misconceive." But the massive framework of the structure, skillfully fitted and balanced, awaited developing processes. Ideas might clash regarding its prospective stability, and thousands of architects might rise to declare they could have fashioned it better. Wings, balconies, minarets, pinnacles, domes, and all manner of modern improvements might be added, yet the original achievement would, through it all, be shorn of none of its glory.

Hamilton returned to New York and the practice of law. His first case of importance was a libel suit, in which he submitted his famous definition of a libel, still accepted in the courts. Although an orator by natural gifts, and accustomed to public speaking, this pioneer effort at the bar, even after he had infused life and vigor into the national government with such success, was attended with singular embarrassment. He was actually so overcome with emotion when he arose to deliver his masterly argument, says James Cochrane, who was an eye-witness of the scene, "that he covered his face with his hands, and stood in that attitude before court and jury until the paroxysm passed."[1] He cultivated a warm personal friendship for Talleyrand, recently arrived from France. Dissimilar in many respects, there was much to draw them together. Each had been employed by his respective government in the regulation of national finance, each cherished confirmed opinions concerning the science of popular government, and each had devised a system of public school education.

Rufus King was re-elected in January to the Senate of the United States for the six succeeding years. About the same time Governor George Clinton published an address to the people of New York declining to be a candidate again for the office of governor, which he had filled without interruption since 1777. He said he "withdrew from a situation never solicited by him, with real pleasure"; and that having held for nearly thirty years elective offices, and been compelled to devote almost all of his time to the discharge of the duties connected with them, his health

[1] James Cochrane was the son of Dr. John Cochrane, and not only an ardent admirer and political devotee of Hamilton, but personally intimate through the relationship existing, his mother being the sister of General Schuyler, and he thus the first cousin of Mrs. Hamilton.



Fac-simile of Testimonial from the Corporation of the City of New York.
With portrait of Lieutenant-Governor Pierre Van Cortlandt.
[Original in possession of the family.]

had become impaired, and his private affairs required attention. He thanked his constituents with much feeling for their continued confidence and support during the trying scenes through which he had passed.

Lieutenant-Governor Van Cortlandt at the same time declined re-election on account of advanced age. He had reached his seventy-fifth year.[1]

[1] Lieutenant-Governor Pierre Van Cortlandt (born 1721, died 1814) was the grandson of the first lord of the manor, Hon. Stephanus Van Cortlandt, and the great-grandson of Oloff S. Van Cortlandt, the founder of the family in America. (See Vol. I. 90, 277, 278, 606.) Through his mother, Catharine De Peyster, he was the grandson of Treasurer Abraham De Peyster, and the great-grandson of the founder of the De Peyster family in America. (See Vol. I. 225, 226, 420, 421.) And through his grandmother, the famous Gertrude Schuyler, he was the great-grandson of the founder of the Schuyler family in America. (See Vol. I. 153, 154.) He married his second cousin, Joanna Livingston, born 1722, the daughter of Gilbert and Cornelia Beekman Livingston, and granddaughter of Robert, the first lord of Livingston manor, the founder of the Livingston family in America. Their children were : 1. Philip, the general, born 1749, never married ; 2 Catharine, born 1751, married Abraham Van Wyck ; 3. Cornelia, born 1753, married Gerard G. Beekman, Jr. ; 4. Gertrude, born 1755, died unmarried ; 5. Gilbert, born 1757 ; 6. Stephen, born 1760 ; 7. Pierre, born 1762, married first Catharine Clinton, daughter of George Clinton, second, Ann Stephenson ; 8. Ann, born 1776, married Philip Van Rensselaer, the Albany mayor, only brother of Lieutenant-Governor Stephen Van Rensselaer, the patroon. — *Family Archives.*

Side by side with Governor Clinton for eighteen successive years, he had given his time and strength to the administration of the new State government. Clinton being necessarily much absorbed in military duties, Van Cortlandt had been left chief executive officer and civil magistrate a greater portion of the period of the war. Peace returning, he presided over the Senate, and with such dignity and sound judgment that he was deservedly popular. He was the fifth son of Philip and Catharine De Peyster Van Cortlandt (double cousin of the mother of Chief Justice Jay), and by the death of his elder brother heir-at-law to the manorial estates. His lofty character was illustrated by the disdain with which he rejected the offer of royal favor, and safety to his property, if he would cease opposition to the crown, made by Governor Tryon on the occasion of a personal visit to the manor-house at Croton Landing just before the outbreak of hostilities. Van Cortlandt's services in the New York Congress, Convention, and Committee of Safety, and his example of undismayed faithfulness when driven from his estates, and while adverse clouds darkened the entire horizon, were of priceless value to the American cause. He was one of the thirty-eight patriots who ratified the Declaration of Independence — on horseback — at White Plains on the 9th of July, 1776; and from October of the same year, when elected vice-president of the Convention, was almost the sole presiding officer of that heroic body until it completed its labors. Few men of his time inspired a higher degree of confidence and respect among all classes in the State of New York.



General Philip Van Cortlandt.
[Copy of rare miniature in possession of Pierre Cortlandt Van Wyck.]

The eldest son of the lieutenant-governor, General Philip Van Cortlandt,[1] was at this time a member of Congress, having been elected in

[1] General Philip Van Cortlandt (born 1749, died unmarried at the Van Cortlandt manor-house, November 21, 1831) was one of the Commissioners of Forfeitures for the counties of Westchester, Richmond, Kings, Queens, and Suffolk; he was the first Supervisor of the town of Cortlandt in 1788, a member of the New York Assembly from 1788 to 1790, and of the Senate from 1791 to 1794, at which time he took his seat in Congress, until 1809. He was a member of the New York Convention which adopted the Constitution of the United States, and in 1812 was an elector for President. He was also one of the original members of the Cincinnati, and its first treasurer. When the war broke out he burned his commission of Major in the "Tryon Guards" of the manor of Cortlandt, and was elected to the Provincial Convention which met in New York City, in defiance of the established government, to choose delegates to the Continental Congress. He was shortly after appointed Lieutenant-Colonel in the American army, and served fearlessly and nobly through the war; for his gallantry at

1793; and he continued to represent his district in that body for sixteen successive years, until he declined re-election. His personal resemblance to Lafayette, with whom he was on terms of intimacy, and whom he accompanied through the United States on his memorable tour in 1824, was remarked by all who knew him, and on one occasion was turned to decided advantage. At a large reception Lafayette, wearied with hand-

Yorktown he was made a brigadier-general. Many of the striking incidents in his career are revealed through his private correspondence, to which the author has had access. In the spring of 1776 he was on duty at Ticonderoga, and member of a court-martial for the trial of Moses Hazen, charged by Benedict Arnold with disobedience of orders. "I remained," he wrote, "long enough to discover the vile conduct of Arnold in procuring a vast quantity of goods from the merchants of Montreal, which he intended for, and which, I believe, was appropriated to his own use. For this, and also for improper conduct before the court, he would have been arrested himself, but escaped by procuring an order from General Gates, to send me, the morning after the court adjourned, to Schenesborough (Whitehall) by which means the court was dissolved and Arnold escaped." Being one of the court-martial convened in Philadelphia in 1780 (see Vol. II. 236) for the trial of Arnold, in connection with four other officers who had served on the Hazen trial, he wrote: "We voted for cashiering him, but were overruled by a sentence of reprimand. Had they all known what we knew, he would have been dismissed the service." Van Cortlandt adopted his nephew, Philip Gilbert Van Wyck (elder brother of Pierre Cortlandt Van Wyck, recorder of the city as mentioned in note, p. 86), son of Abraham and Catharine Van Cortlandt Van Wyck, to whom he left the great bulk of his property by will. Philip Gilbert Van Wyck married Mary Gardiner, descendant of the first lord of the manor of Gardiner's Island. Their children were: 1. Joanna Livingston Van Wyck; 2. Catharine, married Rev. Stephen H. Battin; 3. Philip Van Cortlandt, died unmarried; 4. Eliza, married William Van Ness Livingston; 5. Gardiner, died unmarried; 6. Fanny Van Rensselaer, married Judge Alexander Wells, whose only daughter, Gertrude, married Schuyler Hamilton, Jr., great-grandson of Alexander Hamilton; 7. Pierre Cortlandt Van Wyck.

The father of Abraham Van Wyck, who married Catharine Van Cortlandt, was Theodorus, of the fifth generation. Catharine Van Wyck, ... of the sisters of Abraham, married the ... celebrated Rev. Dr. John Mason; Mary, ... ster of Dr. Theodorus Van Wyck of the Provin- ... al Convention, married Hon. Zephaniah Platt; ... and Altie, another sis- ter, married Colonel ... Bailey, one of whose daughters, Eliza- ... th, married the dis- tinguished jurist, Hon. ... James Kent, and an- other, Esther, married ... n R. Bleecker of Albany; Mary, daugh- ... of the latter, married Hon. Horatio Seymour, ... governor of New York. The branches of ... Van Wyck family are very numerous, con- ... ting a substantial element of the popula- ... and are connected with other notable New ... families through- out the State. The Van ... of Holland are an aristocratic family, ... to bear the same coat of arms as ... brought by the Van Wycks to America upwards of two centuries ago.



Van Wyck Arms.

shaking, suddenly disappeared, leaving Van Cortlandt as his substitute to receive the greetings of the multitude, who, not discovering the change, went away satisfied with having, as supposed, grasped the hand of the French nobleman and patriot. Van Cortlandt's portrait, copied from a rare little miniature painted about the close of the Revolution, reveals to the curious reader traces of that extraordinary likeness to Lafayette which misled the enthusiastic crowd. His younger brother, Pierre, succeeded to the manor-house property at Croton Landing, of whom mention will be made upon a future page.

Stephen, the elder brother of Lieutenant-Governor Van Cortlandt, was a loyalist; his son Philip, who married Catharine Ogden, was an officer in the British army. That branch of the family retired to England, where their descendants are connected with some of the best families in the kingdom. The granddaughter of Stephen Van Cortlandt married Clement Clark Moore, son of Bishop Moore.

The interesting question of selecting candidates for the two important offices of governor and lieutenant-governor at once occupied attention. The nomination of governor was tendered to Hamilton, to whom the freedom of the city was also awarded after his return from Philadelphia, but he positively declined. Jay was in England. His business, however, was approaching completion. Negotiations had prospered under the conduct of Lord Grenville, with the favor of the king, and a treaty was already signed. "Various rumors are circulated respecting Mr. Jay's return to this country," wrote Rufus King in March. "Those who wish his election as governor of the State expect him in the spring, certainly before the month of July." In the mean time he received the nomination for governor, and Stephen Van Rensselaer, the patroon, for lieutenant-governor.

Congress adjourned on the 3d of March. Four days later the famous treaty was received, and submitted to a quorum of the Senate convened for the purpose, Vice-President Adams in the chair. Such was the state of party feeling, that the mere intelligence of the arrival of the treaty, even while its provisions were undivulged, lashed the Opposition into a fury. Some of the newspapers denounced the President as no statesman, hardly a soldier, called him a "tool of England," declared boldly that he had drawn money fraudulently from the Treasury, and said, "If the influence of a treaty is added to the influence Great Britain already has in our government, we shall be colonized anew." Not this particular treaty, but any treaty with Great Britain was clearly under condemnation. "A republic should form no connection with a monarch," was the cry.

Until the question of its ratification should be duly considered, pro-

priety required that the contents of the treaty should remain a secret with the administration, especially as it had not been published in England. But the Opposition seized upon what little they could learn of it to excite public distrust. Meanwhile, at the April election in New York John Jay was elected governor of the State by a large majority over the opposing candidate, Robert Yates — chief justice of the Supreme Court of New York from 1790 to 1798 — and Stephen Van Rensselaer was elected lieutenant-governor. The Federalists also obtained a majority in both houses of the Legislature. The result of the state canvass was declared on the 26th of May. Two days afterward Chief Justice Jay arrived from the court of England. He was welcomed in the most noisy and joyful manner, all the bells in the city mingling with the roar of cannon, and conducted to his house from the wharf by an excited multitude eager to testify their gratitude for his successful mission of peace. May 26.

Alas! this popular applause was quickly succeeded by a whirlwind of the most unqualified abuse. Every effort was made to impeach the character of the great jurist; he was called an "arch-traitor," accused of perfidy and double dealing, and of kneeling in idolatry to the enemy of France. He took the oath of governor of the State of New York on the 1st of July, having previously resigned his high seat on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States. The following day a Virginia senator, regardless of official decorum, sent a copy of the treaty, still under discussion in the Senate, with closed doors, to the editor of a Philadelphia newspaper, who prematurely printed it in full. A pile of combustibles was ready for the torch, composed of French emigrants devoted to their cause, general malcontents who were persuaded that a war with England would be a relief, Western settlers who wanted the navigation of the Mississippi, Pennsylvanians who were seeking the abolition of the excise laws, refugees of every class from all nations, who through their crimes or desperate fortunes "had taken refuge in patriotism," and men and classes disappointed in ambitious projects, and who were aggrieved, or fancied themselves so, by the operation of various measures, and an explosion immediately followed. A mob collected in Philadelphia on the 4th of July, and paraded the streets bearing aloft the effigy of John Jay, with a pair of scales in his hand, labeled on one side "American Liberty and Independence," on the other "British gold," while from the mouth of the figure proceeded the words, "Come up to my price and I will sell you my country," which was publicly burned. Meetings were held in every part of the country denouncing the treaty. In New York one was convened in the open air in Wall Street, and Hamilton and Rufus King upon the balcony of Federal Hall undertook its defense. A July 1. July 2.

shower of stones was leveled at them by the exasperated multitude. "These are hard arguments to encounter," said Hamilton, smiling. The party, after adopting violent resolutions against the treaty, marched with the American and French colors flying to the Bowling Green, in front of the new government house, the residence of Governor Jay, and with demoniac shouts burned the treaty. At an adjourned meeting a committee of fifteen, with Brockholst Livingston, Mrs. Jay's brother, chairman, reported twenty-eight condemnatory resolutions. A counter-current led to a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce, of which Comfort Sands was the president, where resolutions of approval were adopted.[1]

Jay entered into no defense of either himself or his treaty. "God governs the world," he said, "and we have only to do our duty wisely, and leave the issue to him." On the 11th he responded to a letter from Major-General Henry Lee, saying: "The treaty is as it is; and the time will certainly come when it will universally receive exactly that degree of condemnation or censure which, to candid and enlightened minds, it shall appear to deserve." Hammond writes, "It would be unjust to accuse the great body of reflective republicans of participating in or even approving the outrages that were perpetrated." But Fisher Ames declared that the passions of the crazy multitude were scarcely more deadly to public order than the theories of philosophers. "Our Federal ship is near foundering in a mill-pond," he wrote on the 9th.

[1] Comfort Sands (born 1748, died 1834) was descended from James Sands (born 1622), of Reading, Berkshire, England, who came to Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1658, and in 1660, in company with others, bought Block Island from the Indians, and removed there the following year. His son John married Sibyl Ray, and resided at Sand's Point, Long Island. His son John had also a son John (married Elizabeth Cornwell), the father of Comfort. The latter was a prominent merchant in New York City, and an active patriot throughout the war; he was a member of the New York Congresses, and auditor-general of public accounts from 1776 to 1781. He married, 1. Sarah, daughter of Wilkie Dodge; 2. Cornelia, daughter of Abraham Lott. His son Joseph, of the great banking-house of Prime, Ward, & Sands, married Marie Therese Kamflin, the ceremony being performed at Paris by Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun, in 1782. His daughter Cornelia married the banker, Nathaniel Prime, whose children have intermarried with the Hoffmans, Jays, Costers, Rays, and other prominent New York families. Richardson Sands, brother of Comfort Sands, born 1754, married Lucretia, daughter of John Ledyard, who after his death married General Ebenezer Stevens; his only son, Austin Ledyard Sands, was a well-known merchant of New York, who died in 1859. The sons of Austin Ledyard Sands: 1. Samuel Stevens Sands, married the daughter of Benjamin Aymar, whose son, Samuel Stevens Sands, Jr., married, April 6, 1880, Annie, second daughter of Oliver Harriman; 2. Austin L. Sands, M. D., of Newport; 3. William R. Sands, married Mary Gardiner, daughter of Hon. Samuel B. Gardiner, proprietor of Gardiner's Island; 4. Andrew H. Sands. Joshua Sands, younger brother of Comfort Sands, was a State senator from 1792 to 1799; member of Congress in 1805 and in 1825; Collector of the port of New York from 1797 to 1801; and a large real estate owner in Brooklyn. His granddaughter married Hon. Rodman Price, governor of New Jersey from 1854 to 1857. His son Joshua, rear-admiral in the U. S. N., married the daughter of John Stevens of Hoboken. — *Haldane.*

When the treaty was conditionally ratified by the Senate, a howl was raised against the Constitution, because it provided that senators should hold place six years. Threats of coercing the President into a veto were audibly uttered. Some talked of "bringing John Jay to trial and to justice," and a few violent agitators even went so far as to lament the want of a guillotine. Grave, weighty, conspicuous men, who had hitherto been well affected towards the administration, and not a few who had been leading Federalists, were among the opponents of the treaty. While Washington delayed his decision, he was showered with remonstrances and invectives. The treaty was by no means all that he desired. Its commercial adjustments were mutilated by the restrictive policy then prevailing. In 1783 the American commissioners at Paris, in their negotiation with David Hartley, endeavored in vain to induce the British Cabinet to open the ports of their West India colonies. The policy of the European powers in monopolizing the trade of their colonies seemed to be immovably established. Even France in her treaty of 1778 granted no share of her colonial trade to her new and cherished allies; and from the colonies of Spain all foreign vessels were rigidly excluded. England, moreover, was in a deadly war with France. Peace might change the possession of many islands and countries. It was hardly to be expected that she would, at such a juncture, depart from the exclusive system to which long habit and common opinion had strongly attached her. So sensible had been the President of the obstacles which Jay would encounter, that he instructed him to ask for the "privilege" of carrying on this trade in vessels of "certain defined burdens." Jay's task had not been an easy one. He had succeeded in obtaining a partial relaxation of the colonial monopoly, but it was only on certain conditions and securities; and he was obliged to decide whether, under all the circumstances, it was most advisable to reject or accept them. If he rejected them, the United States would lose what England was ready to concede, reciprocal and perfect liberty of commerce with the British dominions in Europe and the East Indies — which has since proved a source of vast wealth to the country; also the abandonment of the western posts. It was impossible to negotiate in regard to these posts without encountering the complaints of Great Britain relative to the debts — a subject excessively offensive to the debtors in the various States. The treaty provided for the rights of neutrals, and agreed that the citizens of one country should not enter into the service of a foreign power, to fight against the other; and such as accepted foreign commissions for arming vessels as privateers against either of the parties might, if taken, be treated as pirates. The article declaring that neither debts due from individuals of one nation to

individuals of the other, nor money which they might have in the public funds or in public or private banks, should ever, in any event of war or national differences, be sequestered or confiscated, created, for reasons obvious to every student of history, more wrath than all the others combined.

Jay was not himself satisfied with the treaty as a whole, but had written from London, "I have no reason to believe or conjecture that one more favorable to us is attainable." He furthermore said: "Difficulties which retarded its accomplishment frequently had the appearance of being insurmountable. They at last yielded to modifications, and to that mutual disposition to agreement which reconciled Lord Grenville and myself to an unusual degree of trouble and application. They who have leveled uneven ground know how little of the work afterward appears."

Hamilton was displeased with some of the provisions of the treaty, and thought "valuable alterations" might be made in the 13th article, and perhaps in others. At the same time he told its enemies that a trade which was increasing at a rapid rate despite annoyances should not be sacrificed to a war with Great Britain, except for the most urgent reasons.[1] In reply to Brockholst Livingston, who assailed the treaty through the press as "Decius," he wrote numerous articles under the signature of "Camillus." So much was Jefferson alarmed at the force of Hamilton's reasoning, that he begged Madison "for God's sake" to take up his pen, there being no one able to meet that Federal champion, whom he described as "really a Colossus to the anti-Republican party. He is a host within himself. His adversaries having begun the attack, he has the advantage of answering them, and remains unanswered himself."[2]

Aug. 15. On the 15th of August the President, with a moral independence which posterity will never cease to admire, signed the treaty, in accordance with the advice and consent of the Senate; and notwithstanding the House threatened to nullify the act, and for two weeks was the scene of an exhibition of eloquence never probably exceeded either before or since in the American Congress, the great body of the merchants, and of the more judicious and reflecting portion of the people came to the conclusion that his course was that of consummate wisdom.

The immediate effect of the treaty was to avert a war from which the United States could have derived no possible advantage which the treaty did not secure. And, with one exception, the treaty removed every existing obstacle to the continuance of peace between the two countries. This exception was the right claimed by Great Britain to impress her

[1] The exports had risen in five years from nineteen millions annually, to forty-eight millions. — *Hildreth's History of the United States.*

[2] *Jefferson to Madison*, September 21, 1795.

own seamen, when found on board neutral merchant-vessels at sea; a claim which a subsequent war and treaty failed to extinguish.

Twelve days before the President ratified the treaty the troublesome and expensive contest with the Northwestern Indians was brought to a satisfactory conclusion, by terms of peace duly signed at Fort Greenville, where Anthony Wayne met the chiefs of the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanoes, Ottawas, Chippewas, Potawatomies, Miamis, Weéas, Kickapoos, Piankoshaws, Kaskaskias, and Eel River Indians. The Indians ceded sixteen detached portions of territory, which included the post of Detroit, that at the foot of the Maumee Rapids, and Chicago at the mouth of the Illinois River, with several other sites of forts or trading-houses, still in possession of the British, but which were to be surrendered under Jay's treaty. In return the Indians were promised presents to the amount of $20,000; also an annual allowance to the value of $9,500. But the Southern frontier, through frequent bloody outrages, was to remain nearly another year in a state of inquietude: on the 29th of June, 1796, a treaty was finally concluded between the President and the Creek Indians.

Swiftly following these events, Pinckney's special mission to Spain resulted in settling the long-disputed question of Spanish boundary and the navigation of the Mississippi. The treaty with that power was signed in October. Before the end of November a treaty had been arranged between the United States and the Dey of Algiers through the efforts of Colonel Humphreys, in addition to a recognition of the former treaty with Morocco, obtained from the new sovereign. And when Congress assembled in December the President in his opening speech presented a pleasing view of the prosperity of the country: "Every part of the Union displays indications of rapid and various improvement, and exhibits a spectacle of national happiness never surpassed, if ever before equaled."

Immediately after the President affixed his name to Jay's treaty, Randolph resigned the post of Secretary of State under circumstances of a peculiar character. Washington had gone to Mount Vernon in July for a few weeks' rest. Hammond, the British Minister, had recently married one of the beautiful daughters of Andrew Allen of Philadelphia, and was residing at his country-seat near the city; he sent an invitation to Secretary Wolcott to dine with him on Sunday, the 26th of July, which was accepted. "I found the company," wrote Wolcott, "to consist of Mr. Hammond's family, Mr. Strickland, an English gentleman, Mr. Thornton, the late secretary of the British legation, and Mr. Andrew Allen of Philadelphia." Before dinner, Hammond took Wolcott aside

and communicated the fact of having received from Lord Grenville an intercepted letter of M. Fauchet, the French Minister to his government. The package of dispatches had been thrown overboard from a French packet on the approach of an English vessel, and rescued from the water by a sailor who plunged in after them. After dining the gentlemen adjourned to a private room, and the celebrated letter was read aloud in English. The information it contained was highly interesting — and an extensive superstructure of inferences was erected thereupon by the lively fancy of the French Minister. The whole political situation of the two parties in America was indeed reviewed either at length, or by reference to former dispatches. Allusions to "precious confessions" of Randolph concerning the policy of the Opposition to overthrow the administration excited grave comment. One clause pointed towards a cabal in New York which, aided by the British Minister, was devising measures to destroy Governor Clinton, Randolph, M. Fauchet, and others. The following paragraph seemed to bristle with significance: "Two or three days before the proclamation was published, and of course before the Cabinet had resolved on its measures, Mr. Randolph came to see me with an air of great eagerness, and made me the overtures of which I have given you an account in my Number Six. Thus with some thousands of dollars the Republic could have decided on civil war or peace! Thus the consciences of the pretended patriots of America already have their prices!"

Wolcott, accompanied by Secretary Pickering, visited Attorney-General Bradford, who was ill at his country-house, on the 29th; and after an interchange of opinions, a letter was written to the President requesting his return to Philadelphia. He reached the city August 11, and the same evening the whole matter was placed in his hands. His subsequent course, and the scene when, in the presence of the other members of the Cabinet, his Secretary of State was asked to read the letter of the French Minister, are familiar to every reader of American history. Randolph hastened to Newport, where M. Fauchet was about to sail for France, having been superseded by M. Adet, and before the year ended published a pamphlet in vindication of his conduct, which was so offensive to Washington that he made no effort to conceal his intense indignation.

In the midst of the political commotions of the summer a British frigate entered New York Harbor with several cases of yellow fever on board. The disease spread rapidly through the city, and although great numbers of the citizens fled in dismay to country-places, seven hundred and thirty-two deaths occurred. The people of Philadelphia, through Mayor Matthew Clarkson, remitted seven thousand dollars

1795.

to the distressed inhabitants of the metropolis.[1] The new almshouse, completed this year in Chambers Street, was of special use in the emergency, and was shortly reported to contain six hundred and twenty-two paupers.

In his last annual message to the Legislature of New York, Governor Clinton recommended an endowment for common schools throughout the State. He had been ex-officio Regent and Chancellor of the University ever since its foundation, and was deeply impressed with the importance of utilizing every possible agency for the diffusion of knowledge. Liberal provisions had been made for the establishment of colleges and the higher seminaries of learning, but legislative aid was yet to be afforded to that portion of the community without the pale of such institutions.[2] An act was accordingly passed in April appropriating an annual sum of fifty thousand dollars for five years to the maintenance of common schools in the various towns of the State. 1795.

The first edifice for the accommodation of the New York Society Library — the earliest loan library in America — was completed this year in Nassau Street, corner of Cedar. The site purchased, a lot thirty feet wide and of irregular depth, was part of the garden of Joseph Winter's mansion; and the tree hovering in the shadow of the building, as shown in the sketch, was a luxuriant apricot, which, with the grapery peeping above the brick wall, belonged to his domain. Our illustration is from a faithful representation of the building by the venerable father of American wood-engraving, Dr. Alexander Anderson, who executed it in 1818, for *The Picture of New York*, a little guide-book by Goodrich. The structure was imposing, considering its purpose and the time of its erection. It was built of brown stone, with three quarter Corinthian columns, resting on a projecting basement, with ornamental iron balustrades forming a favorite balcony. The interior was fashioned with a flight of stairs in the center leading to an oblong room on the second floor lighted with three tall windows at each end, having a gallery, and

[1] During the prevalence of the yellow fever in Philadelphia in the summer of 1792, the corporation of New York City gave $5,000 to the distressed citizens of the Quaker City, and the Bank of New York loaned them considerable sums of money at five per cent. — *Goodrich's Chronological Picture of New York.*

[2] The earliest application to the Regents of the University for the incorporation of an academy for classical instruction was from Rev. Dr. Samuel Buel, Nathaniel Gardiner, and David Mulford, of Easthampton, where a school had been supported by the people ever since the settlement of the town. The academy building was erected in 1784. Rev. Dr. Buel was the celebrated pastor of the Easthampton Church. (See Vol. I. 596.) David Mulford (born 1754, died 1799, married Rachel Gardiner) was the son of Colonel David and Phœbe Hunting Mulford, one of the leading men of Easthampton, and executor of the estate of David Gardiner, sixth lord of the manor of Gardiner's Island, and a direct descendant of Judge John Mulford, one of the first settlers of Easthampton. — *Mulford Genealogy.*

bookcases on every side protected by wire doors. The society numbered nearly one thousand members, comprising the leading citizens of all occupations, and the collection of books removed from a room on the upper floor of Federal Hall to their new home in June embraced about five thousand volumes.[1]

When the war began the books of the Society, four thousand or more, disappeared, and were supposed by many persons to have been destroyed. No meeting was held for the transaction of business or the choice of trustees during the whole fourteen years from 1774 to 1788. In December of the last-mentioned year, however, a movement was instituted which resulted in the election of twelve trustees, Chancellor Livingston, Robert Watts, Brockholst Livingston, Samuel Jones, Walter Rutherford, Matthew Clarkson, Peter Ketteltas, Samuel Bard, Hugh Gaine, Daniel Crommelin Verplanck, Edward Griswold, and Henry Remsen, all gentlemen of education and culture. The reader will observe that three of the original trustees of the institution, Robert R. Livingston, John Watts, and William Livingston, were represented in the organization of 1788 by their sons. Henceforward the society prospered. Rare and useful works, long since selected from the English standard literature, by the De Lanceys, Alexanders, Livingstons, and others, were exhumed from places where they had been lodged for safe-keeping, and, together with valuable newspaper files from 1726, restored to the uses for which they were intended, and handed down to



New York Society Library Building, 1795.
[Corner Nassau and Cedar Streets.]

[1] At a meeting of trustees, May 7, 1754, it was voted that every member bring in a list of such books as he might judge most proper for the first purchase. At a meeting, September 11, 1754, pending the arrival of books ordered from London, resolutions were adopted concerning a library-room in the city hall, and John Watts, William Livingston, and William P. Smith were appointed to carry them into effect. The minutes show that invoices of books, larger or smaller, were added to the library in 1755, 1756, 1758, 1761, 1763, and 1765. The original subscription roll in 1754 comprised about one hundred and forty names.

this generation. The library continued to increase in size and importance, and dispensed the benefits of its literary treasures in a quiet and unobtrusive manner, until the advancing tide of commerce in 1836 forced it to seek a more suitable locality in Broadway, corner of Leonard Street.

The neighborhood of the new Library was crowded with objects of interest. Antique churches with moss-grown roofs and grassy graveyards might be seen from every window, not least among which was the quaint specimen of Holland architecture opposite, the Middle Dutch Church, open every Sunday to devout worshipers, but in course of years to be converted into a great city post-office. Dwelling-houses and gardens, stores and blacksmith-shops, trailing vines, rose-bushes, wood-sawing paraphernalia, and the carts from which drinking water was retailed for so much per gallon, were like familiar spirits. Hickory wood was the principal article of fuel. Each citizen attended to the sweeping of the street in front of his house twice a week; and in the evening the principal thoroughfares were lighted with oil-lamps. Milkmen, with yokes on their shoulders from which tin cans were suspended, traversed the city in the early morning, shouting in language unmistakable to mortal ears, "Milk, ho!" And negro boys went their rounds at daybreak seeking chimneys to sweep.

Slavery still existed in New York. Every family of any pretension to affluence owned household and other servants. In all the newspapers of the period were advertisements of sales, and of runaway slaves. Many high-minded persons wished to see it abolished. As early as 1785 "The Society for promoting the Manumission of Slaves, and protecting such of them as have been or may be liberated" was formed, with John Jay its president. A school was about the same time established for negro children. Writing to a similar Society formed in England in 1788, Jay said, "Manumissions daily become more common among us; and the treatment which slaves in general meet with in this State is very little different from that of other servants." Jay himself owned slaves. In 1798, in furnishing an account of his taxable property, he accompanied his list of slaves with the observation: "I purchase slaves, and manumit them at proper ages, and when their faithful services shall have afforded a reasonable retribution." When Jay as Governor of New York made his first speech to the Legislature, he recommended the establishment of a penitentiary, for the employment and reformation of criminals, and a plan of internal improvements for multiplying the means of travel through the State; and in accordance with his wishes a bill was early introduced for the gradual abolition of slavery. But on the ques- 1796. Jan. 6.

tion of compensation, upon which the slaveholders insisted, the bill, after a prolonged and exciting debate, was lost in the Assembly by a vote of thirty-two to thirty.

Opposition to the Jay treaty broke out afresh upon the return, in February, of the instrument ratified by Great Britain. The President proclaimed it as the supreme law of the land, and sent a copy to the House. Both parties were roused by its appearance for a determined struggle. Congress had previously threatened to decline to concur in the legislation necessary to carry out its provisions. The first movement came from the Republicans. Edward Livingston, younger brother of Chancellor Livingston, the recently elected member from New York, offered a resolution that the President be requested to lay before the House a copy of his instructions to Jay, and the correspondence and other documents relating to the treaty. On the 7th he modified his proposition by adding the words: "Excepting such of the said papers as any existing negotiation may render improper to be disclosed." Livingston relied upon one clause in the Constitution which he interpreted as vesting power in Congress to carry the treaty into execution or not, as the case might demand. The other side relied upon the clause expressly vesting in the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, the power to make treaties, and thought the House had no discretion only as to the method of raising and paying the money.

March 2.

The debate lasted a fortnight. After some thirty speeches on either side, Livingston's resolution was carried by the decisive vote of sixty-two to thirty-seven.

March 24.

Washington, with the unanimous approval of his Cabinet, then decided that the House had no right to demand the papers in question, and that due regard for the authority of the Presidential office seemed to require that such an assumption of power should be met at once by an explicit refusal. No pretense could be set up that the papers contained anything which the government was afraid to show, for they had already been communicated to Livingston as chairman of a committee on impressments, and to other prominent men of the Opposition. The President therefore addressed a message to the House on the 30th, positively declining to accede to the call for executive papers.

March 30.

The resentment was excessive. It was an act causing an amount eloquent vituperation which it would be difficult to describe. Other ness claimed attention, and it was the middle of April before the er of the British treaty was formally reached. Madison assailed it illiant speech on the 15th of April, and held out the prospect of g another and a better treaty by further negotiations. "I should

like to see the gentleman from Virginia, wrapped up in his mantle of doubts and problems, going on a mission to London to clear up this business," exclaimed Coit of Connecticut, with biting sarcasm. Albert Gallatin, in a vigorous and effective strain of eloquence, said it was fear that had originated the treaty and was now attempting to force the House to carry it into effect. Such a sentiment, uttered by a very youthful looking man — he was then thirty-five — with a foreign accent, was too much for the patience of some of the Federal members. Uriah Tracy sprang to his feet and vehemently declared, while answering Gallatin's chief arguments, that he "never could feel thankful to any gentleman for coming all the way from Geneva in Switzerland to accuse Americans of pusillanimity." Half a dozen of the Opposition called Tracy to order in sudden excitement and confusion. But Speaker Muhlenburg pronounced him in order, and directed him to go on. Tracy begged pardon for any impropriety into which the heat of debate might have carried him, and disclaimed all intention of being personal. The great speech, however, in favor of the treaty was by Fisher Ames, after the debate had been prolonged two weeks. He had been ill, and absent through most of the session. Rising from his seat, pale, feeble, and hardly able to stand, he pronounced the famous oration, which for comprehensive knowledge of human nature and of the springs of political action, for caustic ridicule, keen argument, and pathetic eloquence, has seldom been equaled on the floor of Congress. "I shall be asked," he said, "why a treaty so good in some articles and so harmless in others has met with such unrelenting opposition? Certainly a foresight of its pernicious operation could not have created all the fears that have been felt or affected. The alarm spread faster than the publication. The treaty had more critics than readers. The movements of passion are quicker than the understanding. Have we not heard it urged against our envoy that he was not ardent enough in his hatred of Great Britain? Let everything be granted we ask, and a treaty with that nation would still be obnoxious. Let us be explicit. This country thirsted not merely for reparation, but for vengeance. Such passions seek nothing, and will be content with nothing, but the destruction of their object. If a treaty left King George his island, it would not answer, not if he stipulated to pay rent for it." April 28.

While this struggle was rending Congress, and the constitutional treaty-making power of the President and the Senate was quivering in the balance, the country became thoroughly awakened, and demonstrations in favor of the execution of the treaty in many places indicated a change in the tide of public sentiment. Merchants and property-holders

could not remain blind to the danger of a collision with Great Britain. Petitions poured in from New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, and elsewhere for a cessation of hostilities to the treaty. Public meetings were held in numberless towns and cities, and resolutions passed to sustain the administration. The question was to have been taken in the House immediately after Ames's speech; but, dreading the effect it might produce, the Opposition carried an amendment. The next day three more speeches for the treaty were delivered, but no one attempted to answer Ames. The Opposition had hitherto claimed a majority of ten. In the course of the debate this claim dwindled to six. The vote, when taken, stood forty-nine to forty-nine. The responsibility was thus thrown upon Speaker Muhlenburg, who voted with the Federalists that it "was expedient to pass the laws necessary for carrying the treaty into effect." Only four New England members voted against it; and from the States south of the Potomac only four votes were cast in its favor. Thus the tempest subsided, and a peaceful and profitable intercourse with Great Britain for ten years longer was secured.

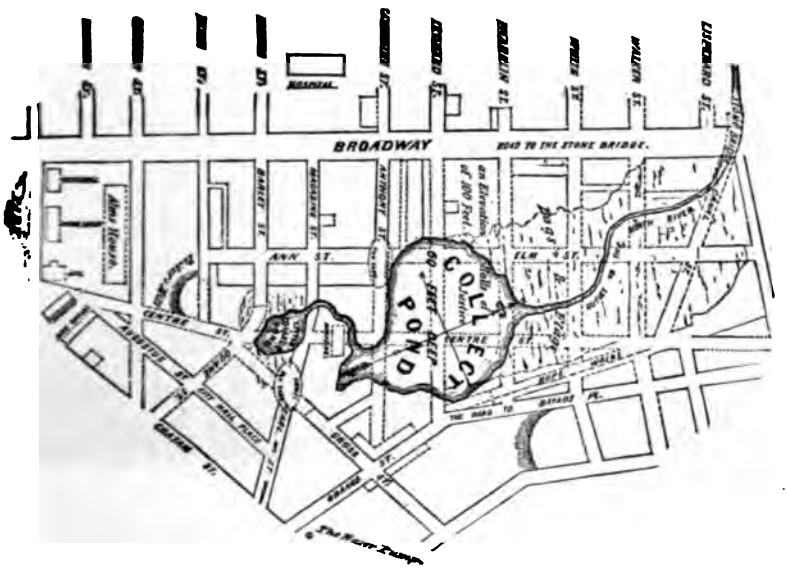
Edward Livingston was the mover of an ameliorating system of penal law during this session, but no action was taken. "He teems with holy indignation against fraud," wrote Chauncey Goodrich. An act was passed for the discharge, on taking the poor debtor's oath, of prisoners held for debt on civil process from the United States courts, in which Livingston was chiefly instrumental; and he was unceasing in his efforts for the relief and protection of impressed seamen.

An attempt in Pennsylvania to imitate the appropriation made by New York for the support of public schools was opposed and defeated by the Quakers and members of some other religious sects, on the ground that while supporting schools of their own they should not be taxed for the benefit of other people. They argued that the religious uniformity made a system of public schools possible in New England, whereas, the same plan undertaken in the mixed condition of the population of Pennsylvania would be equivalent to no religious instruction, or heathenism.

About the same time the twelfth annual report of the Regents of the University of New York was presented to the Speaker of the Assembly, William North, by the youthful secretary of the board, De Witt Clinton. Since the creation of the University fourteen academies had been different counties, all of which were pronounced
n. The Clinton Academy in the Easthampton
the academy at Salem, in Westchester County,
The report from Union College at Schenec-
its first birthday, having been incorporated

by the Regents February 25, 1795, was cheering. It received its name from the union of several religious denominations in its organization. The endowment was originally contributed by ninety-nine Albany and two hundred and thirty-one Schenectady gentlemen; and the sum was subsequently greatly increased by the generous influence of General Philip Schuyler, who was himself a liberal contributor. Rev. Dr. John Blair Smith, from Philadelphia, was its first president.

The population of New York City had nearly doubled in the ten years since 1786. Streets had been laid out, and habitations erected above the



Map of the Collect, and Adjoining Streets, in 1796.

swampy fields in the region of Canal Street. But although surveys had been made of the several streets about the Collect, or Fresh Water Pond, they were not graded, nor had building-lots been found, for obvious reasons, marketable in that locality.[1] The water of the pond was sixty feet

[1] From the records of the Common Council the following is abstracted: 1790 — "*Ordered*, A committee to cause a survey to be made of the ancient bounds of the Fresh Water Pond, and report the same to the Board. The committee appointed delivered in a survey for the several streets in the vicinity of Fresh Water, which was ordered to be filed." 1793 — "*Ordered*, That a survey be made of the land and meadows at and about the Fresh Water Pond, with the streets which may be necessary marked thereon." 1795 — "A petition for digging out the Broadway, north of Barclay Street, agreeable to its regulation was referred." 1796 — "A committee appointed to confer with the proprietors of the ground through which the contemplated canal is to pass, from the Fresh Water Pond into Hudson River." 1798 — "A letter from the Health Commissioners read, representing that the swamp or meadow between the Fresh Water Pond and Hudson River is overflowed with standing water, and requires immediate measures for draining it. Ordered that it be attended to."

deep, and the marshy ground to the northwest as well as towards the East River gave little signs of promise as to future value. In the winter-time the pond was a fine natural skating-park, and the hill towards Broadway was a comfortable gathering-place for lookers-on. A canal from the pond to the Hudson had been some time in contemplation, and early in 1796 the committee chosen negotiated with the proprietors of the swamp for such parts as were necessary "to make the said canal of the breadth of forty feet, and a street on each side of the breadth of thirty feet." The actual work did not begin for two or three years. The arched bridge "across the drain," now Canal Street, was ten feet seven inches above the surface of the meadow. Hence, when the digging commenced for leveling the hill on the line of Broadway, the dirt was carried forward towards the north, as the street needed raising several inches through the meadow from Leonard Street to the bridge. About the same time complaints were made that the water-carts obstructed Chatham Street when drawn up in a row to receive water from the old Tea Water Pump for the supply of the city, and an order went forth causing the spout of said pump to be raised some two feet, and lengthened, so as to deliver the water at the outer part of the walk, and allow persons to walk under it without inconvenience. Neither the pond nor the canal received further special notice from the corporation until 1805. It was then resolved that an open canal should run through a street of one hundred feet in breadth; and also that the condition of the Collect was dangerous to the public health, that sewers should be passed through it, and that the head of it should be filled with good wholesome earth.

This beautiful pond, occupying the site of the present great gloomy pile of prison buildings known as The Tombs, was the scene in the summer of 1796 of the first trial of a steamboat with a screw propeller. It was the invention of John Fitch. The boat was eighteen feet in length and six feet beam, with square stern, round bows, and seats. The boiler was a ten or twelve gallon iron pot.

The little craft passed round the pond several times, and was believed capable of making six miles an hour. The spectacle was watched with critical interest by Chancellor Livingston, Nicholas Roosevelt, John Stevens, and others, who had in common with philosophers and inventors in England and Europe been for some time engaged in the speculative study of the steam-engine and its prospective uses.[1] Fitch belonged to

[1] The statement that Robert Fulton was present at this trial of Fitch's steamboat on the Collect in 1796 is an error, he being in England at that date, thoroughly absorbed in the study of Watt's steam engine, and canals; he that year published in London a treatise on improvement of canal navigation, with numerous well-executed plates from designs



"The beautiful pond, occupying the site of the present great gloomy pile of prison buildings known as The Tombs, was the scene of the earliest
attempt of the first trial of a steamboat with a dense population. It was the reception of John Fitch." [illegible]

the prominent Connecticut family of that name, was born in the famous old town of Windsor, adjoining Hartford, and had been inventing and experimenting for a dozen or more years, hoping to succeed in the application of steam-power to navigation. His genius, idiosyncrasies, and impecuniosity were in perpetual conflict; otherwise he might have achieved the triumph to which he aspired. He was a man of striking figure, six feet two inches in height, erect and full, his head slightly bald, but not gray although fifty-three years of age, and dignified and distant in his general behavior.

The belief that steam was destined to submit to the control of the human intellect for practical purposes was rapidly gaining strength, although the facile adaptations of its power were yet but visionary possibilities to the intelligence and observation of mankind; and it was by no means confined to any one nation. The ingenuity of almost every civilized country was in exercise over contrivances for the propulsion of boats by steam. A perfect system of communication existed between the countries of the world, notwithstanding that distances, measured in time, were vastly greater than now, and the learning of every center was promptly radiated to every other. James Watt was unquestionably the greatest of all the inventors of the steam-engine, but only one of the many men who aided in perfecting it. Slight knowledge of the properties of steam is of unknown antiquity. A "steam-gun" is described by Leonardo da Vinci. In Spain, as early as 1543, Blasco da Garay, a Spanish naval officer under Charles V., is said to have moved a ship at the rate of two or three miles an hour with an apparatus of which a "vessel of boiling water" formed a part; but the king shook his head and frowningly forbade its repetition, saying "he could not have his liege subjects scalded to death with hot water on his ships!" At Naples, in 1601, Porta describes a machine for raising water with steam pressure, in a work called *Spiritali*. England in 1648 was convulsed with laughter over a witty discourse from the learned Bishop of Chester, in which he recommended the application of the power of confined steam to the construction of a "flying castle in the air," to the chiming of bells, to the reeling of yarn, and to the rocking of the cradle. About the same period Edward Somerset, the second Marquis of Worcester, introduced an invention into Raglan Castle for elevating water by steam, but failed to excite sympathy or appreciation. His life is one of the most romantic chap-

of his own. He also about the same time in England patented a mill for sawing marble, for which he received the thanks of the British Society for the Promotion of Arts and Commerce, and an honorary medal. In 1797 he passed over to Paris with the intention of bringing to the notice of the French government a submarine torpedo and torpedo boats.

ters of English history. In 1720, some years before Watt was born, Joseph Hornblower was conspicuous in the superintendence and construction of steam-engines, then called fire-engines, after the model of Newcomen, being simply atmospheric engines with a single cylinder. He had several sons: Jonathan, born in 1717, and Josiah, born in 1729, became eminent engineers. The Hornblowers, father and sons, subsequently removed to Cornwall to pursue their business, where they were engaged in putting up engines from their first introduction into the mines in 1740. The success of these engines in the mines of Cornwall induced Colonel John Schuyler to import one for pumping water from his copper-mine on the Passaic River, near Newark, New Jersey — a mine rich in ore, but which had been worked as deep as hand and horse power could clear it of water. His correspondents in London purchased one of Hornblower's engines, and persuaded Josiah Hornblower, then only twenty-four years of age, to proceed to America and superintend its erection. He arrived in New York in September, 1753, and occupied the best part of a year in building an engine-house and getting it into successful operation. This was the first steam-engine ever erected on the continent of America; and it was when Watt was but seventeen, and his inventions simply marvels of the future.[1]

Young Hornblower expected to return to England as soon as his work was accomplished. But in the neighborhood of the Schuylers lived Colonel William Kingsland, grandson of Isaac Kingsland, the founder of the Kingsland family in America — whose wife was Mary, daughter of Judge William Pinhorne, of the reader's acquaintance in the early pages of this work. Hornblower became a frequent visitor at the Kingslands'. It is the old, old story of romantic love. In two years his destiny was sealed. He married the beautiful Elizabeth Kingsland, then twenty-one, and became an American.[2] He afterwards not only superintended the engine whenever his skilled services were needed, but after 1760 for

[1] Letter of Hon. Joseph P. Bradley, Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

[2] Josiah Hornblower soon rose to eminence, was a judge of the county courts, Speaker of the New Jersey Assembly, and member of the Continental Congress. He lived until 1809, and among his large family of children were Joseph, born 1756, died 1777; Margaret, born 1758, married James Kip, a wealthy New York merchant — of whose daughters Eliza married John Schuyler, and Helen married Abel Anderson; James, born 1760, whose only daughter married William Stevens; Dr. Josiah, born 1767, who left a son, Dr. William Hornblower, of Bergen, and two daughters, one of whom became Mrs. Dr. DeWitt, the other, Mrs. Dr. Gautier and the mother of Dr. Josiah Hornblower Gautier of New York City; and Joseph C. Hornblower, late Chief Justice of New Jersey, born 1777, died 1864.

Chief-Justice Hornblower married Mary Burnet, daughter of Dr. William Burnet of Belleville, and granddaughter of Dr. William Burnet of Newark, a famous patriot of the Revolution. Mrs. Hornblower's sister Caroline married Governor William Pennington of New

several years worked the mines, and people came from all the country round to see the wonderful machine.

Meanwhile his brother Jonathan remained at Cornwall, where he died in 1780, several of whose sons were educated as engineers, and produced many useful and notable inventions. Jabez and Jonathan were the most conspicuous among them. Jabez was employed to superintend the erection of steam-engines in Holland and in Sweden. Jonathan, inventor of a double-cylinder high-pressure engine, was one of the most active and formidable of the rivals of James Watt; and his engine is the one now principally used by ocean steamers, as, requiring only about half the coal of the Watt engine, it is better suited for long voyages. A litigation ensued, Hornblower's invention being pronounced an infringement of Watt's patent, which also had two cylinders, though one of them was only used as a condenser; and while nothing was ever alleged to the dishonor of the Hornblowers in this controversy, public favor clamored in behalf of Watt, and they were defeated.

At the same time in localities far remote from each other on this side of the water enterprising mechanics were trying at intervals to construct steam-engines. William Henry returned from England in 1760, imbued with the idea of utilizing the power of steam for propelling boats, and within three years constructed a machine which he placed in a little craft and tried on a river near Lancaster, Pennsylvania. It went to the bottom, and he made a second model, adding improvements. Benjamin West was a friend and protégé of Henry, and John Fitch was a frequent visitor at Henry's house. Thither went Robert Fulton, when a boy of twelve years, to study the paintings of West; and while visiting an aunt in the neighborhood he experimented with miniature paddle-wheels on the Conestoga. John Fitch is thought to have invented the first double-acting condensing engine, transmitting power by means of cranks, ever produced in any country. His experiments on the Delaware, as early as 1785 and 1786, brought him into a bitter controversy, respecting the priority of their inventions, with James Rumsey, who died in 1793 while explaining some of his schemes before a London Society. Fitch, like Rumsey, tried to introduce his methods into Great Britain, and confidently asserted his belief that the ocean would be crossed by

Jersey, and her sister Abigail married Caleb S. Riggs, whose daughter Helen married Judge William Kent. The children of Chief-Justice and Mary Burnet Hornblower: 1. Joanna, married Thomas Bell, of Philadelphia; 2. Eliza, married Rev. Mortimer R. Talbot; 3. Emily, married Colonel Alexander M Cummings, of Princeton; 4. Harriet, married Hon. Lewis B. Woolruff, late U. S. Circuit Judge of New York; 5. Charles; 6. Caroline; 7. Mary, married Hon. Joseph P. Bradley, one of the justices of the Supreme Court of the United States; 8. Rev. Dr. William H. Hornblower, professor in the Presbyterian Theological Seminary.

steam vessels. He went to France, hoping to obtain the privilege of building steamboats there, but was disappointed in all his efforts. Oliver Evans, during the same year, said: "The time will come when people will travel in stages moved by steam-engines from one city to another almost as fast as birds can fly — fifteen or twenty miles an hour," and his associates smiled incredulously. The boat with which Fitch experimented on the Collect in New York, and of which a model exists in the New York Historical Society, together with a portion of its machinery was abandoned and left to decay on the shore of the pond, and was carried away piece by piece by the poor children of the neighborhood for fuel. He had made his last effort in steam navigation, and the same autumn removed to Kentucky, where he died in 1798.

Two years after Fitch experimented with his screw-propeller on the Collect in New York, Nicholas Roosevelt launched a little steamboat on the Passaic River, and made a trial trip with a party of invited guests, among whom was the Spanish Minister. Roosevelt was of the old New York family of that name, and a gentleman of education and inventive talent. He had become interested with others in the Schuyler copper-mines, and from the model of Hornblower's atmospheric engine constructed one of a similar character; and also built similar engines for various purposes. . Colonel John Stevens, who exhibited far better knowledge of the science and art of engineering, besides urging more advanced opinions and statesman-like views in relation to the economical importance of the practical development of the new invention, than any man of his time, was frequently in conference with Roosevelt. In December, 1797, Chancellor Livingston wrote to Roosevelt, saying: "Mr. Stevens has mentioned to me your desire to apply the steam machine to a boat; every attempt of this kind having failed, I have constructed a boat on perfectly new principles, which, both in the model and on a large scale, has exceeded my expectations. I was about writing to England for a steam machine; but hearing of your wish, I was willing to treat with you, on terms which I believe you will find advantageous, for the use of my invention." The result was an agreement between Livingston, Stevens, and Roosevelt to build a boat on joint account, for which the engines were to be constructed by Roosevelt at his shop on the Passaic; and the propelling agency was to be planned by the Chancellor. So promising were the signs, that in March, 1798, the Legislature of New York passed a bill giving Livingston the exclusive right to steam navigation in the waters of the State for a period of twenty years, provided that he should within a year from date produce a boat that could steam four miles an hour. During the progress of the enterprise the correspond-

ence teemed with speculative suggestions. The trial trip to which reference has been made occurred on the 21st of October, 1798. It was recognized as a failure. Roosevelt had invented a vertical wheel which he earnestly recommended to the Chancellor, without success.[1] Stevens, a few months later, persuaded the Chancellor to try a set of paddles in the stern, which unfortunately shook the boat to pieces and rendered it unfit for further use. The inventive instinct of America appears to have been abreast with that of any other country. But no individual as yet had succeeded in taking the final step in the progression which was to make steam navigation an every-day commercial success.

New York in the spring of 1796 again furnished a Minister to Great Britain. Thomas Pinckney had returned from Spain to the court of London, but wishing to sail for South Carolina, Rufus King, who had previously declined the office of Secretary of the State Department, received the nomination, May 20, as his successor, and was immediately confirmed by the Senate. Hamilton in a letter to Washington specially recommended King for the post as a gentleman of ability, integrity, fortune, agreeable address, good judgment, and sound morals, and "one whose situation as well as character afforded just ground of confidence." King shortly embarked for London, where he remained through the remainder of the administration of Washington, through the whole of that of Adams, and a part of that of Jefferson — until 1804. He placed his sons, John Alsop King and Charles King, at Harrow School, and in 1805 at a preparatory school in Paris.[2] His successor

1796.

[1] *Roosevelt to Livingston*, September 6, 1798 ; *Livingston to Roosevelt*, October 28, 1798 ; *A Lost Chapter in the History of the Steamboat*, by J. H. B. Latrobe, President of the Md. Hist. Soc. ; *History of the Growth of the Steam-Engine*, by Robert H. Thurston, A. M. ; *Renwick on Steam-Engines ; Whittlesey's Life of John Fitch ; Columbian Magazine*, December, 1786 ; *Encyclopædia Americana ; Doc. Hist. New York*, Vol. II. Roosevelt, when asked why he did not anticipate Fulton in the first successful application of the steam-engine to naval purposes, replied, "At the time Chancellor Livingston's horizontal-wheel experiment failed, I was under a contract with the corporation for supplying the city of Philadelphia with water by means of two steam-engines ; and, besides, I was under a contract with the United States to erect rolling works and supply government with copper rolled and drawn, for six seventy-four-gun ships that were then to be built. But by a change of men in the administration, after I had been led into heavy expense, the seventy-fours were abandoned without appropriations, and embarrassment to me was the natural consequence."

[2] John Alsop King, eldest son of Rufus King, was born in New York City, January 3, 1788 ; Charles King, second son, was born March 16, 1789 ; James Gore King, third son, was born May 8, 1791. They were all remarkable and accomplished men. John Alsop King was governor of New York from 1857 to 1859. Charles King was a journalist and scholar, the President of Columbia College from 1849 to 1864, and author of many valuable works. James Gore King, also educated in the best schools in England and France, was of the great banking-house of James G. King and Sons, member of Congress from 1849 to 1851, and President of the Chamber of Commerce.

from New York, in the United States Senate, was Judge John Lawrence, who served until 1800, and was at one time president *pro tem* of that body. The year following King's departure on his mission, General Philip Schuyler was again elected to the Senate, in place of Aaron Burr.

Several changes occurred in 1796 among the ambassadors to foreign courts. Colonel Humphreys was transferred to the Court of Madrid, John Quincy Adams succeeded Humphreys at Lisbon, and William V. Murray took the place of Adams at The Hague. Disagreeable complications ensued with France immediately upon the ratification of the Jay treaty. The profligate Directory, turning to account the dissensions in America, pretended to consider the alliance between France and the United States at an end. The seizure of American vessels and the evasive conduct of the French Minister at Philadelphia, M. Adet, led to the recall of Monroe in August, who, it was thought, had been too much opposed to the Jay treaty himself to represent the friendly disposition of Washington and his Cabinet towards France. Monroe's successor was Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, who had successively declined three important offices, that of chief justice, and of the two secretaryships of war and state. "He will very shortly be in Philadelphia to embark, and this circumstance will furnish new subject for envenomed pens," wrote the President from Mount Vernon to the Secretary of the Treasury, on the 10th of August. Before Pinckney arrived in France, the Directory, as an act of resentment against our Government, suspended the functions of M. Adet in the United States; the American Minister was treated with marked disrespect when he reached Paris, and was finally ordered to leave the country. In the chapter of complaints sent to Pickering, the United States was accused of deceiving France. Secretary Wolcott wrote: "The Executive and Mr. Jay are both treated with personal indignity. On the whole, this is by far the boldest attempt to govern this country which has been made."

The new Spanish Minister, Don Carlos Martinez, Marquis of Yrujo, arrived in June and paid a short visit to the President at Mount
1796. Vernon. He was a young and fascinating man, who, like the British Minister Hammond, soon after married a Philadelphia belle, Sally McKean, daughter of the chief justice of Pennsylvania. His son, the Duke of Sotomayer, born in Philadelphia, became in due course of events Prime Minister of Spain.[1]

[1] America furnished wives for the Ministers of England, France, and Spain during the administration of Washington. Many other foreign gentlemen of distinction married American ladies. Of the two daughters of Mrs. Bingham, Anne married Alexander Baring, Lord Ashburton, and was the mother of the present peer, and Maria married (1) Comte de Tilly, (2) Henry Baring, (3) Marquis de Blaisel.

Hamilton regarded the situation as exceptionally critical. Although attending to his own affairs in New York, he was consulted on almost every question of importance that came before the Cabinet. He was not well pleased with the Secretary of State's reply to M. Adet's letter — "there was something of hardness and epigrammatic sharpness in it" to his mind — and said that, since the minister had declared his functions suspended, it should have been addressed to the Directory and communicated through Pinckney. He thought the position true that France had a right to inquire respecting the affairs of seamen, and that the complaints of the minister should be met with candid explanations, and his misstatement of facts corrected. "My opinion is," he continued, "that our communications should be calm, reasoning, and serious, showing steady resolution more than feeling, having force in the idea rather than the expression."

As the time approached to elect a President for the coming four years, Washington published an address of farewell to the people of the United States, which has been pronounced "the most dignified exhibition of political wisdom that ever emanated from the mind of a statesman." To Jefferson he wrote expressing his astonishment at the possibility, that, as he remarked, "While I was using my utmost exertions to establish a national character of our own, independent, as far as our obligations and justice and truth would permit, of every nation of the earth, and wished by steering a steady course to preserve this country from the horrors of a desolating war, I should be accused of being the enemy of one nation and subject to the influence of another."

The two parties were quickly provided with candidates, and the political newspapers went rabid, foaming personalities and falsehoods. The real leader of the Federalists was Hamilton. But Jay and Adams were older, and had served the country longer. No personal aspirations seem for a moment to have clouded Hamilton's vision. He greatly preferred Jay to Adams, because he believed him to possess more coolness, judgment, and consistency, and less tendency to prejudice. But Adams, through his office of vice-president, stood in the line of promotion; and, what was of still greater weight, he was the representative of New England, which had furnished all along a steady support to the Federal government. It was also politic to select a vice-president from the South; hence Thomas Pinckney received the nomination.

The Republicans chose Jefferson unanimously for the highest office, and Aaron Burr for Vice-President, although the support of the latter was far from being uniform. One of the public characters of Virginia wrote about that time: "The two most efficient actors on the political theater

of our country are Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Burr; and, as a friend to the interests of the Southern States, I sincerely wish that they had both appeared on the Federal side, that they might essentially have acted in concert, as but little more time and labor would have been necessary to subvert the popularity of both than we have found necessary to employ against Hamilton alone. I have watched the movements of Mr. Burr with attention, and have discovered traits of character which sooner or later will give us much trouble. He has unequaled talent of attaching men to his views, and forming combinations of which he is always the center. He is determined to play a first part; he acts strenuously with us in public, but it is remarkable that in all private consultations he more frequently agrees with us in principles than in the mode of giving them effect."



Aaron Burr.

There were other indications that Burr had already become an object of suspicion at the South, as likely to be a dangerous competitor for the leadership of the Republican party. He had eclipsed George Clinton to a certain degree, was unrivaled in the arts of personal influence and intrigue, and was never idle. No means were too trivial for him to employ if he thought they would help him to gain a point. He used to say that he once saved a man from being hanged by a certain arrangement of the candles in a court-room.

The result of the election was not known when Congress assembled in December. The votes were announced on the 8th of February; John Adams had received seventy-one, Thomas Jefferson sixty-eight, Thomas Pinckney fifty-nine, and Aaron Burr thirty. The two former would thus fill the first two offices in the government, as at that time the second highest candidate for President became Vice-President. "The die is cast," wrote John Adams to his wife the next morning, "and you must prepare yourself for honorable trials."

1797. Feb. 8

CHAPTER XLI.

1797-1801.

NEW YORK CITY AT THE CLOSE OF THE CENTURY.

CONTEMPORANEOUS DESCRIPTION OF THE CITY. — THE STREETS AND BUILDINGS. — THE BROADWAY. — THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE. — THE PARK THEATER. — THE DRAMA. — COMMERCE OF NEW YORK. — THE CITY OF HUDSON AND ITS FOUNDERS. — SOCIETY. — INTELLECTUAL PURSUITS. — MARRIAGES IN HIGH LIFE. — THE BARCLAY FAMILY. — A LOVE ROMANCE. — GENERAL JACOB MORTON. — THE LUDLOWS. — PRINCES AND NOBLEMEN IN NEW YORK. — RE-ELECTION OF GOVERNOR JAY. — LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR VAN RENSSELAER. — THE FRENCH DIRECTORY. — MONEY OR WAR. — THE ALIEN AND SEDITION LAWS. — WAR MEASURES. — DUELS. — AARON BURR'S BANK. — THE COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER. — BURR AND HAMILTON. — DEATH OF WASHINGTON. — PERSONAL SKETCHES. — RICHARD VARICK. — EDWARD LIVINGSTON.

"NEW YORK is the gayest place in America; the ladies, in the richness and brilliancy of their dress, are not equaled in any city of the United States, not even in Charleston, South Carolina, which has heretofore been called the center of the *beau monde*. The ladies, however, are not solely employed in attention to dress; there are many who are studious to add to brilliant external accomplishments the more brilliant and lasting accomplishments of the mind. Nor have they been unsuccessful, for New York can boast of great numbers of refined taste, whose minds are highly improved, and whose conversation is as inviting as their personal charms; tinctured with a Dutch education, they manage their families with good economy and singular neatness. In point of sociability and hospitality New York is hardly exceeded by any town in the United States."

The above paragraph was penned by an English divine, who wrote a History of America in four volumes, which was published in 1797. The antiquity of the work, together with its contemporaneous descriptions, renders many of its pages exceptionally interesting. The writer appears to have been a keen and critical observer of men and manners as well as of general affairs, and a scholar of varied accomplishments.

He described the city thus: "Its plan is not perfectly regular, but is laid out with reference to the situation of the ground. The principal streets run nearly parallel with the rivers; these are intersected, though not at right angles, by streets running from river to river. In the width of the streets there is great diversity, Broad Street, extending from the exchange to the City Hall, is sufficiently wide, having been originally built on each side of the creek. This street is low, but pleasant."—Another writer of about the same date speaks of Broad Street as a fine, wide, well-built, and handsomely planted avenue, the leading quarter of the early aristocracy of the town.—"Wall Street is generally fifty feet wide and elevated, and the buildings elegant. Hanover Square and Dock Street are conveniently situated for business, and the houses well-built. William Street is also elevated and convenient, and is the principal market for retailing dry goods. Some of the other streets are pleasant, but most of them are irregular and narrow. The houses are generally built of brick and the roofs tiled; there remain a few houses after the old Dutch manner, but the English taste has prevailed almost a century. The principal part of the city lies on the east side of the island, although the buildings extend from one river to the other. The length of the city on the east side is about two miles, but falls much short of that distance on the bank of the Hudson. Its breadth, on an average, is nearly three-fourths of a mile, and its circumference may be four miles. The most convenient and agreeable part of the city is the Broadway. It begins at a point formed by the junction of the Hudson and East Rivers, occupies the height of land between them upon a true meridional line, rises gently to the northward, is near seventy feet wide, and is adorned, where the fort formerly stood, with an elegant brick edifice for the accommodation of the governor of the State. The Broadway has also two Episcopal churches, and a number of elegant private buildings. It terminates to the northward, in a triangular area, fronting the Bridewell, and almshouse, and commands from any point a view of the bay and Narrows."[1]

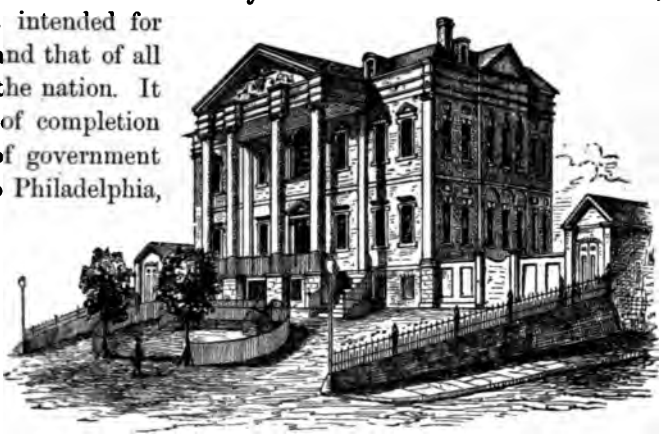
The portion of the city laid in ashes during the first years of the Revolution had been rapidly rebuilding since 1788, some of the streets widened, nearly all of them straightened, and raised in the middle under an angle sufficient to carry off the water to the side gutters; footwalks of brick had also been made on each side. Our early historian adds to the picture by saying: "The part that was destroyed by fire is almost wholly covered with elegant brick houses. The most magnificent edifice in the city is Federal Hall, situated at the head of Broad Street, where

[1] *An Historical, Geographical, Commercial, and Philosophical View of the United States* by Rev. William Winterbotham. 1797.

its front appears to great advantage. The marble used in chimneys is American, and for beauty of shades and polish equal to any of its kind in Europe."

John Lambert wrote: "The Broadway and Bowery Road are the two finest avenues in the city, and nearly of the same width as Oxford Street in London. The first is upwards of two miles in length, though the pavement does not extend above a mile and a quarter; the remainder of the road consists of straggling houses, which are the commencements of new streets planned out. The houses in the Broadway are lofty and well-built. They are constructed in the English style, and differ but little from those of London at the west end of the town, except that they are universally built of red brick. In the vicinity of the Battery, and for some distance up the Broadway, they are nearly all private houses, and occupied by the principal merchants and gentry of New York."

The most elegant mansion in New York at the close of the century was the one erected on the site of the old fort opposite the Bowling Green, while Washington was a resident of the city as President of the United States, and which was intended for his occupancy, and that of all future heads of the nation. It was in process of completion when the seat of government was removed to Philadelphia, and was hence-forward appropriated for a number of years to the uses of the governors of the State. It was the residence of Governor Clinton for three or four years, and Governor Jay took up his abode in it in 1795, making it his city home until he retired from public life. It was a stately edifice, constructed of red brick, with Ionic columns, a striking example of the tendency of the period toward the severely classical in domestic architecture. Soon after the beginning of the present century it was converted into offices for the customs, and in 1815 removed. The Bowling Green Block now stands upon its site.



The Government House.
[Opposite the Bowling Green, 1790-1815.]

After enumerating the various churches of the city, numbering at this date twenty-three, and making brief reference to Columbia College, the

jail, house of correction, almshouse, exchange and several other buildings of less note, one writer says: "The city is accommodated with five markets in different parts, which are furnished with a great plenty and variety of provisions." The principal of these, the Fly-Market, was located near the East River, in what was originally a salt meadow with a creek running through it from Maiden Lane. When first established it was called the "Valley Market;" but the Dutch for valley being "V'lei," the term in common use was "V'lei-Market," hence the corruption into "Fly-Market." Every day, except Sunday, was a market day. Butchers were licensed by the mayor, who was the clerk of the market, receiving fees for all meats sold — as, for instance, six cents for every quarter of beef, and four cents for a calf, sheep, or lamb. Butter must be sold by the pound, and not by the roll or tub. The laws regulating the markets were rigidly enforced.

The Park Theater was built in 1797, and first opened in January, 1798. The ambitious proprietors petitioned for the privilege of erecting a portico over the sidewalk, which was not granted. It was a large, commodious building that would accommodate about twelve hundred persons. "The interior is handsomely decorated, and fitted up in as good style as the London theaters, upon a scale suitable to the population of New York," wrote Lambert. The performances consisted of all the new pieces that came out on the London boards, and several of Shakespeare's best plays. One of the newspaper critics of the time declared these plays too much curtailed, and said they often lost their effect through being over at half-past ten, while not commencing at an earlier hour than in London.

1798.

The drama was introduced into New York, and indeed into the American colonies, a quarter of a century before the Revolution. On the 26th of February, 1750, Lewis Hallam, a favorite actor at Goodman's Fields Theater in England, made his début in the historical tragedy of Richard III., in a room of one of the buildings which belonged to the estate of Rip Van Dam, in Nassau Street.[1] He had obtained permission from the British governor of New York, and commanded a most select and fashionable audience. Two years later he appeared at Williamsburg in Virginia. His wife, known as Mrs. Douglass, was a favorite actress; and his two sons, Lewis and Adam, figured upon the American stage during the remainder of the century. During the time the city was in the possession of the British, theatrical entertainments were very fashionable; and the characters were mostly supported by officers of the army and navy.

[1] *Parker's Post-Boy; Drake's American Biography; Old New York*, by Dr. John W. Francis.

The English plays of Garrick, Foote, Cumberland, Colman, O'Keefe, Sheridan, and others were from time to time enacted. Aid was often furnished from private or social circles; and a remarkable peculiarity of the times seems to have been that it was quite a common circumstance to appropriate or designate some leading or prominent individual among the inhabitants of the city as the character drawn by the dramatist abroad. Thus, when "Laugh and Grow Fat" appeared, the public said it well fitted the case of Abraham Mortier, the paymaster of the British army, and the projector of the Richmond Hill House. He was a cheerful old gentleman, but the leanest of all human beings — almost diaphanous.

Lewis Hallam, the younger, appeared in Lord Ogleby in 1767, and played the part for forty years, the last time being in the Park Theater in 1807. He was one of the best actors of his time. After the war terminated he organized the firm of Hallam and Henry, which after Mr. Henry's death became Hallam and Hodgkinson. William Dunlap, the painter and historian, subsequently became associated with the firm in the management of the John-Street Theater, and brought forward many pieces of his own composition. At the opening of the Park Theater he was its sole manager, and in March, 1798, his tragedy of "André" in blank verse was brought out with success.

"New York City appears to be the Tyre of the New World," said a London editor while describing its shipping. Winterbotham wrote: "This city is esteemed the most eligible situation for commerce in the United States, and in time of peace will do more business than any other town. It almost necessarily commands the trade of one half of New Jersey, most of that of Connecticut and of Vermont, and a part of that of Massachusetts, besides the whole fertile interior country, which is penetrated by one of the largest rivers in America. Its conveniences for internal commerce are singularly great; the produce of the remotest farms is easily and speedily conveyed to a certain and profitable market. The produce of Pennsylvania must be carried to market in wagons, over a great extent of country, some of which is very rough; hence Philadelphia is crowded with wagons, carts, horses, and their drivers, to do the same business that is done in New York, where all the produce of the country is brought to market by water, with much less show and parade. This city imports most of the goods consumed in the best-peopled area of the whole country, which contains at least eight hundred thousand persons, or one fifth of the inhabitants of the Union. In time of war New York will be insecure without a marine force; but a small number of ships will be able to defend it from the most formidable attacks by sea. The situation is both healthy and pleasant; surrounded on all sides

by water, it is refreshed with cool breezes in summer, and the air in winter is more temperate than in other places under the same parallel. The want of good water is at present a great inconvenience to the citizens, there being few wells in the city; most of the people are supplied every day with fresh water, conveyed to their doors in casks, from a pump near the head of Pearl Street, which receives it from a spring almost a mile from the center of the city. The average quantity drawn daily from this remarkable well, about twenty feet deep and four feet in diameter, is one hundred and ten hogsheads of one hundred and thirty gallons each. In some hot summer days two hundred and sixteen hogsheads have been drawn from it, and, what is very singular, there are never more or less than three feet of water in the well. Several proposals have been made by individuals to supply the citizens by pipes, but none have yet been accepted."

A graphic description of the Hudson River and the physical peculiarities of the country between it and the lakes, by the same writer, is replete with comprehensive intelligence. Saratoga Springs are mentioned as eight or nine in number, the water, in the writer's opinion, derived from one common source. Roads and bridges throughout the State were attracting legislative notice. A post rode regularly from Albany to the Genesee River once a fortnight. An enterprise by which a "grand road was opened in 1790 through Clinton County," on the borders of Canada, is commended in strong terms. Albany is pronounced unrivaled in its situation, and said to contain about four thousand inhabitants, speaking every variety of language. "It stands on the bank of one of the finest rivers in the world, at the head of sloop navigation; and adventurers in pursuit of wealth are led here by the advantages for trade which the place affords." The city of Hudson was a marvel because of its rapid growth. The writer says: "No longer ago than the autumn of 1783, Seth and Thomas Jenkins, from Providence, in the State of Rhode Island, having first reconnoitered all the way up the river, fixed on the unsettled spot where Hudson now stands, for a town. They purchased a tract about a mile square, bordering on the river, with a large bay to the southward, and divided it into thirty parcels or shares. Other parties were admitted to proportions, and the town was laid out in squares, formed by spacious streets, crossing each other at right angles; each square containing thirty lots, two deep divided by a twenty-feet alley, each lot fifty feet front and one hundred and twenty deep. The original proprietors of Hudson offered to purchase a tract of land adjoining the south part of the city of Albany, and were constrained, by a refusal of the proposition, to become competitors for the commerce of the northern

country, when otherwise they would have added great wealth and consequence to Albany."[1]

Such was the wonderful growth of Hudson that, although the first dwellings were not erected until 1784, the city was incorporated in 1785, and one hundred and fifty homes had been securely planted prior to the spring of 1786, besides barns, shops, stores, ware-houses, and other buildings, with several wharves for commercial convenience. During February of the last named year upwards of twelve hundred sleighs entered the city daily for several weeks in succession, laden with produce and articles of merchandise. Thus an idea may be formed of the advantage of the situation with respect to the rich and fertile adjacent country; and, built upon an eminence, the city presented a highly picturesque appearance as seen from the river. It was made a port of entry in 1795, and is said at one time to have possessed a larger amount of shipping than even New York City, its commerce being chiefly with the West Indies and Europe. Seth Jenkins was mayor of the new city for many years, and was succeeded by his brother Robert, who occupied that position until his sudden death in 1819.

"In New York there appears to be a great thirst after knowledge," writes Lambert. "The riches that have flowed into that city have brought with them a taste for reading and the refinements of polished society; and though the inhabitants cannot yet boast of having reached the standard of European perfection, they are not wanting in the solid and rational parts of education, nor in many of those accomplishments which ornament and embellish private life. It has become the fashion in New York to attend lectures on moral philosophy, chemistry, mineralogy, botany, mechanics, etc., and the ladies in particular have made considerable progress in those studies; several young ladies have displayed their abilities in writing, and some of their novels and fugitive pieces of poetry and prose evince much taste and judgment, and two or three have distinguished themselves. The desire for instruction and information, however, is not confined to the youthful part of the community; many married ladies and their families may be seen at philosophical and

[1] The Jenkins brothers came from Nantucket or Martha's Vineyard instead of Providence, Rhode Island, as stated by Winterbotham. They were shipping merchants of great wealth, but the islands had become too circumscribed for them, and thus they came to New York, bringing their commerce with them to the city they founded upon the Hudson. When they first arrived in New York City on their way up the river, they visited Colonel Rutgers, an old and valued friend, to whom they unfolded their plans; and he was so much pleased with the enterprising spirit manifested, that he offered to sell them his own broad acres on the East River between Catharine Street and Corlear's Hook. (See Ratzer's Map, Vol. I. p. 760-761.) They differed, however, in price to the amount of $500, and the trade in the end fell through. — *Family Archives.*

chemical lectures, and the spirit of inquiry is becoming general among the gentlemen. The immense property which has been introduced into the city by commerce has hardly had time to circulate and diffuse itself through the community. It is yet too much in the hands of a few individuals to enable men to devote the whole of their lives to the study of the arts and science. Farmers, merchants, physicians, lawyers, and divines are all that America can produce for many years to come; and if authors, artists, or philosophers make their appearance at any time, they must, as they have hitherto done, spring from one of the above professions."

Foreign travelers were numerous and observant. Their note-books furnish many vivid glimpses of the city at that epoch. Characteristics were not infrequently overdrawn and general conclusions reached without opportunity of exercising correct judgment. But it is always well and useful to see ourselves as others see us. We quote the following:

"The society of New York consists of three distinct classes. The first is composed of the constituted authorities, government officers, divines, lawyers, and physicians of eminence, with the principal merchants and people of independent property. The second comprises the small merchants, retail dealers, clerks, subordinate officers of the government, and members of the three professions. The third consists of the inferior orders of the people. The first of these associate together in a style of elegance and splendor little inferior to Europeans. Their houses are furnished with everything that is useful, agreeable, or ornamental; and many of them are fitted up in the tasteful magnificence of modern luxury. Many have elegant equipages, and those who have none of their own may be accommodated with handsome carriages at the livery stables; for there are no coach stands. The dress of the gentlemen is plain, elegant, and fashionable, and corresponds in every respect with the English costume. The ladies in general seem more partial to the light, various, and dashing drapery of the Parisian belles than to the elegant and becoming attire of our London beauties, who improve upon the French fashions. But there are many who prefer the English costume, or at least a medium between that and the French.

"The winter is passed in a round of entertainments and amusements; at the theater, public dancing assemblies, lectures, concerts, balls, tea
rd-parties, cariole excursions out of town, etc. The American
sleigh, is much larger than that of Canada, and will hold
It is fixed on high runners, and drawn by two horses.
nd dances are frequently made in the winter season
the ground. They proceed in carioles a few miles

into the country to some hotel or tavern, where they remain to a late hour and return home by torchlight. The inhabitants of New York are not remarkable for early rising, and little business seems to be done before nine or ten o'clock. Most of the merchants and people in business dine about two o'clock; others who are less engaged, about three; but four o'clock is usually the fashionable hour for dining. The gentlemen are partial to the bottle, but not to excess; and at private dinner-parties they seldom sit more than two hours drinking wine. They leave the table one after the other, and walk away to some tea-party without bidding their host good-afternoon. The servants are mostly negroes or mulattoes; some free, and others slaves. Marriages are conducted in the most splendid style, and form an important part of the winter's entertainments. For some years it was the fashion to keep them only among a select circle of friends; but of late the opulent parents of the newly-married lady have thrown open their doors and invited the town to partake of their felicity. The young couple, attended by their nearest connections and friends, are married at home in a magnificent style; and if the parties are Episcopalians, the Bishop of New York is always procured, if possible, as his presence gives a greater zest to the nuptials. For three days after the marriage ceremony the newly-married couple see company in great state, and every genteel person who can procure an introduction may pay his respects to the bride and bridegroom. It is a sort of levee; and the visitors, after their introduction, partake of a cup of coffee or other refreshment, and walk away. Sometimes the night concludes with a concert and ball, or cards among those friends who are invited to remain."

The newspapers of the period chronicle a reception of this character at the gubernatorial mansion opposite the Bowling Green in November, 1796: "Married on the 3d, at his Excellency's John Jay, Governor, Government House, John Livingston, of the manor of Livingston, to Mrs. Catharine Ridley, daughter of the late Governor William Livingston."[1]

[1] **Robert Livingston**, third lord of the manor, had five sons —Walter, John, Henry, Philip, who died unmarried before his father, and Peter R.; also three daughters — Mary, married Hon. James Duane, Alida, married Valentine Gardiner, and Catharine, married John Patterson. Schuyler, one of the sons of Walter and Cornelia Schuyler Livingston, married Eliza, daughter of Colonel Thomas and Susan De Lancey Barclay; and their children were Thomas Barclay Livingston, American Consul at Halifax, married Mary Kearny, Anne, married James Reyburn of New York, and Schuyler Livingston of New York, married Margaret Livingston of Clermont. The Barclays, often mentioned in preceding pages, and for whom Barclay Street was named, were of the eminent Scotch race known in the annals of Great Britain as Berkeley. The orthography of the name was first changed by the English scholar and poet Alexander Barclay. Colonel David Barclay, of Urie, born 1610, married Catharine, daughter of Sir Robert Gordon, of Gordonstown. His children were: 1. Robert, one of the original lords proprietors of East New Jersey, and their elected governor, to whom the govern-

The reader will quickly recognize the piquant and accomplished sister of Mrs. Jay, who figured in former pages as Miss Kitty Livingston, and who became the wife of Matthew Ridley of Baltimore in 1787, and, after brief wedded happiness, a widow. In May, 1798, a round of festivities are recorded in connection with the marriage of Margaret, only daughter of Morgan Lewis, to Maturin Livingston, although the ceremony was performed at the country-seat of the family. And not far from the same date we read from the quaint old files that "David L. Haight was married by the Rev. Dr. Livingston to the amiable Miss Ann Kip."

One of the great social events of 1797 was the marriage of the celebrated Josiah Quincy to Miss Eliza Susan Morton of New York. The ceremony was performed on the 6th of June by Rev. Dr. Samuel Stanhope Smith, President of Princeton College, who made the journey to New York for the purpose, the lady having always been a favorite with him, and partially educated in his family where she was greatly beloved. She was also specially intimate with Secretary and Mrs. Oliver Wolcott, and with the family of Theodore Sedgwick usually spending some months every summer at their home in Stockbridge. The next day the bridal pair set forth in a coach-and-four, and were five days in traveling to the vicinity of the capital of Massachusetts. Quincy had made the journey to New York in 1795, leaving the following graphic picture: "The stage coaches were old and shackling, and much of the harness made of ropes. One pair of horses carried the stage eighteen miles. We generally reached our resting-place for the night, if no accident intervened, at ten o'clock, and after a frugal supper went to bed with a notice that we should be called

ment was confirmed during life by Charles II., although he ruled through a deputy and never came to America; 2. David, who died on his passage to America; 3. Lucy, who died unmarried; 4. John, who removed to America, married Cornelia Van Schaick, and was the ancestor of the New York family of Barclay; 5. Jane, who married the son of Sir Ewan Dhu, of Lochiel, chieftain of the clan Cameron, whose large family of daughters were all married to chiefs or heads of houses — Cameron of Dungallan, Barclay of Urie, Grant of Glenmoriston, Macpherson of Clunie, Campbell of Barcaldine, Campbell of Auchalader, Campbell of Auchlyne, Maclean of Lochbury, Macgregor of Bohawslie, Wright of Loss, Maclean of Ardgour, and Cameron of Glendinning. "Thus the political importance of Lochiel was greatly enhanced, and a confederacy of noted families was bound together by opinion and kindred, forming a strong opposition to the reigning Government." All these daughters of Jane Barclay became mothers of families, and "their numerous descendants," writes Mrs. Grant, "cherish the bonds of affinity now so widely diffused." An alliance with the family was esteemed of such consequence that the youngest and fairest actually was married to Cameron of Glendinning in her twelfth year; becoming a widow, she married Maclean of Kingasleet, another chief of equal importance. John Barclay (the first in America) was the father of Rev. Thomas Barclay, and grandfather of Rev. Dr. Henry Barclay of Trinity Church, the father of Colonel Thomas who married Susan De Lancey. (See Vol. I. 585, 632, 756.) Harriet, one of the daughters of Walter Livingston, married Robert Fulton. (For biographical of Henry Walter, youngest son of Walter Livingston, see Vol. II. 396).

at three the next morning, which generally proved to be half-past two. Then, whether it snowed or rained, the traveler must rise and make ready by the help of a horn lantern and a farthing candle, and proceed on his way over hard roads — sometimes with a driver showing no doubtful symptoms of drunkenness, and often obliged to get out and help him lift the coach out of a quagmire or rut — and arrived at New York after a week's hard traveling, wondering at the ease as well as expedition with which our journey was effected." With such experience fresh in his memory, it is by no means remarkable that he should determine upon a matrimonial tour with an equipage of his own.

A more romantic, but far less imposing wedding-journey was that of Washington Morton, the youngest brother of the bride, in October of the same year. He was a brilliant young man of great personal beauty, bodily strength, and athletic skill. He was indeed endowed with Nature's best mental and physical gifts. He was graduated from Princeton in 1792, at the age of seventeen, and such were the signs of promise that unusual success at the bar was predicted by his contemporaries — where he readily won an honorable place in that remarkable period of its history when it bore upon its calendar such names as Alexander Hamilton, Aaron Burr, Rufus King, Thomas Addis Emmett, David B. Ogden, Peter Augustus Jay, and others of a national reputation. As a youth, more of his time was given to the pleasures of the world than to its affairs. His fondness for athletic exercises led him on one occasion to test his powers of endurance by walking to Philadelphia for a wager. It was at that time an unprecedented feat, and made a great noise. "His walk finished, and his wager won, he spent the night with the gentlemen friends who accompanied him on horseback, together with a party of Philadelphia's choice spirits, over a supper table spread in his honor."[1]

Upon returning to New York he was lionized. He had long been a favorite guest in the attractive home of Alexander Hamilton, and thus met and fell madly in love with the beautiful Cornelia Schuyler, Mrs. Hamilton's youngest sister. She was by no means a belle, for her beauty was of that soft and touching kind which wins gradually upon the heart rather than the senses. She had dark brown hair, which she wore parted in waves over a low, white forehead, gray eyes so shaded and shadowed by lashes that they seemed black in the imperfect light, complexion of that clear paleness which better interprets the varying phases of feeling than a more brilliant color, and a small rosy mouth with slight compression of the lips betokening strength of will. Her nature, too pliant and clinging for the rôle of leadership in society, which so well

[1] *Life of Josiah Quincy*, by his son Edmund Quincy.

became her sister, Mrs. Hamilton, had yet a firmness that promised full development through her affections. She had spent the winter in New York, and was present at the nuptials of Josiah Quincy and Miss Morton in June, then returned to her home in Albany, attended by her lover, who sought an immediate interview with General Schuyler, asking his daughter's hand in marriage.

It is not strange that a man of Schuyler's sagacity should have hesitated about consigning his lovely daughter to the care of a volatile, headstrong youth of twenty-two, whatever his prospects and possibilities, and he refused to consider the question until the aspirant should slacken his pace to the sober rate befitting a steady-going married man. Morton pressed his suit, and finally Schuyler forbade him the house, ordering him to attempt no communication with his daughter.

"Come into the library," said the austere father to the blushing Cornelia a few minutes after his abrupt dismissal of her suitor, and led the way, the maiden following demurely. When she had dropped upon a stool at his feet, Schuyler related what had transpired between himself and young Morton, adding, "Promise me that henceforward you will have nothing to do with Washington Morton, either by word or letter." "I cannot, sir," was her quick response. "What! do you mean to disobey me?" "I mean that I cannot bind myself by any such pledge as you name — and — and — I will not."

We will pass from this scene to one a few weeks later. The hour was midnight. The lights had long since been extinguished in the Schuyler mansion, and silence reigned throughout the city of Albany, unbroken by voice or footstep. Presently two figures, wrapped in cloaks, were moving swiftly along the deserted streets. One was of fine princely bearing, the other lithe and graceful. In front of the Schuyler mansion they paused; a signal was given, and a window was gently and slowly raised; one of the gentlemen threw up a rope which was caught; a rope ladder was drawn up, and after the lapse of a few minutes was again lowered; the gentleman pulled forcibly to ascertain that it was securely fastened, and Cornelia Schuyler accomplished her descent in safety. In a few moments they had reached the shore of the Hudson, where a little boat was in waiting, and as they landed upon the opposite bank a pair of fine horses were pawing the earth impatiently. The lady was lifted upon one of them, her gallant cavalier mounted the other, and, bidding adieu to the friends who had assisted in the escapade, they rode towards the rising sun. Between thirty and forty miles distant was the ancient town of Stockbridge, and straightway to the home of Judge Theodore Sedgwick they hastened, who was the common and intimate friend of both parties.

Presenting themselves before that excellent magistrate, who is said to have doubted at first the evidence of his own eyes, the runaways told the story of their romance and flight. Of course there was but one thing to do. The clergyman of the town was summoned to the judicial mansion, and the handsome twain made one flesh with all convenient dispatch. This wedding occurred on the 8th of October, 1797. It was some time before General Schuyler could bring himself into a forgiving temper, but he loved his daughter, and in the end submitted with as good grace as he could muster to what he could not help.[1]

The elder brother of Mrs. Quincy and Washington Morton was Jacob Morton, a prominent public character in New York City for nearly half a century. He was a graduate of Princeton, and a lawyer by profession. Other employments, however, diverted his attention from practice at the bar. He held municipal offices of trust for so long a series of years that he became almost as familiar to the eyes of New York as the City Hall itself; and so strong was his hold upon the popular regard, that no change in politics ever disturbed his position. He was a gentleman in breeding as well as politics of the school of Washington, a Federalist of the deepest dye — of fine presence, erect carriage, alert air, and cordial manners, with powdered hair and always in faultlessly elegant costume. For thirty years or more he was major-general of the first division of the State militia of New York. He married a great beauty in 1791, Catharine, the daughter of Carey Ludlow; and the Ludlow mansion on State Street subsequently became his residence, and for a full quarter of a



The Ludlow Mansion, No. 9 State Street.
[Residence of General Jacob Morton.]

[1] John Morton, an eminent merchant of New York City, was one of the Committee of One Hundred, and a delegate to second New York Congress; he was styled the "Rebel Banker" on account of the large sums of money he loaned to the Continental Congress, all of which was lost. He retired to Morristown during the war. (See Vol. II. 156.) He had eight children: 1. Jacob, married Catharine Ludlow, and left a large family of children, who are allied with some of the principal families of the city; 2. John; 3. Andrew; 4. Mary Margaret, died young; 5. Margaret; 6. Elizabeth, married Hon. Josiah Quincy; 7. Washington, married Cornelia Schuyler; 8. George Clarke. Cornelia Schuyler Morton died in 1807, and her husband, to dissipate the passionate affliction into which he was plunged by her death, went to Paris, where he also died in 1810. The Schuyler mansion, see p. 146 (Vol. II.), the scene of this romantic episode, was visited in 1879 by a lady from England, a near relative of Burgoyne, who as a prisoner of war received distinguished hospitality within its walls in 1777.

century was the center of fashion, intellect, and refinement. It was immensely large, containing twenty-six apartments besides servants' rooms. It had a double stairway in front of the door, with the elaborate iron railing so fashionable at that time; also carved oak chimney-pieces and wainscoting imported from England. Large bushes of sweet-brier were trained over the porch. When Lafayette was in this country in 1824 it was the scene of a grand ball given in his honor.[1]

[1] Carey Ludlow bought the property in 1768 — a lot fifty-two feet front extending through to Pearl Street — for which he paid £1,080. When the war began, in 1776, he left with his family for England, remaining until 1784. On his return he lived in Front Street, erecting the house of the sketch, and removing to it in 1792. It was sheltered by a fine growth of trees, three hundred in all, planted by his order on State Street and the Battery. The view of the bay was superb from the little balcony over the front door. After the death of Mr. Ludlow in 1807 the house became the property of his widow, and afterwards that of her daughter, Mrs. Morton. Carey Ludlow was the grandson of Gabriel Ludlow, who married Sarah, daughter of Rev. Joseph Haumer, D. D., and came to New York City in 1694, and who was the eighth in descent from William Ludlow of Hill Deverell, Wiltshire, England, in the latter half of the fourteenth century.

The Ludlows, who for nearly two centuries have formed a substantial element of the wealthy and influential population of New York, descended from the oldest gentry in the kingdom of Great Britain, and their pedigree is remarkably clear and distinct. It may be traced on one side without a break to Edward I. of England (in 1272) and his second wife, Margaret, daughter of Philip III. of France, through their son Thomas, Earl of Norfolk, and his daughter Margaret Plantagenet, who married John, third Lord Segrave. Elizabeth, daughter of Lord and Lady Segrave, married the fourth Lord Mowbray, whose eldest daughter married the third Lord Delawarr. The eldest daughter of the latter married the third Lord West, whose son was the seventh Lord Delawarr; his great-granddaughter married Lord Windsor, whose daughter Edith married George Ludlow of Hill Deverell, Wiltshire, the fourth in the direct descent from William Ludlow, before mentioned. George Ludlow's son, Sir Edmund Ludlow, Kt., was by his first wife the grandfather of Edmund Ludlow, the regicide, and by his second wife, the great-grandfather of Gabriel, who settled in New York City in 1694.— *Burke; Haldane's Ms. Gen. Coll.; Family Archives.*



Ludlow Arms.

Gabriel Ludlow, the first in New York, had thirteen children: 1. Haumer, 2. Martha, 3. Elizabeth, 4. Henry, 5. Sarah, 6. Gabriel, 7. Frances S., 8. William, 9. Mary, 10. Haumer, 11. Mary, 12. Elizabeth, 13. Thomas. (4) Henry Ludlow married Mary Corbett, and their children numbered thirteen, of whom Sarah married Richard Morris; Mary married Peter Goelet; Gabriel married Miss Williams, whose daughter Mary married J. G. Bogart, and daughter Ann married Judge Brockholst Livingston; William married Mary Gouverneur, whose son William married the daughter of Robert Morris and left ten children, the eighth of whom, Thomas W., married Mary Bettner, and their son, Thomas W., married his cousin, Miss Carnochan; and Thomas married Mary, daughter of William Ludlow, leaving a daughter and two sons.

[illegible] sixth child of Gabriel Ludlow (the first in New York), married, (1) Frances, [illegible]mean, (2) Elizabeth Crommelin; among his numerous children, Gabriel Gulian Verplanck, whose son Gabriel V. married Elizabeth Hunter, [illegible]l-known citizen of the present time, married Elizabeth, daugh-

Meanwhile the gentle, unassuming, and melancholy Louis Philippe d'Orleans, after wandering through Germany, teaching geometry among the mountains of Switzerland, and suffering all manner of hardships, had, through the generous pecuniary aid of Gouverneur Morris — who placed fifteen hundred pounds to his credit in London — reached New York; and his two brothers, the Duke de Montpensier and the Count de Beaujolais soon joined him. Morris immediately wrote to his banker in New York, giving the young prince unlimited credit while he should remain in the United States. This was accepted in modest sums only, but the whole amount of indebtedness afterwards paid to Morris and his heirs amounted to somewhat over thirteen thousand dollars. The three brothers traveled on horseback in 1798, attended by a single servant, to see the interior of the United States, but were in New York during the winter following, and frequent guests of Hamilton and others, as well as of Morris at his home in Morrisania — after his return from Europe in December.

The Duke of Kent, son of George III., and father of Queen Victoria, was in New York at the same time, and the recipient of many distinguished civilities from the leading families. John Singleton Copley, afterwards Lord Lyndhurst, son of the celebrated portrait-painter of that name, was also in the city. He was a native of Boston, but had been carried an infant to England about two years before the war. He was now twenty-four, a somewhat tall, thin, pale, blue-eyed young man, of quiet habits, and tranquil and decidedly elegant manners. On one occasion he attended a dinner given by Louis Philippe at his modest lodgings, where one half the guests were seated upon the side of the bed for want of room to place chairs elsewhere.

Among all the Europeans of distinction, however, who were fêted by

ter of Hon. Edward P. Livingston, Lieutenant-Governor of New York; George D. married Frances, daughter of Thomas Duncan, and became Chief Justice of the Superior Court of New Brunswick after the Revolution, and one of his daughters married Richard Harrison; and Daniel, a wealthy banker who owned a country-seat at Baretto's Point on the East River, whence he drove to Wall Street four-in-hand every day, whose wife was Arabella, daughter of Thomas Duncan, and whose children were, 1. Harriet, married George Wright, 2. Daniel, 3. Robert, married Mary Peters, 4. Dr. Edward G., married Mary Lewis — granddaughter of Francis and Elizabeth Ludlow Lewis, and great-granddaughter of Governor Morgan Lewis — and their daughter Susan M. married J. Kearny Warner.

(8) William, fourth son of Gabriel Ludlow (the first in New York), married Mary, daughter of George Duncan; his children numbered twelve, of whom was Carey Ludlow, projector of the mansion on State Street as illustrated in our text.

(13) Thomas, the youngest of the thirteen children of Gabriel Ludlow (the first in New York), married Catharine L. Roux, and their daughter Sarah married Abraham Ogden, of whose eleven children, Catharine married Abijah Hammond, Gertrude married Joshua Waddington, and Margaretta married David B. Ogden.

the citizens of New York in the closing years of the century, none received greater honor than Kosciuszko, the accomplished Pole, who in the exercise of dictatorial power recently conferred upon him by his countrymen rivaled his great American contemporary in the vigor and integrity of his conduct. He came fresh from the rigors of a St. Petersburg prison in the autumn of 1797, having proudly declined all testimonials of Russian favor from the new emperor, who gave him his freedom immediately upon the death of Catharine. "He seems astonished at the homage he receives, and sees a brother in every man who is the friend of liberty," wrote the Duke de la Rochefoucauld Liancourt, who had been in America already some three years, and who was in New York at the time of Kosciuszko's arrival, meeting the Pole first at the house of General Gates. The Polish author, poet, and statesman, Count Niemcewicz, who had fought with Kosciuszko, and afterwards shared his imprisonment in Russia, was his companion on the journey to this country.

The learning and culture of the handsome Count Niemcewicz, not less than the grandeur of his sentiments and captivating manners, rendered him a peculiarly interesting personage. Like Kosciuszko, he was descended from a noble Lithuanian family, and had been educated in the military academy of Warsaw; but he strove rather to make the leading ideas of the liberal reform party popular by his writings in prose and verse than by the sword. He was forty years of age, two years younger than Kosciuszko. It was not long before he had seen the beauty, intellect, and refinement of the New York social world, for the dinners and entertainments of Governor Jay, of Hamilton, and of many others were of as frequent occurrence as in the time of Washington's residence in the city. And his appreciation may be measured by the fact that he chose a wife therefrom. The lady was Susan, daughter of Peter Van Brugh and Mary Alexander Livingston, and widow of John Kean — a member of Congress who died in 1795 — the first cousin of Mrs. Jay and of Lady Kitty Duer. Mrs. Kean had purchased "Liberty Hall," the beautiful country-seat of her uncle, Governor Livingston, and taken up her residence there; which after her marriage to Count Niemcewicz became once more the center of attraction for scholars, statesmen, and celebrities.[1]

[1] See (Vol. II.) p. 81, for sketch of "Liberty Hall." The "mantle of proprietorship rests at present upon the shoulders of Colonel John Kean, the grandson of the Countess Niemcewicz, great-grand-nephew of Governor Livingston, and brother-in-law of Hon. Hamilton Fish, late Secretary of State."—*The Homes of America*, by Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, p. 97. After Napoleon's invasion of Poland in 1807, Count Niemcewicz returned to Warsaw, and was appointed secretary of the senate; with the annexation of his native country to Russia he became president of the committee on the new constitution, in the authorship of which he took a prominent part. During the Revolution of 1830 he wielded great influence, and in his capacity of secre-

The yellow fever appeared in the city very suddenly in the summer of 1798, and many were seized with it before they had heard of its presence. Nearly one half of the cases reported in the month of August proved fatal. The horror of the situation was greatly increased by the alarm of the country people, who ceased bringing their produce to market. The relief committee appealed through the newspapers for supplies of poultry and small meats, so necessary to both sick and well, an appeal which met with a bounteous response. The number of deaths registered in a very brief time was two thousand and eighty-six. There had been a few cases in 1796 and in 1797, but hitherto no such dreadful visitation as this of 1798. Business was suspended, and schools and churches closed. Washington Square, purchased for a burial-place by the corporation in 1796, became a potter's field indeed, and not only strangers and common people but many persons of note were buried within its limits. 1798.



Stephen Van Rensselaer.
[Born 1764, died 1839.]

A large body of physicians and citizens was delegated to inquire into the causes of the pestilence after the danger was over, and various propositions for supplying the city with wholesome water were discussed. The Bronx River, in Westchester, was surveyed by an engineer, but the corporation shrunk from the enormous expense — estimated at one million of dollars — of obtaining water from that source.

The electioneering campaign had been opened with great vigor in the

tary drew up the resolution which expelled the Romanoff family from the throne of Poland. Among his principal works his *Historical Songs of the Poles*, with historical sketches (Warsaw, 1816) set to music, attained immense popularity ; in *Leb and Sarah, or Letters of Polish Jews*, he pictured the peculiar moral and intellectual condition of the Jews of Poland ; his history of the *Reign of Sigismund III.*, his brilliant historical novel, *John of Tenczyn*, and his fables and tales in the style of La Fontaine are all admirable ; but his eulogy on Kosciuszko has generally been esteemed his masterpiece.

spring of this year, and John Jay was in the end re-elected governor of the State by a triumphant majority over Chancellor Livingston. The
1798. Republicans made no nomination for lieutenant-governor, generally concurring in the support of Stephen Van Rensselaer, who was personally popular in all parts of the State. His career was but just unfolding, as it were, and we shall find him in subsequent years engaged in all manner of enterprises and labors for the promotion of education and science, and the general welfare and prosperity of the State.[1]

The State officers, in addition to the governor and lieutenant-governor, were Lewis A. Scott, secretary, Josiah Ogden Hoffman, attorney-general, Gerard Bancker, treasurer, Samuel Jones, comptroller, Simeon De Witt, surveyor-general, David S. Jones, private secretary to the governor, Jasper Hopper, deputy-secretary of the State, and Robert Hunter, commissioner of military stores. The council of appointment in 1798 consisted of Governor Jay, ex-officio, Thomas Morris, Leonard Gansevoort, Ambrose Spencer, and Andrew Onderdonk.

The year which succeeded the election was one of unsurpassed political excitement in the United States; but in no State was party heat more intense than in New York. All the old animosities generated in 1788 burst from their smothered confinement into a flame. Dispatches coming from the American envoys in France, Pinckney, Marshall, and Gerry, announcing the total failure of their mission of peace, startled the whole country; they had been informed both privately and officially that negotiations must remain in abeyance until money was paid into the French treasury by the Americans. Talleyrand wanted some $ 250,000 for his

[1] Stephen Van Rensselaer, the patroon and lieutenant-governor, born 1764, died 1839, was a soldier, a patriot, a philanthropist and a Christian, a man greatly respected and beloved by his contemporaries. He was the fifth in lineal descent from the original patroon, and founder of Rensselaerswick. (See Vol. I. 49, 61, 62, 205.) His father was Stephen Van Rensselaer, who died in 1769, and his mother was Catharine, daughter of Philip Livingston, signer of the Declaration of Independence (see Vol. I. 598, 758), who married for her second husband the Rev. Eilardus Westerlo of Albany. Thus Lieutenant-Governor Van Rensselaer was the cousin of Mrs. Jay, as well as the brother-in-law of Mrs. Hamilton. He married (1) Margaret, daughter of General Philip Schuyler, who had one son, Stephen, proprietor of the manorial estate, married Harriet E. Bayard; (2) Cornelia Patterson, whose children were, William P., married (1) Eliza P. Rogers, (2) Sarah Rogers; Philip, married Mary Tallmadge; Catharine, married Gouverneur Morris Wilkins; Rev. Cortlandt, married Catharine Ledyard Cogswell; Henry, married Mary Ray King; Alexander; Westerlo; Cornelia P., married Mr. Turnbull; Euphemia White, married John Church Cruger.

Philip Van Rensselaer, only brother of the patroon, born 1766, for many years mayor of Albany, married Ann, daughter of Lieutenant-Governor Pierre Van Cortlandt. Elizabeth, only sister of the patroon, born 1768, married, John Bradstreet Schuyler, the grandfather of Mr. John Schuyler of New York City; (2) John Bleecker, whose only daughter married Cornelius Van Rensselaer.

private disposal; and the Directory would listen to propositions only after $13,000,000, or thereabouts, had been loaned or donated! Talleyrand intimated that the penalty of refusal would be war. "War be it, then!" exclaimed Pinckney. "Millions for defense, sir, but not a cent for tribute!"

Vigorous measures were at once adopted by Congress for the raising of an army. President Adams appointed Washington commander-in-chief, who accepted and made Hamilton his second in command.

To check an abuse of the liberty of speech and of the press, and also to put a stop to interference from foreign powers in the internal regulations and policy of America, Congress during this session passed several acts which caused the administration of Adams to be stigmatized in the severest terms. The country swarmed with French spies and alien fugitives from justice, who aided by ambitious politicians, were employed in reviling the authorities and stirring up strife. In the event of a war the mischief would be appalling. The Alien and Sedition Laws were projected as a system of defense, and even before their passage revealed their worth through the flight of some of the most notorious disturbers of the peace. But they soon became excessively unpopular.

The joy was great in America at hearing of the release of Lafayette from the Austrian dungeon in which he had been so long confined. Congress had already appropriated to the pecuniary relief of his family the full amount of his pay as a major-general in the American service. But pleasurable emotions of any character were of short duration while war, with all its complications and horrors, seemed approaching with such appalling certainty. Governor Jay convened a special session of the legislature in the month of August, at Albany, to take measures for fortifying the harbor of New York; $1,200,000 was appropriated, the sum to go towards liquidating the Revolutionary balance due from the State to the general government — according to the offer of Congress — and a further sum was voted for the purchase of arms.

The sentiment of the country concerning war was variable. It might bring about an intimate alliance with Great Britain which was exceedingly distasteful to even the great mass of the Federalists. Some believed that the British government would be overthrown within two years. Others ridiculed such an idea. *The Aurora* and other organs of the Republicans boldly declared it better to pay the money demanded by France than to run the risk of war. Why not purchase peace of the French nation as well as that of the Indians and Algerines? But the impulse to sustain the dignity of America was overwhelming. Petitions against any hostile preparations were followed by addresses to the Presi-

dent from all parts of the country in support of his policy. Vice-President Jefferson as president of the Senate became seriously alarmed, and wrote to Madison that several of the prominent Republican senators had "gone over to the war-hawks."

A subscription was opened in the principal towns of the Union to raise means for building and equipping additional ships of war. Even in the then infant city of Cincinnati a sum was subscribed towards a galley for the defense of the Mississippi River.

Unable to make any effectual combined resistance to these measures for defense, the baffled and astounded leaders of the Opposition each did what he could after his own fashion. Albert Gallatin's strong point was the dependence of the revenue on commerce. A war would dry up that resource. Edward Livingston adopted the policy of voting for the highest sums proposed for whatever military objects, hoping to frighten the people by the expense. Such was the warmth of party feeling that violent personal assaults were of frequent occurrence. Edward Livingston had been re-elected to Congress in the spring by a majority nearly as large as that which placed John Jay for the second time in the governor's chair. Shortly afterward the young men of New York met to concert an address of approbation to President Adams. In *The Argus*, edited by Greenleaf, appeared the next day a paragraph ridiculing the meeting. The assemblage was styled the "Youth of the City," and the writer went on to say: "Colonel Nicholas Fish, a stripling of about forty-eight years, was made chairman, and, notwithstanding his green years, is said to have acquitted himself with all the judgment which might have been expected from a man full grown. We also hear that master Jemmy Jones, another boy not quite sixty, graced the assembly with his presence; what pleasure it must afford to the sincere friends of America to observe the rising generation thus early zealous in its country's cause!!!"

Mr. James Jones, the object of this satire, was not present at the meeting, and in great indignation called upon the printer and exacted from him a disclosure of the name of the author. It proved to be Judge Brockholst Livingston, the brother of Mrs. Jay. During the same after-
n Mr. Jones, while walking on the Battery with Mr. Henderson, met
e Livingston promenading with his wife and others, and asked to
k with him aside. Livingston immediately complied with the re-
st, and Jones inquired if he wrote the offensive paragraph. Livings-
said that he did write the paragraph, but meant no harm, nor should
e offended if any one took the like liberty with him. A few more
ed, when Jones attempted to seize Mr. Livingston by the nose,

and gave him several strokes with his cane. Mr. Henderson interfered, and prevented further violence. But a challenge followed, and a duel, in which Mr. Jones was killed. It was an event which produced great excitement at the time, and one which left on Judge Livingston's mind a gloom from which he never recovered, although afterward rewarded for his party services by high political preferment.

Edward Livingston achieved national fame by the conspicuous eloquence and vigor of his opposition to the Alien and Sedition Laws. His speech on the 21st of June was printed upon satin, and reached all classes, producing a thrilling effect. Hamilton himself no sooner saw the Sedition Bill in print than he wrote a letter of admonition and criticism. He thought it exceedingly exceptionable, and feared it might produce civil war. "Let us not establish tyranny," he said. "Energy is a very different thing from violence."

The precautions deemed necessary against French invasion and a slave insurrection excited angry opposition. Appropriations were made, but the minority denied any danger whatever from invasion, and ridiculed as visionary the idea of an insurrection, complaining loudly at the same time of the vast discretion given the President. The newspapers attacked the government, statesmen, citizens, and each other in a style of vulgar ferocity. The epithets of rogue, liar, scoundrel, and villain were bandied about between the editors without the least ceremony. Although the power and influence of the press as a whole, and its importance as a political agent, has materially increased since that period, yet the effect which any individual journal can produce has very greatly diminished. A newspaper then penetrated to localities where no other printed sheet, in a multitude of instances, ever appeared. Thus its falsehoods and its calumnies were uncontradicted, and produced the effect of sober truth. At present the mischief that can be done by misrepresentation is comparatively limited, since detection and exposure are always hovering in its wake. New York sustained the ablest daily Federal paper in the country, first issued on the 9th of December, 1793, and called *The Minerva*, its editor being the distinguished lexicographer, Noah Webster. With it was connected *The Herald*, a semi-weekly paper, made up without recomposition for country circulation, the first of that character, of which now nearly every daily has its weekly or semi-weekly edition prepared in the same way. The name of the paper was shortly changed from *Minerva* to *Commercial Advertiser*, which it still bears, and the semi-weekly edition was called *The New York Spectator* instead of *Herald*.

Noah Webster was forty years of age in 1798, tall, slender, graceful,

with keen gray eyes and sharply cut features, and was remarkable for his erect walk and perfection of neatness in dress. He was never seen on the street without a broad hat and a long cue. The first publishers of *The Commercial Advertiser* were George Bunce and Co.

The news of the capture of Bonaparte's fleet in the battle of the Nile was received in New York with open joy on the part of the Federalists, and with ill-concealed vexation by the Opposition. It was the first English victory for a quarter of a century which had been thus welcomed. Some one remarked, in the presence of Greenleaf, with surprise upon the quick voyage of an English vessel just arrived in the harbor. "It is not at all surprising, sir," was the sharp retort. "This country has been drawing nearer to Great Britain ever since the treaty was ratified, and of course vessels will have shorter passages."

Meanwhile Aaron Burr had been maturing plans to extricate New York from the hands of Hamilton and the Federalists. His first step was to secure his own election to the Assembly. He took great care in all his movements to shape trifling matters in such a way as to produce certain results upon the minds of men whose partisan feelings were weak and easily influenced. He would go to some country member who was panting with desire perhaps to hear his own voice in the Chamber, or to show his constituents his name in the newspaper, and ask him to introduce a resolution, or do some other formal business that would flatter his sense of personal consequence. He knew the political importance of every man from the recently organized western counties, and was assiduous in his polite attentions to them. For a while he was extremely anxious that the presidential electors should be chosen directly by the people, as he supposed the State could be more easily revolutionized in that way.

In the city there were only two banks, and these were under the management and control of the Federalists. One was a branch of the United States Bank, the other the Bank of New York. Both were to a considerable degree the creation of Hamilton, and both were charged with being influenced in their discounts by political considerations. Burr determined to found a bank which should equally accommodate the Opposition. But a chronic prejudice in the public mind against banks made the enterprise difficult to accomplish. Taking advantage of the investigations
[illegible] the cause of the terrible ravages of yellow fever in the city, and
[illegible]t the brackish wells contributed largely to the spread
adroitly organized a company for the ostensible
ity with pure and wholesome water, but which
s privileges of a bank. In applying to the
city was asked to raise two millions of

dollars, although it was uncertain how much money was needed. And as the amount named might possibly be too much, the projectors proposed to insert in the charter a provision that "the surplus capital might be employed in any way not inconsistent with the laws and Constitution of the United States, or of the State of New York." While under discussion it was proposed in the Senate to strike out of the bill this clause. Burr promptly explained that it was intended the directors should have liberty to found an East India Company, a bank, or anything else they deemed profitable, since merely supplying a city of fifty thousand inhabitants with water would not of itself remunerate the stockholders. But the reference to an East India Company or a bank being generally regarded as chimerical or visionary, little notice was taken of it. None except those in the secret suspected that the name "Manhattan Company" meant Manhattan Bank, and a large portion of the members who voted for the bill never even so much as read it. When referred to the chief justice of the State, its rejection was recommended because of the unlimited powers conferred by the surplus clause. These objections were, however, overruled, and Governor Jay signed the bill. The Republicans lauded Burr for his consummate address and success; but the effects injured the party, for a great clamor arose, the dexterous manœuver by which one object had been secured under cover of another was denounced in pamphlets and by the newspapers far and wide, and Burr lost his election to the Assembly in 1799 by an ominous majority; the ticket headed by his name was totally defeated. The bank, however, was immediately established, and became an institution of the first importance. It does not appear that even a show was ever made of bringing the water into the city. 1799.

The amount of personal insult and abuse which members of opposing parties heaped upon each other during the two last years of the administration of John Adams is not easily conveyed to the readers' comprehension by language. Jefferson wrote, "Men who have been intimate all their lives cross the street to avoid meeting." Again, he said, "All the passions are boiling over, and one who keeps himself cool and clear of the contagion is so far below the point of ordinary conversation that he finds himself insulated in every society." It was the era of bad feeling, and no one came out of the storm quite unscathed. "I do declare it was a pleasure to live in those good old days, when a Federalist could knock a Republican down in the streets and not be questioned about it," said a New York gentleman, then in Congress, to one of the prominent politicians of the present day while in his boyhood.

The following ludicrous incident, related by an eye-witness, forcibly

illustrates the prevailing spirit of the times. At one of the public meetings of politicians a respectable Republican, who was a tailor by trade, came before the audience, announcing his intention to make "a bit of a speech." Thereupon a famous Federal orator sprang to his feet, exclaiming, "The speaker is a tailor, and a tailor, as we know, is the ninth part of a man. Now, if the ninth part of a man makes 'a bit of a speech,' I put it to you all, gentlemen, to say how much of a speech will that be which is but a bit of the ninth part of a man!"

During the summer of 1799 Burr was scandalized by a rumor, that for Legislative services rendered the Holland Land Company had cancelled a bond against him for twenty thousand dollars. John B. Church had spoken with so much freedom about the matter that Burr challenged him to mortal combat. They met at Hoboken. Abijah Hammond attended Church, and Judge Burke, of South Carolina, attended Burr. A laughable incident varied the routine of the proceedings, and furnished New York with a joke and a byword for a long time to come. When Burr, before leaving home, handed the judge his pistol-case, he explained that the balls were cast intentionally too small, and that chamois leather cut, to the proper size, must be greased and put round them to make them fit. Leather and grease were within the case. After the principals had taken their stand, the judge tried to hammer in the ramrod with a stone, which Burr, observing, drew the ramrod as soon as the pistol was placed in his hand and told the judge the ball was not home. "I know it," was the quick reply of the judge, "I forgot to grease the leather; but don't keep your man waiting — just take a crack at him as it is, and I'll grease the next." Burr bowed graciously, and shots were exchanged without effect. Church made the requisite apology, and the parties returned to the city in the highest good-humor.

1799.

The scenes of a man's life are as requisite to an adequate view of his character as the frame of a picture and the proper distance and light whereby to examine it. Thus the reader who seeks correct intellectual and moral portraiture must become familiar with the place where and the people among whom a life drama has been enacted. It was a peculiar age. A new power was on trial. Political society was in the crude process of formation. And the career of the architect and organizer of this new power looms above the details of feud and controversy with all the charms of romance. Hamilton's acts had already gone deeply into the life of the nation, and as the leader of the dominant party, and confidential adviser of the Cabinet, he was playing a great part in national affairs. President Adams declared that while he was the nominal head of the nation, "Hamilton was commander-in-chief of the Senate, of the House of

Representatives, of the heads of departments, of General Washington, and last, and least, if you will, of the President of the United States."

But Hamilton had a rival in political consequence, of matchless audacity and unconquerable persistence, who was to teach the Opposition how to conquer. The rise of Aaron Burr to eminence in the political arena was more rapid than that of any other man who has played a conspicuous part in the affairs of the United States. Over the heads of influential men and able politicians in the State of New York, where leading families had for nearly a century and a half monopolized the offices of honor and emolument, Burr was advanced from a private station to the highest place at the bar, to a seat in the national councils, and, even, within four years, to a competition with Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and George Clinton for the presidency itself. The world wondered, for all this happened without his having originated any political idea or measure. President Adams attributed it to the prestige of Burr's father's and grandfather's name, Hamilton to his wire-pulling, others to his military reputation, and some to good luck. Burr's own circle of friends regarded his elevation as the legitimate result of superiority in knowledge, culture, and talents. In his law-practice, he is said never to have lost a case which he personally conducted. His tact was marvelous. In speaking, he was never diffuse. His language was that of a well-bred and thoroughly informed man of the world, clear, concise, and precise, and his style that of conversation rather than oratory. Thus it was extremely difficult to report his speeches. When arrayed against each other, Hamilton would exhaust a case, giving ample statement to every point, anticipating every objection, saying everything that could be fairly said in the fullest manner, often speaking for two or three hours with court and jury fascinated by his lofty eloquence. In replying, Burr would choose two or three vulnerable yet vital points, and quietly demolish them, leaving every other part of his antagonist's argument untouched; thus he sometimes neutralized the effect of one of Hamilton's brilliant orations in a twenty minutes' speech, always observing strictly the proper courtesies of the bar, with complaisant air, and singular composure and courtliness of bearing.

Both Hamilton and Burr were more or less the subjects of local influences, and their habits and peculiarities were colored by their surroundings. It is well known that the law of the pistol was then in full force, and that duels were of frequent occurrence. Hamilton had been bred, if not born, in New York, and connected as he was by marriage with families thoroughly identified with her foundation and development, he had naturally imbibed all the feudal proclivities and prejudices which had been

handed along from generation to generation. In private interest and public spirit he was essentially a New-Yorker. And the elements of which New York was composed, acting upon his peculiar temperament and powers, helped to make him what he was to the national government. Nor should New York forget how largely his breadth of vision and creative talent contributed to the growth, multiplication, and prosperity of her educational institutions. His success at the New York bar at a time when all legal problems were more difficult of solution than ever before or since won universal and deserved renown. On the retirement of Jay, the office of Chief Justice of the United States was offered him, which he declined on the ground that his "ambition and duty lay elsewhere in the public service." He was a conscientious believer in the system of government he had helped to found, was indifferent to the accumulation of wealth, and his thoughts and acts were constantly directed to intricate questions and interests of vast magnitude. Talleyrand said that he had known nearly all the marked men of his time, but had never known one, on the whole, equal to Hamilton.

The death of Washington on the 14th of December, 1799, threw the whole nation into the deepest mourning. Public testimonials of
1799. grief and reverence were displayed on every hand. The vestry of Trinity Church assembled at the house of the Right Reverend Bishop Provost, to give expression to sorrow, and the record, entered alone on the broad page of a large folio and surrounded by a black border, reads as follows: "Ordered, that in consideration of the death of the late Lieutenant George Washington, the several churches belonging to this corporation be put in mourning."

These sentiments of sorrow were by no means confined to the United States. When the news reached England, Lord Bridport, commanding a fleet of sixty ships of the line, lying at Torbay, lowered his flag half mast, every vessel following his example. Bonaparte announced Washington's death to the French army, ordering black crape suspended from all the standards and flags throughout the public service for ten days.

The mourning in America was universal. It was manifested by every token which could indicate public sentiment and feeling. Eulogy exhausted the resources of language. The "Grand Council" of the nation, orators, divines, journalists, and writers of every class employed their talents in honoring his memory. "Silence would best become our grief," spoke an eloquent senator to a tearful audience, "but it would not become our love. As our love is even greater than our grief, we must speak. We must express our gratitude, we must show our admiration. It is the consolation left us to proclaim to a listening world his deeds of matchless

merit. When there was danger, he was the first to meet it, when labor, the first to share it, when distress, the first to feel it, when merit, the first to praise it, and when service, the first to perform it. Had he been a Cæsar, his army would have made him an emperor. But being Washington, he brought that army to respect the civil authority, and to obey the laws of its country."

And not only the land of his birth but the whole civilized world paid respectful tribute to the greatness of the man, who, more than any other in ancient or modern history, is entitled to the affectionate appellation of THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY.

The present century opened inauspiciously. At no period of Washington's long and useful life could his loss have been a greater public affliction. His death hushed for a moment even the violence 1800. of the political whirlwind, but the Federalists felt that in that pause the sheet-anchor of the ship of State had parted its fastenings. Clear-sighted politicians knew too well how much depended upon the influence of a single name and on the popularity of a single individual. President Adams was not in harmony with his cabinet or his party. His feeling towards Hamilton was revealed by his neglect to appoint him to the command of the army in place of the deceased chief; and Hamilton was resolved to prevent the re-election of Adams to the Presidential chair. The period long hoped for by the Opposition had arrived. The disagreements between the President and a large division of the Federalists widened into an irreparable breach.

Adams had appointed envoys a few months before to discuss and settle all controversies between the French government and this country, the Directory having made a fresh proposal of negotiation. Oliver Ellsworth, the foremost man in Connecticut, who had succeeded Jay as chief justice of the United States in 1796, Patrick Henry, late governor of Virginia, and William V. Murray, minister to the Hague, were the chosen diplomatists. Three of the cabinet ministers objected to the mission on the ground that the French were insincere, and that the honor of America would not allow any further advances on our part, at least while the piratical French decrees against American commerce remained unrepealed — objections in which Hamilton and a large number of the Federalists concurred. The President acted in this connection without consulting his cabinet ministers, knowing their sentiments. The three gentlemen were deeply offended. Presently Adams had reason to believe, or imagined, that they were disposed to clog all his measures which did not meet their approval, and removed two of them, Secretary McHenry and Secretary Pickering, from their offices.

The envoys to France found the government in new hands.[1] Napoleon Bonaparte, as first consul of the republic, was energetically engaged in trying to establish order. He was disposed to negotiate, and before the end of September differences had been adjusted between the two nations and a treaty signed.[2] It seemed at this juncture as if a universal cessation of hostilities was about to mark the history of Europe.

The wisdom of the mission was thereby justified; for had negotiation been unprovided for, the speedy European peace that followed would have left America to fight alone; or, that being out of the question, as it would have been, to accept such terms as France might choose to dictate.

Whatever may be thought of the policy of Adams, his determination to exercise his own judgment and boldly risk his personal popularity to secure to his country an honorable peace, made one thing evident. He could not be depended upon as the instrument of a party. Long before the results of the mission to France were known, the bitter feud between the Federal leaders rendered it certain that Adams could not be re-elected to the Presidential chair.

Hamilton was acutely indignant upon learning that the President had freely mentioned him by name as acting under British influence. He subsequently wrote and privately circulated a pamphlet to portray the unfitness of Adams for the administration of the government. Wolcott and the two ex-secretaries, confident in their own wisdom and integrity, matured a plan in connection with Hamilton for quietly displacing Adams without seeming to make an open attack upon him. In this they were aided by the method in vogue of voting for two candidates without distinction as to the office for which they were intended. They resolved to bring forward the two names of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and John Adams, and then find means to secure Pinckney the larger vote.

The Republicans took immediate advantage of the situation. By a current calculation the result of the Presidential election was made to rest upon the vote of New York alone, and even upon the members of Assembly to be chosen in the city of New York at the spring election, as the Presidential electors were chosen by the legislature in joint ballot. Aaron Burr was not himself a city candidate, which circumstance prevented the Manhattan Bank question from prejudicing the election, but was shrewdly nominated and elected from the county of Orange. With matchless foresight he drafted an imposing catalogue of names for the

[1] Napoleon Bonaparte was chosen first consul of the republic December 13, 1799, from which time his line of policy distinctly unfolded itself.

[2] The treaty between France and the United States was signed September 30, 1800. It was ratified by President Adams, February 18, 1801, and by Bonaparte, July 31, 1801.

city ticket, and then applied himself resolutely to the task of inducing the gentlemen to permit their names to be used. As jealousies existed between the Clintons and Livingstons, he adroitly placed ex-Governor George Clinton at the head of the list, Judge Brockholst Livingston second, and General Horatio Gates, whose enmity to Schuyler and Hamilton still rankled, immediately following. Each of these men represented a faction of the Republican party, and were by no means disposed to act together. For a long time each was deaf to arguments and entreaties. Burr was persistent in trying to overcome their objections. Clinton had himself pretensions to the Presidency. Seven years before he had received fifty electoral votes out of one hundred and thirty-two, while Jefferson had but four. He did not like Jefferson, and he liked Burr less than Jefferson. To be asked to stand for the Assembly for the sole purpose of helping Jefferson into the Presidential chair, brought heavy lines into his stern face. And the solicitation coming from an aspiring individual who was only a stripling aide-de-camp when he was the foremost man in the State, and who had actually received thirty electoral votes to his four in 1797, did not brighten the prospect. Burr was mildly persuasive, and talked eloquently of sacrificing personal or ambitious considerations for the good of the party. For many days Clinton was firm in his refusal. The final interview occurred at Burr's residence, at Richmond Hill. Burr was never more fluent or captivating. When all the old and new arguments had been exhausted in vain, and the committee was in despair, Burr said that it was a right inherent in the community to command the services of an able man at a great crisis, and announced the intention of the party to nominate and elect Clinton without regard to his inclination. Clinton at last promised that he would not publicly repudiate the nomination; and that during the canvass he would refrain in his ordinary conversation from denouncing Jefferson, as had become habitual with him. He kept his word, but rendered no personal assistance in the campaign.

The next movement was to secure the consent of Gates, and it is said that the art with which Burr worked upon his foibles and judgment was marvelous. Gates yielded, as did also, after repeated interviews, Judge Livingston. The consent of the nine less conspicuous persons was obtained only after much trouble. Burr then commenced operations directly upon the public mind. He provided for a succession of ward and general meetings, nearly all of which he attended and addressed. He was continually declaring that the Republicans had really a majority in the city; and he superintended the making out of lists of the voters with the political history of each appended in parallel columns, to which was added all new information obtained. The finance committee had prepared a list

of the wealthy Republicans, with the sum of money it was proposed to solicit from each, attached to his name. Burr glanced over it, and observing that a certain politician, equally remarkable for zeal and parsimony, was assessed one hundred dollars, said, quietly, "Strike out his name, for you will not get the money, and from the moment the demand is made upon him his exertions will cease, and you will not see him at the polls during the election." The name was erased. Lower down in the catalogue he noticed the same sum placed opposite the name of another man who was liberal with his money, but incorrigibly lazy. "Double it," he said, "and tell him no labor will be expected from him, except an occasional attendance in the committee-room to help fold the tickets." The result was as predicted. The lazy man paid the money cheerfully, and the stingy man worked day and night. In all Burr's lists a man's opinions and temperament were not only noted, but his habits, and the amount of excitement or inducement necessary to overcome any fatal disposition to neglect visiting the polls. Whenever Burr came in contact with the humblest of his adherents he treated them so sweetly and blandly that his manners were remembered when the whole conversation had passed from the mind.

The polls opened on the morning of the 29th of April, and closed at sunset on the 2d of May. During these few days the exertions of both parties were beyond parallel. Hamilton was personally in the field, animating the Federalists with his powerful orations. Burr was perpetually addressing large assemblages of Republicans. Sometimes the two appeared on the same platform, and addressed the multitude in turn. On these occasions their bearing toward each other was so deferentially courteous and graceful as never to be forgotten by those present.

Several causes served to weaken the Federalists other than the significant division of party. The enforcement of the odious Alien and Sedition Laws had exasperated a large community of good citizens. The arrest of Judge Peck, for instance, at Otsego, for circulating a sharply worded petition that the odious laws might be repealed, roused the whole State. "A hundred missionaries stationed between New York and Cooperstown ...uld not have done so much for the Republican cause as this journey ...udge Peck, a prisoner, torn from his family, to the capital of the ... writes Hammond. "It was nothing less than the public exhibi... a suffering martyr for the freedom of speech and the press, and ...ht of petitioning." A special point was also made by the Oppo... the fact that nearly all the Tories of the Revolution, then living, ...ed themselves with the Federalists.

... the two great rivals slept, after the contest ended, they learned

that the Republicans had carried the city by a majority of four hundred and ninety votes. The news took the whole country by surprise. It was a great national victory for the Republicans, after twelve years of defeat. Vice-President Jefferson called upon President Adams the evening after the startling intelligence was received in Philadelphia, and found him in great dejection. "Well, I understand that you are to beat me in this contest, and I will only say that I will be as faithful a subject as any you will have," said the President. "Mr. Adams," replied Jefferson, "this is no personal contest between you and me. Two systems of principles on the subject of government divide our fellow-citizens into two parties; with one of these you concur, and I with the other. As we have been longer on the stage than most of those now living, our names happen to be more generally known. One of these parties, therefore, has put your name at its head, the other mine. Were we both to die to-day, to-morrow two other names would be in the place of ours, without any change in the motion of the machinery. Its motion is from its principle, not from you or myself."

Congress was in session, and the possibility being settled that a Republican President and Vice-President could be elected, it became necessary to decide upon candidates. For the first office all eyes turned towards Jefferson. It was agreed to nominate a Vice-President from New York, and Chancellor Livingston, ex-Governor Clinton, and Burr were all mentioned. The deafness of Chancellor Livingston presented an insurmountable barrier to his nomination, and as the sudden rise of the Republican party was due to the exertions of Burr, he became the nominee, with the distinct understanding, however, that Jefferson was the choice of the party for President.

Hamilton was greatly disappointed. Yet he did not despair. One of his first acts, with the approval, it is said, of a caucus of his political friends in New York, was to address a letter to Governor Jay requesting and urging him to convene the Legislature before its year expired — on the 1st of July — with a view of changing the manner of choosing Presidential electors in the State. Jay refused to yield to the pressing solicitation, and on the back of the letter indorsed with his own hand these words, "Proposing a measure for party purposes, which I think it would not become me to adopt."

On the first Tuesday of November Governor Jay appeared before the newly chosen Legislature of the State, and in his speech alluded to the cause of the early session, which was to appoint Presidential electors, and recommended the suppression of all inflammatory feeling. The two houses immediately proceeded to the business before

them. The Senate nominated Federalists, the Assembly Republicans. Upon a joint ballot the Republican ticket received a majority of twenty-two votes. The men chosen were, Pierre Van Cortlandt, Jr., Anthony Lispenard, Isaac Ledyard, James Burt, Gilbert Livingston, Thomas Jenkins, Peter Van Ness, Robert Ellis, John Woodworth, Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, Jacob Acker, and William Floyd. On the 6th John Armstrong was elected to the Senate of the United States in place of John Lawrence, who had resigned. He was eminent for talents and a political writer of great force and originality; and the brother-in-law of Chancellor Livingston. He had been a Federalist until a recent period, even as late as 1797, since when he had joined the Republicans. Before the session adjourned on the 8th to the last Tuesday in January, 1801, the Republicans nominated George Clinton for governor, and Jeremiah Van Rensselaer for lieutenant-governor, to be supported at the next election. On the same day the Federalists held a meeting and addressed Governor Jay, with a request that he should be a candidate for re-election, which he positively declined, having determined to retire from all public employment. Stephen Van Rensselaer accordingly received the nomination for governor.

Meanwhile the seat of government had been, during the early summer months, removed from Philadelphia to its new home on the Potomac. Secretary Wolcott wrote on the 4th of July, from the building at Washington erected for the use of the Treasury Department: "Immense sums have been squandered in buildings which are but partly finished, in situations which are not, and never will be, the scenes of business, while the parts near the public buildings are almost wholly unimproved. You may look in almost any direction, over an extent of ground nearly as large as the city of New York, without seeing a fence or any object except brick-kilns and temporary huts for laborers. There is one good tavern about forty rods from the Capitol, and several other houses are built and erecting; but I do not perceive how the members of Congress can possibly secure lodgings, unless they will consent to live like scholars in a college, or monks in a monastery, crowded ten or twenty in one house, and utterly secluded from society. There appears to be a confident expectation that this place will soon exceed any city in the world. No stranger can be here a day, and converse with the proprietors, without conceiving himself in the company of crazy people. On the whole, I must say that the situation is a good one, and I perceive no reason for suspecting it to be unhealthy; but I had no conception, till I [illegible] of the folly and infatuation of the people who have directed [illegible] Though five times as much money has been expended

1800.

as was necessary, and though the private buildings are in number sufficient for all who will have occasion to reside here, yet there is nothing convenient and nothing plenty but provisions; there is no industry, society, or business."

In regard to the Executive Mansion, Wolcott spoke of it as "The Palace," a term in common use for many years; he wrote: "It is about as large as the wing of the Capitol, except that it is not so high. It is highly decorated, and makes a good appearance, but it is in a very unfinished state. I cannot but consider the Presidents as very unfortunate men if they must live in this dwelling. It is cold and damp in winter, and cannot be kept in tolerable order without a regiment of servants. It was built to be looked at by visitors and strangers, and will render its occupant an object of ridicule with some, and of pity with others."

Mrs. Adams wrote in a similar strain on the 21st of November. She thought it would require about thirty servants to keep the house and stables in proper order. "An establishment very well proportioned to the President's salary," she added ironically. She had made up her mind to content herself anywhere for three months, until the expiration of her husband's term of office, but the want of comforts was a great trial. "If they will put me up some bells — there is not one hung through the whole house and promises are all you can obtain — and let me have wood enough to keep fires, I design to be pleased," she said. "But surrounded by forests, can you believe that wood is not to be had, because people cannot be found to cut and cart it! The principal stairs are not up, and will not be this winter. There is not a single apartment finished, and all withinside, except the plastering, has been done since Briesler came. We have not the least fence, yard, or other convenience without, and the great unfinished audience-room (East Room) I make a drying room of, to hang up the clothes in. Woods are all you can see from Baltimore until you reach the city, which is only so in name. Here and there is a small cot, without a glass window, interspersed along the forests, through which you travel miles without seeing a human being."

The public offices had hardly been established at Washington when the War Office took fire and was burned, occasioning the destruction of many valuable papers. In the course of the winter a like accident happened to the Treasury Department, although the destruction of papers was comparatively trifling. In the rabid party fury these fires were by the Opposition newspapers attributed to design on the part of certain public officers, who, it was said, hoped thus to destroy the evidence of pecuniary defalcations.

Secretary Wolcott had felt his position in the President's cabinet ex-

...ssal of his colleagues, and
...d for retiring. In notifying
...mination, he asked an investi-
...d not been less decisive in his
... who were removed, but he had
... Adams great courtesy of manner;
... Secretary of the Treasury, whose place
... and that he was leaving the Treasury
... twelve years of laborious and important
... little money in his pocket. Adams, with a
... Wolcott by surprise, appointed him judge

...son, who had been appointed Secretary of War
... year, succeeded Wolcott in the Treasury. Oliver
... ained in Europe by ill health after his mission to
... ly concluded, sent in his resignation of chief justice,
... immediately tendered for the second time to John Jay,
... ving resolved that nothing should interfere with his
... ring from public life. Adams then conferred the important
... Marshall, the successor of Pickering as Secretary of State.
... City, although the focus of Hamilton's influence, and the
... Burr was distancing all his competitors in the arts of intrigue,
... deed of the obstinate struggle for the supremacy of a national
... was not entirely given over to politics. Its inhabitants and its
... ons multiplied in rapid ratio. The population already numbered
... thousand. The third Presbyterian Church edifice had been erected
... a lot donated by Henry Rutgers, corner of Rutger and Henry Streets,
... and was first opened for public worship in May, 1798. The location was
... barren of habitable surroundings until after the beginning of the century.
The bridge at Canal Street presented a rural picture which it is interesting to perpetuate. During the same year (1798) the first monthly concert of prayer was held in the Scotch Presbyterian Church in Cedar Street, the second in the Wall Street Presbyterian Church, the third in the Middle Dutch Church, in Nassau Street. It was a union of the three denominations and grew out of private prayer-meetings instituted by Mrs. Isabella Graham, a remarkable Scotch lady who had been persuaded in 1789, by Rev. Dr. Witherspoon, to break up a flourishing school in Edinburgh and establish a similar school for young ladies in New York City. She was gifted with exceptional religious as well as intellectual activity, and was considered a great acquisition to the cause of education in this country. She was sustained in her enterprise by the clergy of all denominations,

and the most influential families were among the patrons of her school. She originated the Society for the Relief of Poor Widows with Small Children, organized at her own residence in 1797; her name appears as first directress of its board of managers, Mrs. Sarah Hoffman second directress, and Mrs. Joanna Bethune third directress. At the first annual meeting of this society, in 1798, ninety-eight widows, with two hundred and twenty-three children, were reported as having been brought through the severity of the winter with comfort, who would otherwise have been condemned to the almshouse. Erelong the ladies discovered the necessity of some systematic provision for the orphan children of the deceased widows, hence the foundation of the New York Orphan Asylum at a later date.



Bridge at Canal Street in 1800.

The Methodists had by this time become numerous in the city. Their first house of worship in John Street was built in 1768, but the regular establishment of the Methodist Episcopal Church did not occur until 1784. The second church edifice of this denomination was erected in Forsyth, near Division Street, about 1790, a wood structure, costing two thousand dollars. Another organization built a house of worship in Duane Street, near Hudson, in 1797, upon which was expended about ten thousand dollars. The fourth Methodist Church was instituted in 1800; an old building was hired on a long lease and occupied as a place of worship, standing near the present St. Mark's Place. It was called the Two-mile-stone Church, having originated in a weekly prayer-meeting established by two members of the John Street Church many years before, among the scattered residents on the road leading to Harlem, and styled the Two-mile-stone Prayer-meeting, from being two miles from what was then the center of the city. The fifth Methodist Church was not organized until 1810. The Methodist clergymen of the period were Rev. Daniel Smith, Rev. William Phœbus, Rev. John McCloskey, Rev. Michael Coats, and Rev. Thomas Sergent.

The first missionary society was founded in 1796, its purpose being to propagate the gospel among the Indians and the destitute settlers on the frontier. Rev. Dr. Rodgers was president, Rev. Dr. Livingston vice-president, Alexander Robertson treasurer, Rev. Dr. John M. Mason secretary, and Rev. John N. Abeel clerk. The directors were Rev. Dr. William Linn, Rev. Dr. John McKnight, Rev. Benjamin Foster, Rev.

Gerardus A. H. Kuypers, Rev. Samuel Miller, Leonard Bleecker, John Broome, J. Machaness, Thomas Storm, Ezekiel Robbins, George Lindsay, and John Murray. The earliest annual sermon preached before this society was by Rev. Dr. Livingston, a sermon which was published and found its way to Williamstown, where it was read by the students who prayed under the haystack in the field back of Williams College.

Several religious societies were in existence at the beginning of the century. Also a charity for the relief of distressed persons, of which Rev. Dr. Rodgers was president, Rev. Dr. Abram Beach vice-president, John Murray treasurer, and James Bleecker secretary. Dr. Rodgers was also president of the City Dispensary, Moses Rodgers treasurer, Anthony Bleecker secretary, and Rev. Dr. Linn, Rev. Dr. Beach, Dr. John Charlton, John Watts, Matthew Clarkson, General Jacob Morton, James Watson, John Broome, John Cozine, Samuel Osgood, and John Murray, trustees.

Anthony Bleecker was at this time about thirty years of age, a graduate of Columbia, a lawyer and a gentleman of classical education and belles-lettres tastes. He was a member of the Drone Club, a social and literary circle instituted about the year 1792 as an aid to intellectual advancement. Its members were recognized by proofs of authorship, and included such men as Kent, Dunlap, Johnson, Dr. Edward and Rev. Samuel Miller, Dr. Mitchill, Josiah Ogden Hoffman, and Charles Brockden Brown. Bleecker wrote for the Drone in prose and verse, and was for many years a prolific contributor to the periodicals of the day. Charles Brockden Brown came to New York in 1796, at the age of twenty-five, ambitious to devote himself to letters, and in 1798 issued his first novel, entitled *Wieland*, a powerful and original romance; and in 1799 *Osmond, or the Secret Witness*. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Rev. Dr. Linn. He is said to have been the first American who ventured to pursue literature as a profession. In 1800 he published the second part of *Arthur Mervyn*, and had at the same time several other works in progress.

Near the river shore, the grounds ornamented with majestic sycamores, stood the venerated seat of classical lore, Columbia College. "Those venerable trees," said the Hon. John Jay in his centennial address in 1876, "had an historic interest from the fact which, when a boy, I heard from the lips of Judge Egbert Benson during one of his visits to my grandfather at Bedford, that those trees were carried to the green by himself, Jay, Robert R. Livingston, and I think Richard Harrison, and planted by their own hands." President William Samuel Johnson resigned his office at the close of the college year in 1800, and Rev. Dr. Charles Henry

Wharton, an Episcopal clergyman and author, became president of the institution for one year. He resigned in 1801, and the accomplished scholar and divine, Benjamin Moore, Episcopal Bishop of New York, was elected to the chair, which position he filled until 1811. The professors were all men of exceptional scholarship, and the influence of the institution upon the literary character of the State was marked, many of the graduates attaining great distinction in professional and public life. Among the students when the century opened were John Anthon, Henry H. Schieffelin, and Gulian Crommelin Verplanck, representing respectively our lawyers, merchants, and men of letters.[1] Others upon the roll included Philip Hamilton, Robert Benson, John J. De Peyster, Lewis M. Ogden, John Delafield, Edward P. Livingston, afterwards lieutenant-governor of the State (grandson of Philip, signer of the Declaration of Independence), John McComb, who married Livingston's sister, Clement C. Moore, afterwards professor of Hebrew and Greek literature, and Nathaniel F. Moore, long identified with the college as professor, president, and trustee, blending rare learning with a loving appreciation of the Greek dramatists. He said "the college was much more to educate than to instruct; to open the door for all knowledge, to strengthen the judgment, to purify the affection, to refine the taste, and to secure for the moral and intellectual powers the proper culture." David S. Jones and Gouverneur Ogden were in the class of 1796. John Ferguson, John Brodhead Romeyn, a distinguished clergyman, Pierre C. Van Wyck, recorder of the city, and Daniel D. Tompkins, judge, governor of the State, and vice-president of the United States, who entitled himself to eternal honor by recommending, while governor, the establishment of a day when slavery in New York should forever cease, were in the class of 1795; and in that of 1792, 1793, and 1798, were, respectively, Cornelius Brower, John Brower, and Jacob Brower, of a wealthy and substantial Dutch family who settled in New York about 1635. And the familiar names of Gouverneur Kemble, John L. Lawrence, William M. Price and his brother Stephen, so prominently connected with the criminal law and theatricals of New York, and John McVickar, professor of moral and intellectual philosophy, belles lettres, and political economy, are found upon the lists of 1803 and 1804.



Hamersley Arms.
With the Durham quarterings.
[From the monument of Sir Hugh Hamersley in London.]
[See note, page 209.]

The professor of the Institutes of Medicine from 1792 to 1808 was Dr. William Hamersley, who had received his medical degree at Edinburgh,

[1] *Columbia College Centennial Address*, by the Hon. John Jay, December 21, 1876.

and who was a gentleman of varied learning and great elegance of manners. He was also professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine from 1795 to 1813. The professor of Botany from 1795 to 1811 was the celebrated Dr. David Hosack. The professor of Anatomy from 1793 to 1813 was Dr. Wright Post. The professor of Surgery from 1793 to 1811 was Dr. Richard Bailey. Other members of the Medical Faculty were Dr. John R. B. Rodgers and Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchell. The dean, from 1792 to 1804, was Dr. Samuel Bard. The New York Hospital at this period afforded one of the best practical medical schools in the United States, and its governors embraced some of the leading men of the period.

When the returns of the electoral votes came in it was soon known that the Republican ticket had triumphed, as had been generally ex-
1801. pected. But, what was anything but agreeable to the Republican party at large, Jefferson and Burr had both received the same number of votes. The decision therefore rested, according to the Constitution, upon the House of Representatives voting by States.

In December, before the equality of votes was precisely ascertained, the Federalists conceived the idea of disappointing Jefferson and the body of the Opposition, by giving the first office to Burr. Hamilton vigorously disapproved of such a course. He wrote to Wolcott on the 16th: "I trust New England will not so far lose its head as to fall into the snare. There is no doubt that, upon every prudent and virtuous calculation, Jefferson is to be preferred. He is by far not so dangerous a man, and he has pretensions to character. As to Burr, there is nothing in his favor. His private character is not defended by his most partial friends. He is bankrupt beyond redemption, except by the plunder of his country. His public principles have no other spring or aim than his own aggrandizement. If he can, he will certainly disturb our institutions to secure to himself permanent power and with it wealth." Hamilton wrote a similar letter to Morris on the 26th: "I trust the Federalists will not be so mad as to vote for Burr. If there be a man in the world I ought to hate, it is Jefferson. With Burr I have always been personally well. But the public good must be paramount to every private consideration."

Hamilton was confident Burr never could be won to Federal views, as some of the party fondly imagined. "He may break with the Republicans, but it will certainly not be to join the Federalists. He will never choose to lean on good men, because he knows they will never support his bad projects; but instead of this, he will endeavor to disorganize both parties, and to form from them a third, composed of men best fitted for

tools." Subsequent events proved that Hamilton's judgment of Burr was correct; but being supposed influenced by professional jealousy, or prejudiced through political collisions with Burr, his warnings were little heeded. Gouverneur Morris had been elected in the spring of 1800 by the Legislature of New York to supply a vacancy in the Senate of the United States, but kept aloof as much as possible from the strife resulting from the tie. He wrote to Hamilton soon after Congress assembled at Washington, saying: "Since it was evidently the intention of our fellow-citizens to make Mr. Jefferson their President, it seems proper to fulfill that intention." The crisis approached slowly. The whole country had become painfully alive to a threatened danger of great magnitude.

Meanwhile the Republicans of New York were planning to overcome the Federalists in the city government. The public mind was systematically poisoned with charges against nearly every man in authority, and the zeal for change became fiery and unmanageable. The rival candidates for mayor were Richard Varick, who had filled the office for twelve years, and Edward Livingston, who was not a candidate for re-election to the Seventh Congress. The popularity of Edward Livingston, and his known competency to execute with precision all the duties pertaining to the mayoralty, together with his unconquerable energy, rendered his appointment extremely probable. The mayor's office at that time is said to have been worth about ten thousand dollars per annum.

[The Engine-house shown in the cut is a fac-simile of the seal adopted by Joseph Hornblower, the ancestor of the Hornblower family in this country. It represents an engine-house in the style in which those structures were built to accommodate the Newcomen Engines — which were very gigantic affairs. Every engine had a house built for its accommodation. The walking-beam rested on one of the outside walls with one arm inside, connected with the piston-rod of the engine, and the other outside, connected with the pump. For the impression of the seal, and description of the engine-house, the author is indebted to the courtesy of the Hon. Joseph P. Bradley, of the Supreme Court, Washington, D. C.]



Steam-Engine House.
[Erected at the Schuyler Mines on the Passaic in 1753.]
[See pp 426, 427, Vol. II.]

CHAPTER XLII.

1801 - 1804.

THE NEW POLITICAL ERA.

THE PRESIDENTIAL TIE. — JEFFERSON AND BURR. — THE NEW CABINET. — THE NEW YORK CONTEST FOR GOVERNOR. — DEFEAT OF THE FEDERALISTS. — THE LIVINGSTONE IN POWER. — THE MAYORALTY OF THE CITY. — DUEL OF PHILIP HAMILTON. — THE EVENING POST. — THE NEWSPAPER WAR. — DUELING. — COLEMAN AND CHEETHAM. — PRESIDENT JEFFERSON. — THE GRANGE. — THEODOSIA BURR. — DINNER TO THE INDIAN CHIEF. — BURR'S INDEPENDENT PARTY. — DUEL OF DE WITT CLINTON AND SWARTWOUT. — CHANCELLOR LIVINGSTON SECURES LOUISIANA. — DE WITT CLINTON APPOINTED MAYOR. — BURR'S STRUGGLE FOR THE GOVERNORSHIP. — RESULTS OF THE STORMY ELECTION. — HAMILTON'S LIBEL SUIT. — BURR CHALLENGES HAMILTON. — DUEL OF BURR AND HAMILTON. — SORROWFUL SCENES. — DEATH OF HAMILTON. — BURR'S MOVEMENTS. — PUBLIC SENTIMENT. — TOMB OF HAMILTON.

HEAVY clouds hung over the new city of Washington on the morning of the 11th of February, 1801, and before nine o'clock snow began to fall. The great day had at last arrived. The House of Representatives proceeded in a body to the Senate-Chamber, where Vice-President Jefferson, in view of both houses of Congress, opened the certificates of the electors of the different States. As the votes were read the tellers on the part of each house counted and took lists of them, which being compared and delivered to Jefferson, he announced the result as follows: for Thomas Jefferson seventy-three, for Aaron Burr seventy-three, for John Adams sixty-five, for Charles C. Pinckney sixty-four, for John Jay one. Jefferson then declared that the choice devolved upon the House.

1801.

There were sixteen States in the Union, and a majority of these States was necessary to an election. If results had depended upon a majority of the members, Burr would undoubtedly have been chosen on the first vote. As it was, thirty-five ballotings ended alike, showing eight States in favor of Jefferson, six for Burr, and two States, Vermont and Maryland, equally divided. New York voted steadily for Jefferson.

Before proceeding to the great business of the day, the House resolved

not to adjourn till a President had been chosen. One member, too ill to leave his bed, was borne on a litter to the Capitol; his wife attended him, and remaining at his side administered his medicines. The ballot-boxes were carried to his couch, so that he did not miss a single ballot. All that day, all through the night, and until noon of the day following, the balloting went on. Then the exhausted members evaded their resolution not to adjourn, by agreeing to take a recess. "Our opponents have begged for a dispensation from their own regulation," wrote John Randolph.

For seven days the country was kept in a ferment by the wild reports from the capital. The governor of Virginia established a line of express riders between Washington and Richmond during the whole of this eventful week, that he might learn as speedily as possible the result of each ballot. On the 15th Jefferson wrote to his daughter: "After four days of balloting, they are exactly where they were on the first. There is strong expectation in some that they will coalesce to-morrow; but I have no foundation for it. I feel no impulse from personal ambition to the office now proposed to me, but on account of yourself and your sister and those dear to you."

On the thirty-sixth balloting Jefferson was found to have received the votes of ten States, while four adhered to Burr and two cast blank ballots. Jefferson was thereupon declared President, and Burr, by law, became Vice-President.

Late at night on the 3d of March the Sixth Congress terminated. Ex-President Adams had no heart to witness the inauguration of his successor, but left the city of Washington early the next morning for his home in Massachusetts. A domestic affliction in the loss of his second son, Charles, came also at this moment to darken the shades of his retirement. The Republicans were jubilant, particularly in New York. Meetings were held in every city and village in the State, and processions and orations were the order of the day. In Albany the Republican members of the Legislature and citizens met at a grand dinner, where one of the toasts was, "Aaron Burr, Vice-President of the United States. His uniform and patriotic exertions in favor of republicanism eclipsed only by his late disinterested conduct." March 4.

When Jefferson reached the Presidential chair the pecuniary prosperity of the country was greater than at any previous date. Pacific relations with France, and the prospect of peace throughout Europe, promised effectual and permanent relief from the embarrassments to which American commerce was exposed. The treasury was fuller, and the revenue more abundant than ever before. The obnoxious Sedition Act had expired by its own limitation with the close of the Sixth Congress. Insti-

tutions had been framed, taxes levied, and provision made for debts. Indeed, the whole machinery of the Federal government, as it now operates, had been the work of the Federalists in their twelve years of supremacy. Thus the path of the chief executive of the nation seemed very smooth and easy to travel.

James Madison was appointed Secretary of State, Albert Gallatin Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Dearborn Secretary of War, and Levi Lincoln Attorney-General. The Navy Department was offered to Chancellor Livingston, who declined the appointment, and it was given to Robert Smith. Livingston, having reached the age of sixty, and being obliged, under a constitutional provision, to vacate the Chancellorship of New York, consented to accept the embassy to France to which he was nominated; he was confirmed prior to the adjournment of the Senate. Not long after M. Pinchon, remembered as Secretary of the French legation at The Hague, arrived at Washington as French chargé d'affaires.

In April the New York election for governor was spirited and rancorous. Some one had said that the tenantry of Van Rensselaer, in arrears for rent (numbering thousands), were to be prosecuted for payment if they refused to vote for him. As soon as this report reached the ears of the high-minded patroon, he immediately denied it in all the papers printed in Albany and Van Rensselaer counties, assuring his tenants that he wished them to vote as in their judgment duty required, and that no man should be harmed who voted against him. He received two thousand and thirty-eight votes in the county of Albany, while Clinton received but seven hundred and fifty-five. The general result of the election, however, was in favor of the Republican party. George Clinton was chosen by more than four thousand majority.

1801.

In October a convention chosen to amend the constitution met at Albany and organized by unanimously electing Vice-President Burr its presiding officer. This convention was authorized to fix a limit to the number of members of the two houses of the Legislature, which was quickly accomplished, the number being reduced from forty-three to thirty-six, and to decide upon "the true construction of the twenty-third article of the constitution," in other words, to determine the power of the Council of Appointment. The convention was given no authority to alter the terms of that article, or to abolish it and create a new one in its place; but its maxim was to strip the governor of as much power as possible. It decided, against the letter of the constitution and the opinion of Governors Clinton and Jay, to reduce the governor to a mere fifth member of the council, with no greater power than that of any other member, except the right to preside. De Witt Clinton was a member of the

Council of Appointment at the time of his uncle's accession, and before the decision of the convention, and in spite of the protests of the governor, he, in connection with Ambrose Spencer and a third Republican member, commenced a system of removals and appointments similar to those introduced into the politics of Pennsylvania by McKean.

This proscription was not confined to Federalists. A furious struggle had already commenced between the Clintons and Livingstons on the one hand, and Burr and his partisans on the other, which was carried on with the utmost bitterness. The known friends of Burr were excluded from office as rigidly as the Federalists. Appointments in every instance were made from the Clinton and Livingston factions. Of the great State offices the Livingstons received the larger share. The Chancellorship was conferred upon John Lansing; Morgan Lewis, brother-in-law of Chancellor Livingston, succeeded Lansing as chief justice; Judge Egbert Benson having been appointed, under what was styled the midnight act of John Adams, a circuit judge of the United States (on the 3d of March, 1801), his place was filled by Brockholst Livingston; and Smith Thompson, whose wife was a Livingston, was also created an associate judge. Thus the bench of the Supreme Court of New York was mainly in the hands of the Livingstons. Dr. Thomas Tillotson, another brother-in-law of Chancellor Livingston, was made secretary of the State. And it will be remembered that General John Armstrong, still another brother-in-law of Chancellor Livingston, had been recently appointed United States Senator by the New York Legislature.

The appointment of Edward Livingston United States Attorney for the District of New York, in place of Richard Harrison, was one of the acts of President Jefferson immediately following the appointment of his brother, Chancellor Livingston, minister to France. In August of the same year Edward Livingston was also appointed mayor of the city of New York. The holding of two such offices, one under the national, the other from the State government, which would now be esteemed improper, excited no cavil then, and both appointments, which were for short terms at first, were renewed the following winter.

The mayoralty of New York was at this time a post of great dignity and importance. The mayor not only presided over the deliberations of the common council, but was the presiding judge of a high court of record with both civil and criminal jurisdiction. The emoluments were in the form of liberal fees and perquisites; and a few years' incumbency was equivalent to a handsome fortune. Richard Varick had been the mayor for twelve years, and his removal by the new party in power created indignant dissatisfaction. A public dinner was tendered him by

the Federalist lawyers, and twenty-five appreciative toasts, surcharged with political satire, contributed to the life of the occasion. His qualifications for the office had been universally conceded, and his gentlemanly culture and personal habits had made him a favorite among all classes—except, indeed, in the heat of political strife, when, like all other candidates for office in that decade, he was abused and caricatured to an extraordinary degree.



Richard Varick.

Mayor Livingston found himself in a situation where all his energies were brought into active service. His duties were legion. Important capital trials occupied his attention at once, and his charges to juries are described by the newspapers of the time as exceptionally impressive. He undertook a reformation of the rules and practice of the court in civil actions, and soon commenced the preparation of a volume of reports of such of his own and the recorder's decisions as he thought should be generally known at the bar. This was before any regular reporting of the judgments of either the city or State courts had been undertaken, and when but a single volume of reports — that of Coleman's Cases — had appeared.[1] The office of attorney-general was honorable and profitable, and its functions were in the line of his profession, but it required him, in addition to presiding over a court of justice and of a deliberative body, to appear as an advocate in all causes of importance in which the national government was interested in his district; then in turn he must superintend the administration of municipal affairs of every character, from the regulation of finance to the assize of bread. In connection with all this he was required by the custom of the period to devote to the public and private entertainment of distinguished strangers a degree of attention which the growth of the city and of the world's travel subsequently rendered impossible.

[1] *Hunt's Life of Edward Livingston; Judicial Opinions, delivered in the mayor's court of the city of New York in the year* 1802.

This last requisition was a pleasure rather than a duty to a man of his temperament. He was fond of society, genial, witty, charming in conversation, and attractive in manners. He is said never to have allowed an opportunity to pass for producing a pun, and if a good one did not come to his mind he made a poor one answer, laughing at it all the same. On the same month in which he retired from Congress he experienced a severe affliction in the loss of his accomplished wife, which partly accounts for his devotion to philanthropic projects while in the midst of his manifold occupations as mayor of the city. He resided at No. 1 Broadway. Many of the beautiful trees upon the common between his windows and the bay were planted during his administration and under his particular direction.

On the 4th of July George L. Eacker, a promising young member of the New York Bar, aged twenty-seven, delivered an oration in the city on the subject of American Independence. He was a partisan of Vice-President Burr, and while his talented effort was generally praised, there were those among the Federalists who denounced the whole performance. At the Park Theater one autumn evening Eacker occupied a box, accom- Nov. 20.
panied by Miss Livingston and others. In an adjoining box was seated Philip Hamilton, eldest son of the financier, a youth of nineteen, in company with a young gentleman by the name of Price; and the two indulged in ironical remarks about Eacker's Fourth of July oration, which seemed to be intended for the ear of the young lady. Eacker looked round and saw them laughing, and believing himself the subject of ridicule stepped out in great agitation and asked if they meant to insult him, at the same time stigmatizing them as "rascals." They in turn insisted upon his particularizing the person he meant to distinguish as a "rascal." After some high words Eacker exclaimed, "Well, then, you are both rascals." The result was a laconic message from Price, before the play was finished, to name a time and place of meeting. Philip Hamilton hastened to find David S. Jones, who consulted John B. Church, the uncle of young Hamilton, and hero of the recent duel with Burr, and together they framed a message requiring an explanation, which was presented to Eacker about half past eleven o'clock on the same evening. Eacker made no reply except to remark that when the affair with Price was over he would receive any communication from Hamilton. At noon on the 22d, which was Sunday, Eacker and Price, attended by Nov. 22.
their seconds, met at Weehawken and exchanged four shots, without effect, after which they shook hands and separated. Before two o'clock on the same afternoon young Hamilton had learned the facts respecting the duel, and renewed his challenge to Eacker. The Nov. 23.

two met on Monday about three in the afternoon. Eacker's second was Thomas Apthorpe Cooper, the actor, and David S. Jones appeared in behalf of young Hamilton. Charles H. Winfield, the able historian of Hudson County, New Jersey, writes: "After the word had been given, a pause of a minute, perhaps more, ensued, before Mr. Eacker discharged his pistol. He had determined to wait for Hamilton's fire, and Hamilton, it is said, reserved his fire in obedience to the commands of his father. Eacker then leveled his pistol with more accuracy, and at the same instant Hamilton did the same. Eacker fired first, but almost simultaneously with Hamilton. The latter's fire, it is said, was unintentional, and in the air. The ball from Eacker's pistol entered Hamilton's right side, just above the hip, passed through his body, and lodged in his left arm. He was immediately taken over to the city, where he died the next morning at five o'clock." [1]

Symptoms not at all in harmony with Jefferson's promise of political tranquillity and a united people began to be perceptible before he had been many months in office. Burr's irregular ambition was not satisfied with his imposing but hollow position as Vice-President. He foresaw obstacles to his becoming the next Republican President, in the dislike of Jefferson and the growing popularity of Madison, the Secretary of State, who was a man of immense family interest in Virginia. In New York the Republican party was already divided into factions each jealous of the other. Thus he began a kind of political flirtation with the Federalists. 1802.

About this time *The Evening Post* first made its bow to the public, edited by William Coleman, a lawyer and a versatile writer; it was the organ of Hamilton. *The American Citizen* was the organ of the Republican party in New York, and was under the immediate management of a cousin of De Witt Clinton. Its editor was James Cheetham, a wit and a great tactician, who acquired no little distinction for his editorial ability. He was a tall, athletic man, and was soon personally concerned in many violent political quarrels. Burr and his friends, not to be outdone, established *The Morning Chronicle*, which supported the administration, but was particularly friendly to the Vice-President. It was edited by Dr. Peter Irving, and in its columns Washington Irving, a youth of nineteen, the editor's younger brother, first appeared as a writer under the name of *Jonathan Oldstyle*. Burr often clipped these essays from the journal and inclosed them in his letters to Theodosia. The three [illegible] entered upon a paper war in which they were ably sus-

[1] consumption in 1804, and was buried in St. Paul's Churchyard, near

tained by the leading men of their respective parties. Their columns teemed with personal invective and low satire. Several duels were the result. On one occasion Matthew L. Davis sallied forth in Wall Street, pistol in hand, expecting to shoot Cheetham at sight, who, however, kept out of the way, and the affair ended without bloodshed. When Philip Hamilton was killed, Coleman, shocked by the occurrence, denounced in the *Evening Post* the practice of dueling as a "horrid custom," and strongly urged "legislative interference." Yet Coleman and Cheetham were both duelists. And it was a period when dueling was a fashionable recreation. Cheetham was some years younger than Coleman, and gloried in encountering difficulties. He appeared in public with bold face and majestic bearing. Coleman was smaller, of delicate structure, and looked grave and pensive. Cheetham had cultivated his mind by historical reading, and was familiar with the poets; his writings were curt and concise, Coleman's often verbose. Cheetham could fell at one blow; Coleman delighted in protracted torture. Neither was deficient in pointed epithets and lacerating remarks. Cheetham was ardent, passionate, and forgiving. Coleman was self-poised, cold, and long harbored an imaginary injury. Each delighted in the prostration of a victim, but Coleman was the more politic and prudent of the two. The idols of Cheetham were Jefferson and George Clinton; the idol of Coleman was Hamilton. Burr had no chance with either, and was offensive to both. Dr. Francis writes of these two editors: "With all their faults, they diffused much truth as well as error; they advanced the power of the press in talents and in improved knowledge; and they aided the progress of literary culture."[1]

On one occasion a duel between Coleman and Cheetham was arranged, but after considerable negotiation between the friends of the parties Judge Brockholst Livingston, in order to prevent the meeting, had the principals arrested. Thus hostilities ended. But out of the affair grew another quarrel which led to one of the most diabolical duels in the annals of dueling. Thompson, one of Cheetham's friends, the brother of Jeremiah Thompson, once collector of the port, threw some doubt on Coleman's courage, and said he "had shown the white feather." Whereupon Coleman challenged Thompson. Washington Morton carried the fatal missive. Cheetham acted as Thompson's second. The duel took place in Love Lane, now Twenty-first Street.[2] It was in the year 1803.

[1] *Old New York*, by Dr. Francis, p. 335; *History of Journalism*, by Hudson, p. 146, 217; Hildreth, II. 453. *The New York Evening Post* was first issued November 16, 1801.

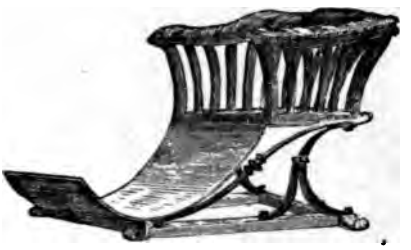
[2] The place of this duel has been variously located. Some writers say it was at or near Washington Square, then the Potters' Field, but Love Lane is undoubtedly correct.

An anonymous letter was received in the morning by a well-known physician and surgeon, stating that at nine o'clock of the evening of that day he would find on the south side of the Bowling Green, at the foot of Broadway, a horse and gig, which he was desired to appropriate and drive to a spot designated, where his services might be required. It was a moonlight night, and finding the gig as stated, he obeyed the request, reaching the point in time to hear pistol-shots, and see one man holding up another. A voice called to him: "Are you Dr. ——?" He replied in the affirmative. "This gentleman requires your assistance," continued the speaker, who was no other than Cheetham, "be good enough to take charge of him and place him with his friends"; then gently laid the figure he held upon the ground, and disappeared in the same direction as Coleman and his second. The surgeon raised the bleeding man, stanched his wound as well as he was able, but saw that it was mortal. He bore him dying to the house of his sister in the city, laid him upon the door-step, rang the bell, and departed. When the family found him, he was alone, and with a heroism worthy of a better cause refused to disclose the name of his antagonist, or give any account of the affair. He simply said he had been honorably treated, and requested that no effort should be made to find or molest the parties concerned. He died, and Coleman attended to his business as usual.

Jefferson regarded the religion of the country as no better than a mischievous delusion. John Jay, Hamilton, and other leading men of the Federal party believed that religion furnished the only solid support for morality. Jefferson detested the clergy, who were constantly twitting him about his infidel opinions. The Federalists respected the clergy as men of superior education, intelligence, and character, who in conjunction with the lawyers were as much the natural leaders of New England opinion as the slaveholding planters were the natural political leaders in Virginia. Jefferson commiserated the unfortunate priest-ridden communities, led by the nose by a body of men at enmity against science and truth and popular rights; while the Federalists requested to be informed in what respect the religious bigotry of the clergy was at all worse than Jefferson's political bigotry?

Jefferson abolished levees, lest the custom introduced by Washington lead to the ceremonials of a court. The Federalists said it was because the new city of Washington was nothing but a little village in the woods, where there was no occasion for levees. Mrs. Madison revived the usage [illegible] years later, and it has continued to the present time. Jefferson [illegible]ed the kingly custom of speeches and answers at the opening of [illegible], substituting a written message to be read by the clerk. The

Federalists maliciously suggested it was on account of Jefferson's tall ungainly figure, and total destitution of gifts as a public speaker. It was told in France that Jefferson on the day of his inauguration "rode on horseback to the capital without a single guard or even a servant in his train, dismounted without assistance, and hitched the bridle of his horse to the palisades." However that may have been, he was scarcely less fond of fine horses than Washington himself. Within two months after becoming President he purchased four fiery full-blooded bays for the use of his carriage in Washington. His coachman, Joseph Dougherty, writes Miss Randolph, Jefferson's great granddaughter, "was never so happy as when seated on the box behind this spirited and showy team." On his journeys to Monticello Jefferson usually traveled in his phaeton, or in a one-horse chair — a favorite vehicle at that time in New York City. Hamilton possessed a similar horse chair in which he drove daily from his place of business in the city to his country-seat on Washington Heights during the last two years of his life.



One-Horse Chair, 1802.

It seems that Jefferson, while giving up many of the forms, clung with instinctive tenacity to the substance of power. His theories were not absolutely practical. He found it wise and well in the constructive part of politics to copy the models he had so vigorously criticised. And as regards the machinery of government prepared by the Federalists, it was adopted by the Republicans without essential change.

Hamilton had purchased an estate and built a country mansion on the upper part of Manhattan Island, then eight or more miles from the city, which he called "The Grange," from the ancestral seat of his grandfather in Scotland. The timber for the house is said to have been a present from Mrs. Hamilton's father, General Schuyler. Its situation was commanding, about half-way between the Hudson and Harlem Rivers. It was a square wooden structure of two stories, with large roomy basement, ornamental balustrades, and immense chimney-stacks. Its rooms were spacious and numerous, its drawing-room doors were mirrors, and its workmanship generally solid and substantial. To this pleasant home Hamilton removed his family in the spring of 1802. He attended personally to the embellishment of his grounds, the planting of flowers, of shrubbery, and of trees. He wrote to Pinckney for some Carolina melon-seeds for his new garden, and some paroquets for his daughter, 1802.

remarking, "A garden, you know, is a very usual refuge for a disappointed politician." He planted a grove of thirteen gum-trees a few rods from the house, to symbolize the thirteen original States of the Union — which, having reached majestic proportions, still survive, and are deftly shown in the sketch.



The Grange.
[Hamilton's Country-Seat.]

On the 23d of June Vice-President Burr's beloved daughter Theodosia arrived from South Carolina to spend the remainder of the summer in New York. She wrote to her husband the next day: "I have just returned from a ride in the country and a visit to Richmond Hill. Never did I behold this island so beautiful. The variety of vivid greens, the finely cultivated fields and gardens, the neat, cool air of the cit's boxes, peeping through straight rows of tall poplars, and the elegance of some gentlemen's seats, commanding a view of the majestic Hudson and the high dark shores of New Jersey, altogether form a scene so lively, so touching, and to me so new, that I was in constant rapture." Two days later she wrote: "I dined the other day with Mrs. Montgomery. The Chancellor (Livingston) has sent her out a list of statues, which are to be so exactly imitated in plaster as to leave the difference of materials only. The statues are the Apollo Belvedere, Venus de' Medicis, Laocoön and his children, Antinous, and some others. The patriotic citizens of New York are now subscribing to the importation of a set here for the good of the public. If they are really perfect imitations, they will be a great acquisition to the city."

Vice-President Burr had for some years lived in a style of ostentatious elegance. He had a handsomely furnished city home in addition to his country residence at Richmond Hill, a numerous retinue of servants, a French cook, half a dozen fine horses, one of the largest and best chosen libraries in the city, and the walls of both his houses were hung with paintings that ministered to a refined and cultivated taste. Richmond

Hill was without exception the most delightful country-seat on the island. It was a frame building of massive architecture, with a lofty portico supported by Ionic columns, the front walls decorated with pilasters of the same order, and distinguished on every side by rich though sober ornament. It was historically attractive, having been the headquarters of Washington in 1776, as the reader will remember; Lord Dorchester, Sir Guy Carleton, and other English noblemen were dwellers under its roof during the war; it was the home of Vice-President Adams while New York was the capital of the United States; and it had been the scene of many a notable festival. Vice-President Burr, not less than his predecessors, had thrown open its doors to distinguished guests. Jerome Bonaparte was entertained at dinner, and at breakfast, by Burr just before his marriage to Miss Patterson, large companies being invited to meet him on both occasions. Talleyrand and Volney were frequent visitors while they were in this country; and almost every European personage of note was from time to time welcomed by its courtly proprietor.

Theodosia Burr, whose beauty, wit, and melancholy history constitute one of the most romantic chapters of American private life, was the idol of her father, and, after the death of Mrs. Burr, his pupil, confidant, and friend. She became one of the best educated women of her time and country. During her father's public life she translated for his use the Constitution of the United States into the French language. While Burr was a senator in Philadelphia Brant visited the Quaker City, creating a sensation. Burr entertained him at dinner in company with Talleyrand, Volney, and other notable characters. When Brant left for New York he bore a letter from Burr to his daughter Theodosia, who was then fourteen years of age. The graceful girl received the forest chief with courtesy, and tendered the hospitalities of her father's house by giving him a dinner-party, choosing for her guests some of the most eminent gentlemen of the city, among whom were Bishop Moore, Dr. Bard, and Dr. Hosack. She wrote to her father that in marketing for the occasion she was puzzled to know what dishes would suit the palate of a savage warrior! In view of the many tales she had heard of

> "The cannibals that each other eat,
> The anthropophagi, and men whose heads
> Do grow beneath their shoulders,"

"she had a mind," she said, "to lay the hospital under contribution for a human head to be served up like a boar's head in ancient hall barbaric. But after all he was a most Christian and civilized guest in his manners." The marriage of Theodosia in 1801 to Joseph Alston, of South Carolina,

afterwards governor of his native State, by no means terminated the playful, tender, confiding relations between the father and daughter. Their letters were constantly flying backward and forward to each other. Burr still guided her intellectual tastes. "Better lose your head than your habits of study," he wrote. And Theodosia amused her father with her sprightly humor and cheered him with her affection. She visited him frequently, and declared on all occasions that the society of New York was so superior to that of the South that a woman must be a fool who denied it.



Theodosia Burr.

The lovely Theodosia was often a guest of Mrs. Hamilton. Indeed, there had always been friendly visiting between the families, and Hamilton himself dined at Burr's table occasionally, and Burr at Hamilton's. They met also at the houses of common friends, and consulted together on points of law. Theodosia was much petted and caressed by the Livingstons. She was invited with others a few weeks prior to her wedding by Mayor Edward Livingston to visit a frigate then lying in the harbor. One of the mayor's characteristic puns on the occasion is related by his biographer. On the way Livingston, in the liveliest manner, exclaimed, "Now, Theodosia, you must bring none of your sparks on board. They have a magazine there, and we should all be blown up."

Meanwhile Vice-President Burr was using every means to create a party of his own. He aimed to be an independent power in politics. He never quarreled openly with the President, although it was well un-

derstood that the two chiefs were at cross purposes as far as party management was concerned. Burr dined with Jefferson occasionally. He was also on formal terms of friendship with Secretary Madison. Theodosia and the beautiful Mrs. Madison were apparently intimate. But Jefferson's distrust was on the increase. Burr was deeply angered when he lost his seat in 1802 through Clintonian influence, after a hotly contested election, as director of the Manhattan Bank in New York. Henceforward the influence and power of that institution were used against the man to whom it owed its existence. John Swartwout, who also lost his seat in the directorship, was one of Burr's most devoted friends, and loudly accused De Witt Clinton of opposing Burr on personal and selfish grounds. Clinton, hearing of it, called him "a liar, a scoundrel, and a villain." The result was a challenge from Swartwout, which ended in a duel at Hoboken, one of the most remarkable conflicts of the kind that ever occurred in this country. Clinton's second was Richard Riker, afterward City Recorder, and Swartwout's was Colonel W. S. Smith. The surgeons were John H. Douglass and Isaac Ledyard. The arrangements were elaborate and positive, being drawn up formally in ten articles and duly signed. The newspapers of the day described the scene on the ground. The first fire was ineffectual. Clinton through his second asked Swartwout if he was satisfied, who replied in the negative. They fired again without effect, and Clinton made the same inquiries and received the same answers. A third shot was exchanged without injury, although the ball passed through Clinton's coat. Again Clinton disclaimed having any enmity towards Swartwout and asked if he was satisfied. Swartwout responded promptly and positively in the negative until a written apology was signed. Clinton read the paper, and handed it back, saying he would sooner fire all night than ask Swartwout's pardon. The parties again took their stations and fired a fourth shot; Clinton's ball struck Swartwout's leg a little below the knee. Clinton offered to shake hands and bury the circumstances in oblivion; but Swartwout, standing erect, positively declined anything short of an ample apology, and they fired the fifth shot, Swartwout receiving another ball in the left leg about five inches above the ankle. Swartwout coolly insisted upon taking another shot, but Clinton left his place and refused to fire again. The surgeons dressed Swartwout's wounds, and all returned to the city. It is said that after the last shot Clinton approached Swartwout, and offering his hand said, "I am sorry I have hurt you so much." Then turning to Colonel Smith, added, "I wish I had the *principal* here," referring to Vice-President Burr. The next year De Witt Clinton was challenged by Senator Dayton of New Jersey, another of Burr's adherents, but the matter was

July 30.

peacefully arranged. A few months later Richard Riker fought with Robert Swartwout and was severely wounded.

The erection of a new City Hall, only fourteen years from the time of the liberal expenditures upon Federal Hall in Wall Street prior to Washington's inauguration, indicates the extraordinary growth of the city during that short period. Mayor Edward Livingston laid the corner-stone of the new structure in 1803. The barren and uninviting common assumed a new character, and the church-goers paused every summer morning, before entering the sanctuary on the corner of Beekman Street, to note the progress of the builders. The front and the eastern and western sides were constructed of white marble, but a dark-colored stone was thought good enough for the rear or northern wall, since "it would be out of sight to all the world."

1803.

An appalling visitation of yellow fever not only suspended the work in July, but spread consternation throughout the length and breadth of New York. The first case was announced on the 20th, and by the 1st of August the public alarm was so great and universal that all who could leave the city had fled to places of safety. Mayor Livingston remained at his post, regarding himself bound, as by a sacred contract, to face the terrible enemy, and alleviate suffering to the extent of his power. It was a display of heroic philanthropy which a lifetime of ordinary official duty would never have called into exercise. He visited the hospitals every day, required all new cases in any part of the city to be reported to him personally, supplied the needs of the poor, encouraged nurses and physicians by his presence and his undismayed cheerfulness, and even went about the streets at night to see for himself if the watchmen were vigilant.

July.

The scourge continued until the end of October. The fearless mayor did not escape. He was seized with the fever in the latter part of September, but recovered after a severe illness. While he was lying very low he was the object of extraordinary popular gratitude and regard. His physician, calling for Madeira to administer to him, found that not bottle of that or of any other wine was left in his cellar, he having be-wed it all upon others. As soon as the fact became known the best s were sent in from every direction. Young men vied with each for the privilege of watching at his bedside. And a crowd thronged near his door or loitered in the Bowling Green to obtain the of his condition.

escence was announced in the newspapers and hailed with ole city. He had, however, arisen from a sick-bed to trial. While the pestilence was raging he discovered

that a confidential clerk had embezzled a large portion of the public funds consigned to his charge. With too many irons in the fire, he had imprudently left the management of money affairs to subordinates, and thus, to his keen mortification, found himself indebted to the United States, without means in his possession for the liquidation of the debt. He at once voluntarily surrendered all his property for the security of the government. He then resigned both his offices, although offering to discharge the duties of mayor until the restoration of the public health.

In April of the same year the diplomacy of Chancellor Livingston at the Court of France resulted in a national bargain with Napoleon for the purchase of Louisiana — or the Province of Orleans, comprising the present States of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, Kansas, and the Indian Territory — which not only added an enormous territory to the United States, but secured compensation for the numerous spoliations by the French on our commerce. This vast region had been recovered to France from Spain by Napoleon in 1800; and through Chancellor Livingston's masterly management, aided by James Monroe, who arrived in Paris a few days before the negotiation was concluded, it was actually sold to the United States for about fifteen millions of dollars. The American flag was first raised in New Orleans on the 20th of December, 1803.

Edward Livingston had been in close correspondence with his brother on the subject, and the prospect suddenly opening to New Orleans of becoming a great commercial city, and to Louisiana of becoming a mother of many States, he determined to repair to the new territory and try to mend his fortunes. He understood the French language, and in entering upon practice at the New Orleans bar frequently argued his cases in that tongue. The records of the court were kept in English. But it was often necessary, and it was the constant practice, to translate the pleadings and afterwards all the evidence into French, Spanish, or German, and sometimes into all these, in order to reach the comprehension of the whole jury. A sworn interpreter was attached to the court, but Livingston spoke all these languages himself, which reflects much credit upon his New York education.

De Witt Clinton was appointed Mayor of New York City in place of Edward Livingston. He was in the Senate of the United States, having been elected to fill a vacancy in 1802 caused by the resignation of General John Armstrong, and taken a seat by the side of Gouverneur Morris. But there was a degree and variety of power in the mayoralty of the metropolis at that time for which a senatorship might well be exchanged. Thus he resigned his post as a senator to accept and enter upon his duties

as a mayor. He was but thirty-four years of age, active, resolute, and eminently progressive. His brain was prolific in civic and philanthropic schemes. What Franklin in his generation did for Philadelphia, De Witt Clinton, half a century later, accomplished for New York. But we will not anticipate.

Vice-President Burr found, as the new year opened, that his political fortunes were less promising than hitherto. His aspirations for the
1804. Presidency of the nation might as well be buried. In politics he never had any real basis, such as ideas of magnitude, strong convictions, or important originations. His peculiar gifts were rather to charm individuals than multitudes. On the 5th of January he
Jan. 5. wrote Theodosia of the marriage of Jerome Bonaparte to Miss Patterson of Baltimore, which occurred in December. On the 17th he
Jan. 17. wrote her again from Washington: "Of my plans for the spring nothing can be said, for nothing is resolved. Madame Bonaparte passed a week here. She is a charming little woman; just the size and nearly the figure of Theodosia Burr Alston; by some thought a little like her; perhaps not so well in the shoulders; dresses with taste and simplicity; has sense and spirit and sprightliness." On the 30th he
Jan. 30. described to Theodosia his journey from Washington to New York with a foot depth of snow upon the ground. He wrote: "The Vice-President having with great judgment and science calculated the gradations of cold in different latitudes, discovered that for every degree he should go north he might count on four and a half inches of snow. Thus he was sure of sixteen and a half inches at Philadelphia, twenty-one inches at New York, and so for all intermediate space. Hence he wisely concluded to take off the wheels from his coachee and set it on runners. This was no sooner resolved than done. With his sleigh and four horses he arrived at Baltimore at early dinner. Passed the evening with Madame Bonaparte; all very charming. Came off this morning; fine sleighing. Within six miles of the Susquehanna the snow appeared thin; within four, the ground was bare. He dragged on to Havre de Grace, and here he is in the midst of the most forlorn dilemma. Having neither wife nor daughter near on whom to vent spleen renders the case more deplorable." He added a note to this letter before it was mailed: "I left my runners and got wheels at Philadelphia."

At a caucus in February Jefferson was unanimously nominated for re-election; and Governor George Clinton was substituted for Burr as a candidate for Vice-President. There was to be an election for governor of New York, and since Burr was left out of the national nominations he resolved to see what he could do through an appeal to the people of his

own State. The independent party known as Burrites had become a recognized power in New York, and might draw assistance from both the Federalists and Republicans. Attack the aristocratic combination of the Clintons and Livingstons on the one hand, and that of Hamilton and the Schuylers on the other, and multitudes would cleave to a leader who had no band of brothers to unite in appropriating the wealth, the patronage, and the authority of the State. "We must make family influence unpopular, and New York will be ours," said Burr to one of his warm partisans on the evening after his arrival from Washington. He spent about two weeks in the city before returning to the seat of government. He had always possessed the rare faculty of inspiring reckless young men with his own daring; and mild-tempered elderly gentlemen were greatly attached to him. There was still another element, comprehending men of all ages, which would be a substantial support in the emergency. It was the new population of the State and city which had been pouring in from other States, particularly from New England, freighted with all the accumulated piques and prejudices of a century against the ruling families of New York, with whom they had no blood connection or natural sympathy. Burr stood before them in his prime, brilliant, cheerful, witty, fascinating, with a sharp, kindly black eye — a lithe, stylish, captivating man, with remarkable elegance of address. Nothing daunted him. Nothing depressed him. Just before leaving New York on his return to Washington he wrote to Theodosia: "The Clintons, Livingstons, etc., had not at the last advice from Albany decided on their candidate for governor. Hamilton is intriguing for any candidate who can have a chance of success against A. B. He would doubtless become the advocate even of De Witt Clinton if he should be the opponent." Feb. 16.

Two days later Vice-President Burr was announced as an independent candidate for governor of New York. On the 20th the Republicans nominated Judge Morgan Lewis for governor, and John Broome for lieutenant-governor. Feb 20.

The storm commenced forthwith. It was the most inclement March the political world of New York had ever known. The newspapers were filled with disgusting personalities; and the war of words raged unabated up to the very day of the election in April. Burr's private character, which no one could honestly defend, was assailed in the most obnoxious manner. But the Burrites dwelt continually upon his admirable fitness for office because he had no train of family connections to quarter upon the public treasury. It is curiously interesting to trace the course of human perversity and absurdity in both instances. It does not appear that our predecessors were any wiser than ourselves.

Burr's equanimity of temper was undisturbed through it all. He wrote to Theodosia on the 28th of March: "They are very busy
1804. here about an election between Morgan Lewis and A. Burr; the former supported by the Clintons and Livingstons, the latter *per se*. I would send you some new and amusing libels against the Vice-President, but as you did not send me the speech it may not be desired. I shall get the speech, no thanks to you; there is a copy in Philadelphia, for which I have written, and it will come endorsed by the fair hand of Celeste. The Earl of Selkirk is here; a frank, unassuming, sensible man of about thirty. He dines with me on Monday." In the midst of the
April 25. election tempest Burr wrote to his daughter in a similar easy, gossiping strain: "The thing began yesterday, and will terminate to-morrow. My headquarters are in John Street, and I have, since beginning this letter, been already three times interrupted." In regard to summer arrangements he added: "You take Richmond Hill; bring no horse nor carriage. I have got a nice, new, beautiful little chariot, made purposely to please you. I have also a new coachee, very light, on an entirely new construction, invented by the Vice-President. Now these two machines are severally adapted to two horses, and you may take your choice of them. Of horses, I have five; three always and wholly at your devotion, and the whole five occasionally. Harry and Sam are both good coachmen, either at your orders. Of servants, there are enough for family purposes. Mr. Alston may bring a footman. Anything further will be useless; he may, however, bring six or eight of them if he like. The cellars and garrets are well stocked with wine, having had a great supply last fall." Before closing this peculiar epistle Burr added, "I forgot to speak of the election. Both parties claim majorities, and there never was, in my opinion, an election of the result of which so little judgment could be formed."

In the city of New York Burr actually received a majority of perhaps one hundred votes. But returns from the country dispelled the
May 1. brief exultation. Morgan Lewis was elected by a large majority.

Burr attributed his defeat mainly to the powerful influence of Hamilton, who took no active part in the canvass, but whose opinions were freely and perpetually quoted by those who did. Burr may have thought that Hamilton was the only obstacle to his triumphant formation of a great national independent party, with possibilities of reward in the highest gift of the people at the end of another four years. Parton says: "Burr's
rode as buoyantly and as safely over all disasters as a cork over the
t of Niagara." Hamilton had won immense glory this very spring
nding, at Albany, before Chief Justice Lewis of the Supreme

Court, with unparalleled eloquence, an editor of a Hudson newspaper who had been indicted for a libel on President Jefferson. Hamilton had volunteered to defend the liberty of the press; and he denounced the maxim, "The greater the truth the greater the libel," at least in its relation to political publications, as wholly inconsistent with the genius of American institutions. His argument was electrical in its effects upon his audience, and it resulted in the law of libels being eventually placed upon a true and correct foundation, perfectly consistent with the liberty of the press and the protection of the good name and reputation of every individual citizen.

Hamilton had always spoken of Burr as a dangerous man. He had no faith in him. He regarded him as an unprincipled, reckless, cool, designing villain, both in his private as well as in his political character, and had never hesitated to express that opinion while warning his Federal friends against Burr's arts and intrigues. During the election struggle two letters from the pen of Dr. Charles D. Cooper were published containing the two following paragraphs: "General Hamilton and Judge Kent have declared, in substance, that they looked upon Mr. Burr to be a dangerous man, and one who ought not to be trusted with the reins of government"; and, "I could detail to you a still more despicable opinion which General Hamilton has expressed of Mr. Burr." It was some weeks after the June 17. election before these came under Burr's notice, but he immediately resolved to make them the excuse for forcing Hamilton into a duel.

William P. Van Ness, a young lawyer who was devoted to Burr, was the bearer of Cooper's printed letters to Hamilton, with a note from Burr himself demanding "a prompt and unqualified acknowledgment or denial of the use of any expressions which would warrant Cooper's assertions."

Hamilton had not before that moment seen Cooper's letter, but he perceived a settled intention of fixing a quarrel upon him. He declined an immediate answer; on the 20th he wrote at consider- June 20. able length, declining to be interrogated as to the justice of the inferences which others might have drawn from what he had said of a political opponent during fifteen years' competition. He said he could not enter into any explanations upon a basis so vague. But intimated his readiness to avow or disavow any definite opinion he had expressed respecting any gentleman. Burr replied with sharp directness, and offensively criticised Hamilton's letter. "Political opposition can never absolve gentlemen from the necessity of a rigid adherence to the laws of honor and the rules of decorum," he said. In short, he required a general disavowal, on the part of Hamilton, of any intention, in any

conversation he might have ever held, to convey impressions derogatory to his honor.

It was quite out of the question for Hamilton to make any such disavowal. But desirous of depriving Burr of any possible pretext for persisting in his murderous intentions, he made several attempts at pacific arrangements, which Burr arrogantly pronounced "mere evasions."

June 27. The challenge was finally given and accepted. Judge Nathaniel Pendleton, acting for Hamilton, stated that a court was then sitting in which Hamilton had much business to transact, and some delay was unavoidable, as he was unwilling to expose his clients to embarrassments, loss, or delay. Thus the meeting was arranged for the 11th of July, at seven o'clock in the morning.

In the interim Burr and Hamilton went about their daily business as usual. It was afterwards remembered of Hamilton that he pleaded his causes and consulted his clients with all his wonted vigor, courtesy, and address. His beloved wife saw no cloud upon his brow as he returned to The Grange every afternoon. On the 4th of July the two adversaries met at the annual banquet of the Cincinnati, of which Hamilton had been president since the death of Washington, and of which Burr was a member. Hamilton, as master of the feast, was overflowing as usual with vivacity. He was urged to sing the only song he ever sang or knew, the famous ballad of *The Drum*, and although he seemed more reluctant than usual to comply with the wishes of the company, he said at last, "Well, you shall have it." He sang in his best manner, greatly delighting all present. Burr was never a fluent talker in public places, but an excellent listener. It was noticed that he was even more silent than usual on this occasion. When Hamilton commenced singing, Burr turned towards him and leaning upon the table watched him closely until the song was finished.

It was on a warm bright summer morning that these two political chieftains stood before each other prepared for mortal combat.

July 11. The place where they fought was the singularly secluded grassy ledge or shelf in the woods at Weehawken, which had been the scene of so many deadly encounters. It was many feet above the waters of the Hudson, picturesquely shaded with the tangled cedars which almost totally obscured the view of New York City in the distance. No residence was within sight on that shore of the Hudson, there were no roads leading to or from the spot, and no footpath existed in any direction. Parties coming from the city in boats clambered up the ragged rocky heights as best they could, and every precaution was taken to prevent discovery.

"A man on a warm day in August thinking about the Fifth of November and how many [illegible] there will be."

On this fatal morning Burr and his friends arrived half an hour before Hamilton, and ordered their boat moored a few yards down the river. Hamilton's boat was seen approaching at precisely the moment expected. The principals and seconds exchanged the usual salutations as they met. The distance, twelve paces, was carefully measured. Lots were cast for the choice of position, and to decide who should give the word. It fell in both cases to Judge Pendleton, the second of Hamilton. The principals were placed, Hamilton looking over the river toward the city, and Burr turned toward the heights, under which they stood. As the pistol was placed in Hamilton's hand Pendleton asked, "Will you have the hair-spring set?" "Not this time," was the quiet reply. Pendleton then explained to both principals the rules which had been agreed upon with regard to the firing — after the word "present" they were to fire as soon as they pleased. The seconds then withdrew the usual distance.

"Are you ready?" said Pendleton. Both answered in the affirmative. A moment's pause ensued. The word was given. Burr raised his pistol, took aim, and fired. Hamilton almost instantly fell, his pistol going off involuntarily. Dr. Hosack and Mr. Matthew L. Davis, listening attentively below, heard the report of the pistols, and with the boatmen hurried up the rocks, while Burr, shielded from their observation by an umbrella in the hands of Van Ness, stepped briskly down the steep to the boat, and was rowed swiftly across the river to Richmond Hill. Dr. Hosack found Hamilton half lying, half sitting on the grass, supported in the arms of Pendleton, and apparently in a dying condition. "Doctor," he said, "this is a mortal wound," and immediately swooned away. A brief examination convinced Dr. Hosack that all attempts to save his life would be fruitless, and the inanimate form was lifted tenderly and borne down the ragged declivity to the boat.

As the little craft moved slowly out upon the broad bosom of the Hudson Hamilton revived, and glancing about him observed his pistol. "Take care of that pistol," he remarked feebly, "it is undischarged, and still cocked; it may go off and do harm. Pendleton knows that I did not intend to fire at him." "Yes," replied Pendleton sadly, "I have already made Dr. Hosack acquainted with your determination as to that."

Hamilton then closed his eyes and remained tranquil, except to ask the doctor once or twice how he found his pulse, until they neared the wharf, when he said, "Let Mrs. Hamilton be immediately sent for; let the event be gradually broken to her, but give her hopes." Looking up he saw his devoted friend, Mr. Bayard, waiting at the landing in great agitation, having heard from his servant that Hamilton with his two friends had crossed the river together, and of course divined the nature

their errand. Bayard burst into tears and lamentations when Dr. Hosack called to him to have a cot prepared. The dying statesman watched the scene calmly, and gave the necessary directions for his removal. He was borne to Bayard's house, and everything that medical skill or human love could suggest was done for his comfort. Dr. Wright Post was immediately called in, but like Dr. Hosack saw no possible hope of Hamilton's recovery. General Key, the French Consul, invited the surgeons of the French frigates in the harbor to hasten to the assistance of Dr. Hosack and Dr. Post, which they did, but were convinced that nothing could be done for Hamilton's relief.

The most touching picture was when Mrs. Hamilton with their seven children appeared at his bedside overwhelmed with anguish unspeakable. His mind still retained all its marvelous strength, and although he frequently murmured in low accents to his physician and others who were administering to his necessities, "My beloved wife and children," as if his anxiety was chiefly for them, yet his fortitude triumphed over the situation. "Once, indeed," wrote Dr. Hosack, "at the sight of his children, brought to the bedside together, seven in number, his utterance forsook him; he opened his eyes, gave them one look, and closed his eyes again until they were taken away. As a proof of his extraordinary composure of mind, let me add," continues Dr. Hosack, "that he alone could calm the frantic grief of his wife. '*Remember, my Eliza, you are a Christian,*' were the expressions with which he frequently, with a firm voice, but in a pathetic and impressive manner, addressed her. His words, and the tone in which they were uttered, will never be effaced from my memory." Hamilton lingered in great agony through the day and night, and until two o'clock of the next afternoon, July 12th.

Meanwhile, by nine o'clock on the morning of the 11th, news of the duel had reached the city. Presently a bulletin appeared, and the pulse of New York stood still at the shocking announcement: —

"General Hamilton was shot by Colonel Burr this morning in a duel. The General is said to be mortally wounded."

People started as if stunned and turned pale as they read. Men walked to and fro aimlessly and tearfully, then rallied and sought further information in breathless anxiety. Business was almost entirely suspended. For the moment everything was forgotten except the services and the fame of the victim. Bulletins, hourly changed, kept the city in agonizing suspense. All party distinction was lost in the general sentiment of sorrow and indignation.

When the death of Hamilton was finally reported, a cry of execration upon his murderer burst from the lip and heart of the multitude. The

merchants of the city met and resolved to close their stores on the day of the funeral, to order all the flags of the shipping at half mast, and to wear crape for thirty days. The bar met in profound grief and agreed to go into mourning for six weeks. The Cincinnati, the Tammany Society, the St. Andrews Society, the General Society of Mechanics, the students of Columbia College, the military companies, and the Corporation of the city with Mayor De Witt Clinton at its head, all passed resolutions of sorrow and condolence, and agreed to wear mourning and attend the funeral. Indeed, the cortége on that solemn occasion comprised every body of men that had a corporate existence. The whole city was in mourning. The funeral ceremonies were conducted by the Cincinnati — which had lost its illustrious chief. The partisans of Burr made it a point to display their respect for the fallen statesman by appearing in the procession. The precious remains were conveyed from the residence of John B. Church, the brother-in-law of Hamilton, to Old Trinity, while minute-guns from the artillery in the Park and at the Battery were answered by the French and British ships of war in the harbor as the procession moved. Gouverneur Morris, with the four sons of the deceased by his side, delivered a brief but thrilling oration in memory of his slaughtered friend. He said, and the words are still ringing in the American ear: "You know how well he performed the duties of a citizen — you know that he never courted your favor by adulation or the sacrifice of his own judgment. You have seen him contending against you, and saving your dearest interests as it were in spite of yourselves. I declare to you before that God in whose presence we are now especially assembled, that in his most private and confidential conversations the single objects of discussion were your freedom and happiness. The care of a rising family, and the narrowness of his fortune, made it a duty to return to his profession for their support. But though he was compelled to abandon public life, never, no, never for a moment did he abandon the public service. He never lost sight of your interests. And knowing his own firm purpose (never to accept office again), he was indignant at the charge that he sought for place or power. For himself he feared nothing; but he feared that bad men might, by false professions, acquire your confidence and abuse it to your ruin." And when dust was lovingly consigned to dust in Trinity Churchyard, and the parting volley had been fired over the statesman's grave, the vast crowd dispersed in silence and in tears, each man carrying to his home a sense of profound personal sorrow and bereavement.

America wept. Every generous and every selfish consideration combined to make Hamilton's untimely death a subject for national mourn-

ing. Into the forty-seven years of his remarkable life he had compressed such an amount of difficult and laborious service as few men have ever rendered to any country in the longest term of human existence; and he had fallen just when his great powers were in their meridian fullness. "My soul stiffens with despair when I think what Hamilton would have been," wrote Fisher Ames. "My heart, penetrated with the remembrance of the man, grows liquid as I write, and I could pour it out like water. But it is not as Apollo, enchanting the shepherds with his lyre, that we deplore him; it is as Hercules, treacherously slain in the midst of his unfinished labors, leaving the world overrun with monsters."

Angelica, Hamilton's beautiful daughter of twenty, who had not yet recovered from the shock occasioned by her favorite brother's violent death, lost her reason through the terrible affliction, and was henceforward the sad charge of her grief-stricken mother.[1] Mrs. Hamilton survived her husband half a century. Popular feeling took the character of wrathful indignation towards the immediate author of all this sorrow and ruin as soon as the tenor of the correspondence between Burr and Hamilton became known. It was well understood that Hamilton abhorred the practice of dueling. The last words from his pen were a reiteration of his opinions on the subject from a religious and moral point of view. Burr was, in public sentiment, a murderer, and his name was spoken with a hiss of horror and disgust. The coroner's jury, after ten or twelve days of investigation, during which time Matthew L. Davis and another gentleman were imprisoned for refusing to testify, brought in a verdict to the effect that "Aaron Burr, Vice-President of the United States, was guilty of the murder of Alexander Hamilton, and that William P. Van Ness and Nathaniel Pendleton were accessories."

The astonishment of Burr at these unexampled proceedings was beyond expression. He had anticipated temporary excitement "which would soon blow over," never dreaming that the fatal shot which destroyed his great rival was to extinguish his own ambitious projects and plunge him

[1] Alexander Hamilton, born January 11, 1757, died July 12, 1804, married Elizabeth Schuyler December 14, 1780. Their children were: 1. Philip, born January 22, 1782, killed in a duel November 24, 1801; 2. Angelica, born September 25, 1784, died unmarried; 3. Alexander, born May 16, 1786, married, but left no children; 4. James Alexander, born April 14, 1788, married Mary Morris, died 1878, leaving four daughters and one son, Alexander, now residing at Dobb's Ferry; 5. John Church, born August 22, 1794, whose large family of sons and daughters reside chiefly in New York City; 6. William Stephen, born August 4, 1797, died unmarried in California: 7. Eliza, born November 20, 1799, married S. Augustus Holly; 8. Philip, born June 7, 1802, married Rebecca, daughter of Louis McLane (now resides at Poughkeepsie), whose two sons were Captain Louis McLane Hamilton, killed at the battle of Wachita, and Dr. Allan McLane Hamilton.

into life-long disgrace. Under cover of the public prejudice in favor of dueling he had sheltered his criminal designs against a man who his apologists say "had utterly opposed and forbidden his advancement"; and with fearless self-possession had not only executed his purpose, but had cut the ground from under his own feet and left Jefferson in undisputed possession of the field. From the day of the duel Vice-President Burr ceased to be a political leader.

His conduct immediately after the duel was as remarkable as his character. When he reached Richmond Hill from crimsoned Weehawken he took his accustomed morning bath, then his easy-chair in the library, where he was found reading by a young relative from Connecticut who arrived unexpectedly about eight o'clock. Parton says, "Neither in his manner nor in his conversation was there any evidence of excitement or concern, nor anything whatever to attract the notice of his guest." When breakfast was announced the two gentlemen proceeded to the breakfast-room together, and chatted pleasantly during the meal; after which the cousin said "Good morning," and strolled towards the city, which he reached about ten o'clock. In Broadway he observed signs of consternation or confusion, as if some extraordinary event had occurred, and when near Wall Street met an acquaintance, who exclaimed, "Colonel Burr has killed General Hamilton in a duel this morning!" "Why, no he has n't," replied the young man promptly and positively; "I have just come from taking breakfast with him." "But," said the other, "I have this moment seen the news on the bulletin!" The cousin was utterly incredulous, and denounced the report as false. He soon found, however, that the whole city was astir, and began to suspect that the terrible story was only too true. Thus completely could Burr command his features and preserve absolute composure.

Yet with all his coolness and cunning, his rapid and quick perceptions, and the recklessness with which he was ever ready to accomplish his ends, he was lamentably defective in judgment. He fancied himself a more popular man than Hamilton. And certainly a more important man, as Vice-President of the nation? It was not so very long since he had stood the idol of a great political party, second in influence and popularity only to one man in America. His self-sufficiency, thus flattered, was at higher ebb than his wisdom, else he would have foreseen that even party rancor, eager to maim the living, scorns to strip the slain. His reasoning faculties were not on a par with the brilliancy of his intellect. He treated the subject of the duel lightly in his private correspondence. On the 13th he wrote to his son-in-law, Governor Alston: "General Hamilton died yesterday. The malignant Federalists or tories, and the embittered Clin-

tonians, unite in endeavoring to excite public sympathy in his favor and indignation against his antagonist. Thousands of absurd falsehoods are circulated with industry." Five days later he wrote again: "The event of which you have been advised has driven me into a sort of exile, and may terminate in an actual and permanent ostracism. Our most unprincipled Jacobins are the loudest in their lamentations for the death of General Hamilton, whom, for many years, they have uniformly represented as the most detestable and unprincipled of men — the motives are obvious. Every sort of persecution is to be exercised against me. You know enough of the temper and principles of the generality of the officers of our State government to form a judgment of my position."

For eleven days Vice-President Burr remained in the vicinity of Richmond Hill without daring to venture into the open air; but it becoming painfully apparent that he was soon to be arrested and arraigned for wilful murder, he stealthily departed from the city one dark, cloudy
July 21. evening. A little barge had been provided which lay silently near the shore of the Hudson below Richmond Hill. At ten o'clock, surrounded by a party of gentlemen, the Vice-President emerged from the beautiful mansion, never to enter it more, and walking to the water's edge embarked in company with his faithful friend John Swartwout and a favorite servant, and soon was moving noiselessly down the river. All night the bargemen plied their oars, and at nine o'clock next morning, which was the Sabbath, paused in front of the lawn of Commodore Truxton's residence in Perth Amboy. The commodore was summoned from his study, greeted Burr courteously, and extended cordial hospitalities; Swartwout returned immediately to New York. The commodore said, "In walking up to my house the Vice-President told me they had spent most of the night upon the water, and a dish of good coffee would not come amiss. I told him it should be furnished with pleasure. As soon as we got to the piazza, I ordered breakfast, which was soon prepared, as the equipage of that meal was not yet removed below." The commodore on Monday drove Burr in his own carriage to Cranberry, some twenty miles beyond; from whence the fugitive was conveyed in a light wagon to the Delaware, which having crossed, he made his way by back roads to Philadelphia.

He was welcomed upon his arrival by some of his former friends, and at once appeared in the streets, on foot and on horseback, exactly as if nothing had happened. In accordance with his ruling principle, to make little of life's miseries and much of its pleasures, he renewed a flirtation with a beautiful Philadelphia belle whose hand had been refused him a year or two before. "I am very well, and not without occupation or

amusement," he wrote to Theodosia. "I shall be here for some days. How many cannot now be resolved." Being advised that warrants had been issued for his arrest, and that an application had been made to Governor Lewis requiring him to demand the murderer from the governor of Pennsylvania, he offered to surrender on condition of receiving a guaranty that he should be released on bail. But no such guaranty could be given him, and he prepared for further flight. He addressed Theodosia on the 11th of August, saying, "Pray write over again all you have written since the 25th of July, for the letters now on the way will not be received for some time. Celeste seems more pliant. I do believe that eight days would have produced some grave event; but, alas! those eight days, and perhaps eight days more, are to be passed on the ocean. If any male friend of yours should be dying of ennui, recommend him to engage in a duel and a courtship at the same time." Aug. 11.

He took refuge for a month upon an island off the coast of Georgia, and then made his way to his daughter's home in South Carolina, traveling four hundred miles of the distance in an open canoe. After ten days of rest he commenced a long land journey to Washington, determined to appear at the assembling of Congress, and perform his duty as president of the Senate. He found upon reaching the seat of government that he had been indicted for murder by New Jersey also, as the duel was fought within the limits of that State. He wrote to Theodosia: "There is a contention of a singular nature between the two States of New York and New Jersey. The subject in dispute is, which shall have the honor of hanging the Vice-President. You shall have due notice of time and place. Whenever it may be, you may rely on a great concourse of company, much gayety, and many rare sights."

Meanwhile Richmond Hill was sold by Burr's creditors to John Jacob Astor for twenty-five thousand dollars, and the amount distributed among them. But the sum was not enough to liquidate Burr's indebtedness by at least seven or eight thousand dollars; thus he was liable to imprisonment for debt if he appeared in New York. His assets were of course unavailable, his income nothing, his practice gone, and two great sovereign States were anxious to consign him to an assassin's doom. At the same time he discharged the duties of his office all winter in Washington unmolested, and was treated with as much consideration, apparently, by the officials of the government as before the duel. He was as cheerful, witty, courtly, and complaisant as ever. His motions in walking were always a little stooping and ungraceful; although of about the same stature as Hamilton, he never stood erect like the murdered statesmen. He had an eminent authority of manner, however, whenever it suited

his purposes; and he is said to have presided with great dignity in the Senate, and particularly at the impeachment trial of Judge Samuel Chase, which, commencing on the 4th of February, ended on the 1st of March in a verdict of acquittal. The Senators, as judges of this august court, were placed in a grand semicircle on each side of the Vice-President, an imposing array of judicial authority. One of the newspapers of the day said "Burr conducted the trial with the dignity and impartiality of an angel, but with the rigor of a devil." The next day, March 2, Burr took formal leave of the Senate in a speech that produced unexpected and profound sensation. And on March 4 Jefferson was sworn the second time into the Presidential office, while George Clinton, the ex-governor of New York, and head of a family whom Burr considered his bitterest enemies, became Vice-President.

Aaron Burr vanished from the political arena never to reappear. Within six days he wrote to Theodosia of his purpose to travel in the West. "This tour has other objects than mere curiosity. An operation of business which promises to render the tour both useful and agreeable," he said. Thus we catch the first gleam of that scheme of matchless daring which in its development only proved how true had been the instinct of Hamilton in warning his country against placing power in the hands of this unprincipled and energetic adventurer.

The impression left upon the New-York mind by the death of Hamilton was fatal to the practice of dueling within her borders. The absurdity of the sacrifice of such a life to maintain the "honor" of a profligate like Burr intensified with every turn of the earth in its orbit. Civilized common-sense was awakened. A recent act of the Legislature had made the sending and accepting of a challenge punishable with disfranchisement and incapacity to hold office for twenty years; but such had been the state of public sentiment hitherto that parties concerned in a duel only had to maintain secrecy beforehand, and the world ignored the consequences, as well as the law. A number of persons knew that Burr and Hamilton were making preparations for a duel, yet no hindrance was interposed. It is said that but for the testimony of Rev. Dr. John M. Mason, who visited Hamilton at his request in his dying moments, and of Bishop Moore, who administered the sacrament to him, and remained at his bedside until all was over, there would never have existed a word of legal evidence that the duel had been fought![1] With both of these eminent clergymen Hamilton conversed freely, and declared with the utmost sincerity of heart that he had no ill-will against Burr. "I used every expedient to avoid the interview," he said, "but I have found, for some time past, that

[1] *Parton's Life of Aaron Burr; Davis's Life of Aaron Burr.*

my life must be exposed to that man. I met him with a fixed determination to do him no harm. I forgive all that happened."[1]

The murderous custom was denounced from the pulpit on every hand. Among those who preached effective and celebrated sermons on the subject of dueling were Rev. Samuel Spring, a college friend of Burr and his companion on the famous Canadian expedition in 1776 — father of the eminent theologian Rev. Dr. Gardner Spring of the Brick Church — and Rev. Dr. Eliphalet Nott, who was the same year appointed President of Union College. "Humiliating end of illustrious greatness," exclaimed Nott, with great feeling; "a loud and awful warning to a community where justice has slumbered — and slumbered — and slumbered — while the wife has been robbed of her partner, the mother of her hopes, and life after life rashly and with an air of triumph sported away. It is distressing in a Christian country, and in churches consecrated to the religion of Jesus, to be obliged to attack a crime which outstrips barbarism, and would even sink the character of a generous savage. The fall of Hamilton owes its existence to mad deliberation, and is marked by violence. The time, the place, the circumstances are arranged with barbarous coolness. The instrument of death is leveled in daylight, and with well-directed skill pointed at his heart. The man upon whom nature seems originally to have impressed the stamp of greatness, the hero who, though a stripling, contributed to Washington's glory on the field, the statesman whose genius impressed itself upon the constitution of this country, the counselor who was at once the pride of the bar and the admiration of the court, whose argument no change of circumstances could embarrass — who without ever stopping, ever hesitating, by a rapid and manly march led the listening judge and the fascinated juror, step by step, through a delightsome region, brightening as he advanced, till his argument rose to demonstration, and eloquence was rendered useless by conviction — the patriot whose integrity baffled the scrutiny of inquisition, the friend whose various worth opposing parties acknowledged while alive, and on whose tomb they unite with equal sympathy and grief to heap their honors, yielded to the force of an imperious custom; and, yielding, he sacrificed a life in which all had an interest — and he is lost — lost to his country — lost to his family — lost to us.

"I cannot forgive that minister at the altar who has hitherto forborne to remonstrate on this subject. I cannot forgive that public prosecutor, who, intrusted with the duty of avenging his country's wrongs, has seen

[1] *Bishop Moore's Letter; Rev. Dr. Mason's Letter; Reflections of Hamilton*, a paper written by himself the evening before the duel; *Will of Hamilton*, appointing John B. Church, Nicholas Fish, and Nathaniel Pendleton his executors and trustees.

those wrongs and taken no measures to avenge them. I cannot forgive that judge upon the bench, or that governor in the chair of state, who has lightly passed over such offenses. I cannot forgive the public, in whose opinion the duelist finds a sanctuary. . . . Do you ask how proof can be obtained? How can it be avoided? The parties return, hold up the instruments of death, publish to the world the circumstances of the interview, and even with an air of insulting triumph boast how coolly and how deliberately they proceeded in violating one of the most sacred laws of earth and heaven.

"Hamilton needs no eulogy. . . . In whatever sphere he moved the friendless had a friend, the fatherless a father, and the poor man, though unable to reward his kindness, found an advocate. . . When truth was disregarded or the eternal principles of justice violated, he sometimes soared so high and shone with a radiance so transcendent, I had almost said so 'heavenly, as filled those around him with awe, and gave to him the force and authority of a prophet' . . . His last act more than any other sheds glory on his character. . . . He dies a Christian. . . . Let not the sneering infidel persuade you that this last act of homage to the Saviour resulted from an enfeebled state of mental faculties; . . . his opinions concerning the validity of the Holy Scriptures had long been settled, and settled after laborious investigation and extensive and deep research. These opinions were not concealed. I knew them myself. Some of you who hear me knew them. And had his life been spared, it was his determination to have published them to the world, together with the facts and reasons upon which they were founded. . . . To the catalogue of professing Christians among illustrious personages may now be added the name of Alexander Hamilton; a name which raises in the mind the idea of whatever is great, whatever is splendid, whatever is illustrious in human nature." [1]

The Legislature of New York was speedily memorialized for more stringent laws upon the subject of dueling; and Pinckney, the vice-president of the Cincinnati, proposed to the New York division of that society henceforward to set its face resolutely against the practice. Other societies passed resolutions in harmony with the same disposition. Religion and

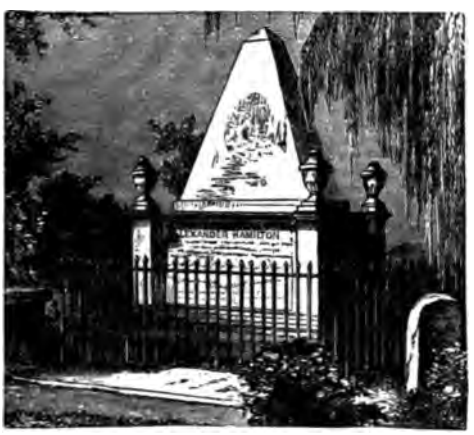
[1] *Discourse* by Rev. Eliphalet Nott, D. D., July 29, 1804. President Nott was in severe domestic affliction at the time he delivered the above discourse, having lost his wife on the 9th of March, 1804. She was Sarah, the daughter of Rev. Joel Benedict, of Plainfield, Connecticut, and twenty-nine years of age at the time of her death; a lady rather small of stature, of fair complexion, expressive countenance, lighted with an uncommonly brilliant and penetrating eye, with a mind enriched by reading and taste refined by culture, and with great vivacity of manner. President Nott was born in 1773; he was the son of Rev. Samuel and Deborah Seldon Nott, of Connecticut. See p. 124 (Vol. II). *History of the Waite Family*; *The Benedicts in America*, p. 88.

humanity united in one deep, abiding frown. And since that time no man in New York, or in any other civilized State of this Union, has fought a duel without falling in the esteem of his contemporaries. Dueling had, strictly speaking, received its death-blow, and it never even temporarily revived.

"If," said Fisher Ames, "the popular estimation is ever to be taken for the true one, the uncommonly profound sorrow for the death of Alexander Hamilton sufficiently explains and vindicates itself. The public has not suddenly, but after an experience of five-and-twenty years, taken that impression of his just celebrity that nothing but his extraordinary intrinsic merit could have made, and still less could have made so deep and maintained so long. It is with really great men as with great literary works, the excellence of both is best tested by the extent and durableness of their impression. It is safe and correct to judge by effects."

Three fourths of a century have since passed, and the facts and effects of Hamilton's life are now more vividly impressed upon the intelligence of America than ever before. And a fresh interest is awakening, not only in the genius, character, and services of the great statesman through whom New York took such a leading place in general affairs, but in the study of the origin and constitution of the nation whose existence has been vindicated by arms.

The Cincinnati erected a monumental tomb to his memory in Trinity Churchyard: and popular affection recorded his name indelibly upon the ever-forming map of the United States dozens of times repeated.



Tomb of Hamilton.
[Trinity Churchyard, New York City.]

CHAPTER XLIII.

1804 - 1808.

INSTITUTIONS AND INVENTIONS.

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY. — ITS FOUNDERS. — JUDGE EGBERT BENSON. — JOHN PINTARD. — ORIGIN OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES IN AMERICA. — THE MEN OF LETTERS. — THE ELGIN BOTANICAL GARDEN. — DR. SAMUEL LATHAM MITCHILL. — CLUBS. — ORIGIN OF THE FREE SCHOOL SOCIETY. — ITS PURPOSE. — ITS FOUNDERS. — THOMAS EDDY. — INSANE ASYLUM. — SOME OF THE PUBLIC-SPIRITED MERCHANTS. — THE FRIENDLY CLUB. — PHILANTHROPIC LADIES. — THE ORPHAN ASYLUM. — THIRTY-THREE CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS. — THE ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS. — THE MEDICAL COLLEGE. — NEWSPAPERS. — SALMAGUNDI. — WASHINGTON IRVING. — FIRST STEAMBOAT ON THE HUDSON. — ROBERT FULTON. — COLONEL JOHN STEVENS. — INVENTIONS AND EXPERIMENTS. — OCEAN STEAM NAVIGATION. — THE EMBARGO OF JEFFERSON.

THE peculiar intellectual and social condition of New York in the earliest decade of the present century is best illustrated through the institutions which were springing into existence. The movement of the human mind taken collectively is always towards something better. But neither philosophy, scientific achievement, literary culture, the art of government, nor religious knowledge can go much in advance of contemporary intelligence. The age furnishes the master-workman with materials, and from thence he builds. The growth of New York has ever been like a poem, whose beauty would be marred by leaving out a line here and there — or like a tree, whose fruit would be curtailed by rejecting as of no account a portion of its branches and its flowers. To become acquainted with the actual whole, every opening bud must be analyzed and weighed in the balance. No fact means anything when standing alone. Every fact becomes significant in proportion to the value of its setting, and so far as it reveals the quality and spirit of a people.

The careful reader, having traced in preceding chapters the results of New York's constant endeavor to provide means and methods for educating all classes of her restless, questioning population, is prepared for further developments in her elaborate machinery for the maintenance of public schools. And we have presently to draw more fully the

outline of her magnificent charities — the medicine for natural and moral evils — in which her generous extravagance has excelled through all her history that of any other city in the world. In the mean time a project was under consideration, neither educational nor charitable, but partaking of the nature of both, which was to become a priceless inheritance to all future generations.

Eleven well-known and highly accomplished and influential gentlemen met by appointment in the picture-room of the City Hall, in Wall Street, on the afternoon of the 20th of November, 1804, and agreed to organize a society for the collection and preservation of whatever might relate to the natural, civil, or ecclesiastical history of the United States in general, and of the great sovereign State of New York in particular. These gentlemen were Judge Egbert Benson, Mayor De Witt Clinton, the celebrated divines Rev. Dr. Samuel Miller, Rev. Dr. John M. Mason, Rev. Dr. John N. Abeel, and Rev. Dr. William Linn, and Dr. David Hosack, Anthony Bleecker, Samuel Bayard, Peter Gerard Stuyvesant, and John Pintard. After discussing the subject freely, a committee, consisting of Judge Benson, Rev. Dr. Miller, and John Pintard, was appointed to draft a constitution. 1804.



Judge Egbert Benson.

[From the celebrated Painting by Gilbert Stuart.]

At a second meeting, on the 10th of December, other gentlemen of prominence were present, including Rufus King, Daniel D. Tompkins, and Rev. John H. Hobart. The constitution was read and adopted, and the institution thus founded was named the New York Historical Society.

The permanent officers were not chosen until the 14th of January, 1805, at which meeting the society was fully organized, with Judge Benson as president, Right Reverend Bishop Moore 1st vice-president, Judge Brockholst Livingston 2d vice-president, Rev. Dr. Miller corresponding secretary, John Pintard recording secretary, Charles Wilkes 1805.

treasurer, and John Forbes librarian. The first standing committee consisted of Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill, Dr. David Hosack, Daniel D. Tompkins, William Johnson, John McKesson, Anthony Bleecker, and Rev. Dr. Mason.

Active measures were at once taken to secure books, manuscripts, letters, documents, statistics, and newspapers relating directly or remotely to American history; and pictures, antiquities, medals, coins, and specimens of natural history were industriously sought for the formation of a museum. The beginning was broad and comprehensive, and the nucleus was soon constituted of the vast and valuable collection which has become the pride of the city, and which may well challenge comparison with museums of a similar character established and fostered by an older civilization.

John Pintard, the acknowledged founder of this time-honored institution, was an animated, cheerful, energetic man of forty-five, a New-Yorker by birth, a Huguenot by descent, who as a youth in Princeton College had enjoyed the special friendship of Dr. Witherspoon and formed a wide circle of learned and distinguished friends. He was early a student of public men and measures, and in addition to classical acquirements and familiarity with elegant literature, had some knowledge of law, and an exceptional fund of historical, geographical, and didactic information. Dr. Francis says: "He was versed in theological and polemical divinity, and in the progress of church affairs among us ever a devoted disciple. You could scarcely approach him without having something of Dr. Johnson thrust upon you. There were periods in his life in which he gave every unappropriated moment to philological inquiry, and it was curious to see him ransacking his formidable pile of dictionaries for radicals and synonyms with an earnestness that would have done honor to the most eminent student in the republic of letters."

He had traveled through the Western wilds and learned the history and habits of the Indians, was editor of *The New York Daily Advertiser* for several years; and upon his return from New Orleans in the spring of 1804 published a topographical and medical review of that French metropolis, having while there minutely examined the condition of things. He engaged in commercial enterprises, but was ever rendering important civic services to New York; he was the first city inspector, appointed in 1804, originated the first savings-bank, which was organized in the rooms of the New York Historical Society, was conspicuous in the formation of the American Bible Society, was the main-spring in the organization of the Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and was an efficient auxiliary in furtherance of the canal policy of his illustrious and intimate friend, De Witt Clinton. Dr. Francis says: "The first meeting of our citizens in recommendation of this vast

measure was brought together through John Pintard's instrumentality, at a time when to give it any countenance whatever was sure to bring upon the advocate of the ruinous measure the anathemas of certain of the political leaders of the day, and official proscription. I remember well how cautiously and how secretly many of those incipient meetings in favor of the contemplated project were convened; and how the manly bosom of Clinton often throbbed at the agonizing remarks the Opposition muttered in his hearing, and the hazard to his personal security which he sometimes encountered."

The idea which resulted in the formation of the New York Historical Society had long been cherished by John Pintard. He first became deeply impressed with the importance of preserving records of events while secretary for his uncle, the commissary for American prisoners in the Revolution. His plan gradually unfolded itself to the scholarly men of the period. As early as 1789 the celebrated Rev. Jeremy Belknap wrote from Boston to Postmaster-General Hazard, then residing in New York: "This day Mr. Pintard called to see me. He says he is an acquaintance of yours, and wants to form a society of antiquaries, etc. He seems to have a literary taste."[1] Hazard replied: "Mr. Pintard has mentioned to me his thoughts about an American Antiquarian Society. The idea pleases me much. Mr. Pintard has recently purchased a large collection (in volumes) relating to the American Revolution. It was made by Dr. Chandler, of Elizabethtown, who was in England all the war. It is valuable, as is Mr. Pintard's library." In October, 1790, Hazard wrote to Belknap, "I like Pintard's idea of a society of American antiquaries; but where will you find a sufficiency of members of suitable abilities and leisure?" In the spring following Pintard wrote to Belknap inquiring after the welfare of the contemplated institution, and informed the eminent theologian that a magazine account would soon appear of the New York Tammany Society. He said, "This being a strong national society, I engrafted an antiquarian scheme of a museum upon it. It makes small progress with a small fund, and may possibly succeed. We have a tolerable collection of pamphlets, mostly modern, with some history, of which I will send you an abstract. If your society succeeds we will open a regular correspondence, etc. If my plan once strikes root it will thrive."

Pintard's plan did strike root, and his prediction regarding its future

[1] *Mass. Hist. Coll.* Vol. III. Fifth Series, *Belknap Papers*, Part II.; *Belknap to Hazard*, August 18, 1789; *Belknap to Hazard*, August 19, 1789: *Belknap to Hazard*, August 27, 1789; *Hazard to Belknap*, September 5, 1789; *Hazard to Belknap*, October 3, 1790; *Pintard to Belknap*, April 6, 1791. *Proceedings of Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 1791 - 1835.

prosperity proved correct. The Massachusetts Historical Society, with Belknap at its head, was organized in 1791. Thirteen years later the New York Historical Society entered upon a healthful existence, being the second institution of its kind in America. To Pintard is due the honor of originating both; indeed, he may with justice be pronounced the Father of Historical Societies in this country.

The men of letters who comprised its first membership did vastly more than establish the high character of the New York Historical Society upon a solid and permanent basis. They were instrumental in directing public attention throughout the land to the preservation of contemporary records as the data from which all future history must receive its true impress. The amazing perversion of facts by political writers at that particular epoch was an additional stimulus to fidelity in historical research grounded upon documentary testimony. In New York, garrets and trunks were ransacked for letters and papers which had been cast aside as worthless, scattered documents were rescued from oblivion, and erelong material of consequence was concentrated and made available for reference. Prior to 1804 but one history of New York had been printed, that of Smith, and this came down only to 1756. But the Society never rested until the period of our colonial history was as well known as that of a later date; it procured an action of the Legislature by which the archives of France, Holland, and England were examined, and it restored to the State government on more than one occasion important portions of its long-lost documents; it has also issued of its own publications twenty-four volumes, in addition to many historical essays and addresses in pamphlet form. Its accumulations, during the three fourths of a century since its foundation, have been so extensive, varied, and of such rare worth, that an architectural structure is contemplated of sufficient magnitude for their proper accommodation.[1]

[1] The New York Historical Society first occupied a room in the old City Hall in Wall Street from 1804 to 1809, then removed to the Government House opposite the Bowling Green, and remained from 1809 to 1816, occupied the New York Institution from 1816 to 1832, Remson's Building, in Broadway, from 1832 to 1837, Stuyvesant's Institute from 1837 to 1841, the New York University from 1841 to 1857, and, after struggling with pecuniary difficulties that were almost destructive, came out of the trial triumphant, and celebrated its fifty-third anniversary by taking possession of its present building on the corner of Second Avenue and Eleventh Street, which, when projected and erected, was supposed capable of perly providing for the needs of the Society. Material poured in so profusely, however, 860 the officers in charge complained of want of space; and for twenty years past been agitated of removing the magnificent collection to a more suitable locapart of the city — thus establishing a "Museum of History, Antiquities, not only be an honor to New York but to the continent of America. now under consideration.

The founders of the New York Historical Society deserve more than a passing notice. They represented the highest culture of the city, and were veritable educators of the public taste. Special committees appointed to further the studies of zoölogy, botany, mineralogy, philosophy, and other subjects developed into separate societies. Art, science, and literature were encouraged and fostered. The influence of the institution became not only a blessing but a power; and its example was borrowed by the forming communities in the country at large, until similar organizations are to be found in nearly every county in the State, and in all the large cities of the United States.

Judge Benson, the first president of this ancestor of the great family of Historical Societies in America, was a native of New York, educated in Columbia College, identified through a life of usefulness with the progress of the city, and had distinguished himself in State legislation, in Congress, and in jurisprudence. He had reached his sixtieth year honored and beloved. His integrity was a proverb. He was a man of superior talents as well as of efficient excellence, a ripe English and classical scholar, and well versed in Indian lore and Dutch history. Among his writings left us is an exhaustive paper on the subject of "Names," which, after reading before the Historical Society in 1816, he printed in a small pamphlet; it is now a rare antiquarian curiosity.[1] With the scholarship and accomplish-

[1] *Memoirs*, by Egbert Benson, entitled *Names* ("chiefly names of places, and further restricted to places in that portion of our country once held and claimed by the Dutch by right of discovery, and by them named New Netherland"), printed 1817. Judge Egbert Benson was born 1746, died 1833. He was the son of Robert Benson (2), born 1712, died 1762, who was the son of Robert Benson (1), born 1686, who was the son of Samson Benson, born 1652, — married the daughter of Robert Van Deusen — who was the son of the first of the family in New York, Dirck Benson — or Bensing, Bensinck, Bensick, Bensich, as the name was variously entered upon the Dutch and English records. Dirck Benson came from Holland with the first settlers on the Van Rensselaer manor, and his arms were painted upon the window of the first church in Albany; in 1653, according to the land papers, he purchased a lot in Broadway, New York City. He seems to have been a man of property and importance among the men of his time. He had five children, of whom Samson was the second son. Samson had seven children, three of whom were daughters; Elizabeth married Egbert Van Borsum. Robert (1), second son of Samson, had three children: 1. Elizabeth, married Hermanus Rutgers, whose son Robert married Elizabeth Beekman, and daughter Mary married Anthony M. Hoffman; 2. Catharine, married Colonel Martin Hoffman; 3. Robert (2), married his cousin, Catharine, daughter of Egbert and Elizabeth Benson Van Borsum. The children of the latter were: 1. Robert (3), Secretary of the Convention which adopted the constitution of New York, born 1739, died 1823; 2. Henry; 3. Judge Egbert, above mentioned, who never married; 4. Anthony; 5. Mary; 6. Cornelia. Robert (3) married Dinah, the beautiful daughter of John Couwenhoven, whose children were: 1. Robert (4); 2. Catharine, married John L. Lefferts; 3. Egbert, who was a personal friend of Henry Clay and many of the great men of his time, married Maria, daughter of John Couwenhoven, and his children were, Susan, Robert (5), Egbert, George M., Leffert L., Maria E., Henry,

ments of the two first vice-presidents, Bishop Moore and Judge Brockholst Livingston, the reader is already familiar. Rev. Dr. John M. Mason was esteemed the greatest pulpit orator of his time. He was forty-four years of age, of noble and peerless bearing and marvelous erudition. Animation of manner, warmth of temperament, vigor of thought, and energy of diction were his special characteristics. He temporized with no errors, and was intimidated by no obstacles. Lethargy and indifference found little repose within sound of his voice. Through his efforts a theological seminary was established in New York in 1804, of which he was appointed professor. Rev. Dr. Linn was distinguished alike for pulpit eloquence and varied scholarship. He was untiring in his efforts to promote the interests of the society, and was laden with historical materials. Rev. Dr. Miller was about thirty-five, and had already acquired much reputation as a theological and polemical writer. His *Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century*, published in 1803, marks an era in our literature; and according to a British critic its author richly deserved the praises of both hemispheres. He was a Presbyterian pastor in New York from 1793 to 1813, when he became a professor of Ecclesiastical History and Church Government in the Theological Seminary at Princeton. So deeply were his sympathies engaged in the objects of the Historical Society, that he contemplated a History of New York, and collected extensive materials for that purpose.

Another eminent divine, whose high character and literary attainments rendered him an important auxiliary, was Rev. Dr. John N. Abeel. He was of the same age as Rev. Dr. Miller, young, magnetic, full of life and vivacity, and the possessor of a voice of much sweetness and melody. He was a polished speaker, and rarely failed to capture the attention of an audience. Dr. David Hosack was also thirty-five; he had had the advantage of medical training in Edinburgh and London, under the most celebrated professors of the age. When he returned to New York in 1794, he brought the first collection of minerals introduced into America; also a collection of the duplicate specimens of plants from the herbarium of Linnæus, now constituting a portion of the Museum of the Lyceum of Natural History in the city. While a professor of Botany in Columbia College, he founded the Elgin Botanical Garden, in 1801, a work of princely munificence, where amid twenty cultivated acres he illustrated

Richard H.; 4. John, married Sarah M., daughter of Augustine H. Lawrence, whose children were, Robert Augustine, Catharine, Sarah — married the Hon. David Stuart — and Julia; 5. Maria, married Judge Leffert Lefferts, whose daughter, Elizabeth Dorothea, married the Hon. J[illegible] 6. Elizabeth; 7. Jane, married Richard K. Hoffman, M. D., whose daughter married Benjamin Woolsey Rogers. — *Family Archives.*

to his classes the mysteries of the vegetable kingdom — the loves and habits of plants and trees.[1] He was one of the original projectors of the Literary and Philosophical Society, besides giving much of his time and talent to historical pursuits; he was president of the Historical Society from 1820 to 1828. The presence of Samuel Bayard and Peter G. Stuyvesant at the inauguration of the Society was significant. They were gentlemen of education, culture, wealth, public spirit, and benevolence, and they bore names dear to the New York heart. Bayard resided in New Jersey, where he had done much to promote learning. His wife was Martha Pintard, a cousin of John Pintard. But although living in another State, he was essentially a New-Yorker, and like Stuyvesant contributed no little to perpetuate the fame of his ancestors.

Anthony Bleecker excelled all others in devotion to the future character of New York. His taste was indispensable to every arrangement for the good of the prospective Society. He was remarkable for generous sympathy as well as literary instinct, and was a favorite with all the men of letters of his time. Mayor De Witt Clinton was everywhere helpful. He believed the institution would perform a double service through the clearing of the way for other herculean enterprises already taking shape in his mind. He was an intellectual giant. Comprehending the great needs of the community at large, he could also note the intermediate steps to remarkable achievements. Few men were ever more industrious, or applied genius and industry to higher and more important ends. His scholarship was as varied as his usefulness. Metaphysics, theology, poetry, belles lettres, natural history, zoölogy, botany, mineralogy, ichthyology, and ornithology, all in turn occupied his attention. His collection of minerals in after years formed one of the most valuable private cabinets in the United States. He was elected an honorary member of many learned societies in Great Britain and on the continent of Europe, and corresponded with

[1] The Elgin Botanical Garden became the resort of the curious. It was on Murray Hill near the site now occupied by the Roman Catholic Cathedral, covering the ground between Fifty-first and Forty-seventh Streets, and Fifth and Sixth Avenues. Here Michaux, Barton, Mitchell, Doughty, Pursh, and Le Conte often repaired to solve the doubts of the cryptogamist, or to confirm the nuptial theory of Vaillant. Torrey, the eminent naturalist and public benefactor, was a pupil of Dr. Hosack, as was also Professor Gray. Since Dr. Hosack's death the botanical nomenclature enrolls no less than sixteen species of plants of different regions under the genus *Hosackia*. (*Old New York*, by Dr. John W. Francis.) François A. Michaux, mentioned above, was the only child of André Michaux, far famed through his *Oaks of North America*, and his *Flora*. Young Michaux was the author, in 1804, of *A Journey to the West of the Alleghany Mountains*, to which was added a work on *Forest Trees*; through his influence a great number of American forest trees were planted in the Garden of Plants, in Paris, where he resided through a long and useful life. Frederic Pursh was the author of the *Flora Americæ Septentrionalis*, and for several years the curator of the Elgin Botanical Garden.

the most distinguished men of the age.[1] The scientist, Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchill, of the first standing committee, was one of the strong pillars of the Society through all its tender years. He possessed an exceptional memory, with unusual opportunities for collecting and collating information. He was in the national counsels at Washington the greater part of the first dozen years of the century, but he found time to be of essential service to New York notwithstanding his numerous occupations. His medical career, professional labors, political services, and literary and scientific writings all give evidence of superior merit; he was a sort of human dictionary, whose opinion was sought by all originators and inventors of every grade throughout his entire generation. He edited the *Medical Repository*, commenced in 1797, for sixteen years, in which he was aided by Dr. Edward Miller. His analysis of the Saratoga waters greatly enhanced the value and importance of those wonderful mineral springs. His mineralogical survey of the State of New York in 1796, of which he published a report in the first volume of the *Medical Repository*, gave Volney many hints. It was the first undertaking of the kind in the United States, and secured its author a wide reputation. His ingenious theory of the doctrines of septon and septic acid gave impulse to Sir Humphry Davy's vast discoveries; and his essays on pestilence awakened inquiry all over the world. As early as 1788 he had served as a commissioner to treat with the Iroquois Indians for the purchase of lands in Western New York; and in 1793 we find him in company with Chancellor Livingston and Simeon De Witt establishing the Society for the Promotion of Agriculture, Manufactures, and the Useful Arts. Duyckink enumerates one hundred and eighty-nine distinct achievements or important acts of Dr. Mitchill's busy life.[2] In course of years he became an active member of nearly all the learned societies of the world.

Dr. Mitchill's versatility of talent has been the theme of many writers. The wits of the day ridiculed his hospitality to new ideas, and perpetrated

[1] While yet quite young De Witt Clinton became a member of the ancient fraternity of Freemasons, which included such men as Washington, Lafayette, Franklin, Pinckney, Marshall, and Chancellor Livingston; and in 1816 he was unanimously elected to the highest masonic office in this country, which he retained until his death.

[2] The first reads thus: "Returns from Europe with the diploma of M. D. from Edinburgh, obtained in 1786 — after having been initiated into the mysteries of Freemasonry, in the Latin Lodge of the Roman Eagle, by the famous Joannes Bruno, 1787." Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchill was born in North Hempstead, Queens County, Long Island, August 20, 1764; died in New York City, 1831. Through his maternal uncle, Dr. Samuel Latham, of the same village, he was placed under the instruction of Dr. Leonard Cutting (who was classically educated at Cambridge, England), and afterwards went to Edinburgh to complete his studies, remaining nearly four years, a contemporary student with Thomas Addis Emmet and Sir James Mackintosh, and while there enjoyed the best intellectual society in Scotland.

all manner of jokes at his expense, which he seemed to enjoy as well as the rest of the town. His faith in steam navigation was a special object of satire, he having warmly advocated in the Legislature the passage of the act of 1798, which conferred the right upon Chancellor Livingston to navigate the waters of New York by steam; and he had the satisfaction, in 1807, of turning the tables upon those who laughed, by sailing in the first steamboat to Albany.

In 1804 he advocated with considerable ingenuity a new name for the country to meet the supposed want of a national term for the people of the United States, and there was a lively debate upon the subject in the new Historical Society. He hit upon "Fredonia" as suggestive of a generous idea, and thus the inhabitants would be Fredes, or Fredonians; but the geographical limits of the country filled up so rapidly that the appellation of "American" continued to prevail and was not esteemed inappropriate. He was both a versifier and a poet, and amused himself at odd moments in humorous fancies and in the production of scientific poems. On one occasion a friend found him after breakfast in the charitable improvement of nursery rhymes. He said: "I have found that the verses commencing

'Four-and-twenty blackbirds, etc.'

abound with errors, and the infantile mind is led astray by false ideas of the musical functions of cooked birds; I have therefore arranged it thus:—

'When the pie was opened the birds they were songless.
Was not that a pretty dish to set before the Congress?'"

In the next breath the learned doctor might have been absorbed in the anatomy of an egg or a fish, deciphering a Babylonian brick, studying the character of meteoric stones, the different species of brassia, or the geology of Niagara, offering suggestions concerning the angle of a windmill or the shape of the gridiron, advising with Michaux on the beauty of black walnut for parlor furniture, investigating bivalves and discoursing on conchology with Dr. Samuel Akerly, his brother-in-law, talking over the feasibility of introducing the Bronx River into the city with Professor Colles, or, in a profound exegetical disquisition on Kennicott's Hebrew Bible with the great Jewish Rabbi, Gershom Seixas. On one occasion a committee of soap-boilers begged him to defend the innoxious influence of their vocation in a crowded population. For his services rendered to the democratic soap-boilers Chancellor Livingston humorously told him he "deserved a monument of hard soap."

Among the social institutions of the period was the Krout Club, its members being descendants of the early Dutch settlers, and one of its principal features was an annual dinner where cabbage was served in an end-

less variety of dishes. The presiding officer was called the "Grand Krout," and it was customary immediately after his election to crown him with a cabbage-head nicely fashioned, throwing at the same instant a mantle of cabbage-leaves about his shoulders. Dr. Mitchill, while thus arrayed as master of a cabbage feast, once delivered a most amusing eulogistic address on the cabbage, closing with the words, "Thy name has been abused, as if 'to cabbage' were to pilfer or steal. I repel with indignation this attempt to sully thy fame." The Turtle Club, comprising the "solid men" of the city, was in the habit of feasting annually on turtle, usually in a shady grove at Hoboken, and Dr. Mitchill also addressed this social clan in one of his happiest strains of humor, stating that "the turtle, by an odd perversion of language, means the cooing bird of Fredonia, and also the four-footed reptile of Bahama." He frequently addressed the ladies through the medium of the Drone Club on the healthful influence of the alkalies, and the depurating virtues of white-washing. He seemed to be equally at home on all subjects, and possessed a charm of manner and a magnetism of mind that was unusual. He did much to advance the public and private interests of New York, and elevate her scholastic reputation throughout the world.

At the important meeting when the constitution of the Historical Society was adopted additional persons were present, whose names reflect luster upon the oganization: Rev. Dr. John Bowden, for a dozen years professor of Moral Philosophy and Belles Lettres in Columbia College; Rev. Dr. John C. Kunze, among the most learned divines and Oriental scholars of his day, and the first to strongly urge the propriety of educating German youth in English; John Kemp, the eminent mathematician, chosen a member of the Royal Society of Edinburgh before he was twenty-one, and who filled not only the chair of Mathematics, but that of History, Geography, and Chronology in Columbia College for a long series of years; Rev. Dr. William Harris, rector of St. Mark's Church from 1802 to 1816, a classical scholar of rare proficiency, versed in ecclesiastical history, who was afterwards president of Columbia College for many years; Peter Wilson, a notable linguist, who possessed much other knowledge of value to the new institution; John Murray, Jr., a clever man, a lover of the arts, a philanthropist, and an early and ardent promoter of our free-school system; and Dr. Archibald Bruce, a young physician of twenty-eight, who, graduating from Columbia in 1795, soon after made the tour of France, Switzerland, and Italy, and collected a mineralogical cabinet of great value — becoming indeed the first professor of mineralogy in this country, and edited the *Journal of American Mineralogy*. Rev. John Henry Hobart, subsequently Episcopal Bishop of New York, then thirty years

of age, Daniel D. Tompkins, shortly to be elected governor of the State, and Rufus King, recently returned from his mission to England, are more fully introduced to the reader elsewhere.

It will be observed that the Faculty of Columbia College furnished a strong delegation to aid in the formation of this society — and also that several of its founders were Regents of the University. Ex-Governor John Jay from his Bedford retirement rendered substantial encouragement; and his son, Peter Augustus Jay, contributed largely to the material for a library. His benefactions embraced much of that curious accumulation of periodicals published before the Revolution. He said, "A file of American newspapers is of far more value to our design than all the Byzantine historians." John McKesson was a large contributor of Legislative documents, of which were the Journals of the Provincial Congress and Convention, together with the proceedings of the Committee of Safety from May, 1775, to the adoption of the State Constitution in 1777. From the beginning the institution comprehended a rare amount of influence and literary and scientific enthusiasm, and it was sustained and fostered by the erudite and the accomplished. Its membership through all its history has represented the best scholarship of the country and the age. Its presidents — Egbert Benson, Gouverneur Morris, De Witt Clinton, David Hosack, James Kent, Morgan Lewis, Peter G. Stuyvesant, Peter Augustus Jay, Albert Gallatin, Luther Bradish, Rev. Dr. De Witt, Hamilton Fish, Augustus Schell, and Frederic De Peyster — have been nearly all men of national reputation.

In the mean time the subject of common schools was discussed with renewed earnestness. New York had not hitherto been destitute. Ever since the Dutch provided schools at the public expense op- 1805. portunity had been afforded for universal education; nearly every church supported a school of its own, and other charity free schools and private schools abounded. There were in the city at this date one hundred and forty-one teachers actively employed. But the population of the city was increasing rapidly, and its enlightened citizens saw the tide of European emigration drifting multitudes to her shores whose children would grow up hopelessly ignorant, easy victims to vice and crime, unless the way was prepared for them to receive the rudiments of knowledge. Public economy and self-preservation, not less than religious duty, urged the work forward. Several of the philanthropic founders of the Historical Society discussed the subject, and finally, through the advice of Thomas Eddy, a meeting was called on the 19th of February, at the house of John Murray, Jr., in Pearl Street. It was resolved to form a society of which the membership fee should be eight dollars; but the subscription list,

still preserved, was headed by Mayor De Witt Clinton with a donation of two hundred dollars, and other influential men gave in proportion. John Pintard, the city inspector, was constantly on the alert to advance the enterprise. Clinton, while secretary of the Board of Regents of the University, had imbibed the liberal humanitarian spirit that characterized New York, and being elected a State senator, in addition to the mayoralty of the city, he was able to bring the subject with uncommon vigor before the Legislature. The result was the institution of a free school, independent of and in nowise interfering with the schools already provided by churches, corporations, and charities. Thirty-seven names were mentioned in the Act of Incorporation, and the society was entitled "the Society for establishing a Free School in the city of New York, for the education of such poor children as do not belong to or are not provided for by any religious society." Thirteen trustees were appointed to manage the affairs of the society, of whom Mayor Clinton was president, John Murray, Jr., vice-president, Leonard Bleecker treasurer, and Benjamin D. Perkins secretary. As soon as the society assumed responsible form, the State rendered moderate pecuniary aid, and the city voted a modest appropriation. In April, 1806, Colonel Henry Rutgers
1806. generously donated the site for a school-house in Henry Street. The first school was opened the next month in an apartment of a house in Bancker, now Madison, Street, with forty scholars; the corporation of the city presently offered for temporary accommodation a building adjacent to the almshouse, in which the school flourished two years.

In 1808 the charter was altered and the name of the corporation changed to the "Free School Society of the City of New York." About the same time the tenement occupied proving greatly inadequate to the demand for admission, the city presented to the society an extensive lot of ground in Chatham Street, where a convenient brick edifice was erected to accommodate five hundred pupils in one room. In the lower story were apartments for the family of the teacher, for the meeting of the trustees, and for another school of one hundred and fifty pupils.[1]

[1] The following gentlemen contributed to the erection of this building (upon which was expended some thirteen thousand dollars) either in building materials or otherwise: Abraham Russell, William Wickham, William Tilton, Whitehead Hicks, M. M. Titus, Richard Titus, Joseph Watkins, J. G. Pierson & Brothers, B. W. Rogers & Co., Richard Speaight, Abraham Bussing, Daniel Beach, P. Schermerhorn, Jr., Thomas Stevenson, Thomas Smyth, John McKie, Isaac Sharpless, Jones & Clinch, George Youle, John Youle, Forman Cheeseman, John Rooke, George Lindsay, Jonathan Dixon, J. Sherred, Alexander Campbell, William & G. Post, Joel Davis, Henry Hillman, Ebenezer Bassett, Peter Fenton, William McKenney. — *History of the Public School Society*, by William Oland Bourne, A. M.; *De Witt Clinton's Address; His-Public Education in the City of New York*, by Thomas Boese; *Reports of the Board of*; *Public School Documents.*

The building was finished and dedicated on the 11th of December, 1809, at which time De Witt Clinton, president of the society from 1805 to 1828, delivered a soul-stirring and memorable address, in which he said, calling attention to the donation of Colonel Rutgers, worth at least twenty-five hundred dollars, and to the condition of one of the deeds which made it necessary to build a school-house thereon before June, 1811— while warmly recommending its accomplishment — "The law from which we derive our corporate existence does not confine us to one seminary, but contemplates the establishment of schools." The benevolence of New York promptly responded to the appeal, and an additional subscription of over thirteen thousand dollars enabled the society to lay the corner-stone of the second structure on the 11th of November, 1810. The ceremony was performed by the munificent donor of the site, in presence of a large concourse of people. The next year two large lots, corner of Hudson and Grove Streets, were given to the society by the vestry of Trinity Church for the erection of a third school building. By 1825 the one free school had multiplied into six, and the following March the Legislature, at the request of the trustees, changed the name of the corporate body to "The Public School Society of the City of New York," the schools by that time having ceased to be charity schools, and henceforward open to all without distinction of sect or circumstances.



First Free-School Building, erected in 1809.

The original corporators of what was so soon to become the gigantic public school system of New York City were, Mayor De Witt Clinton, Samuel Osgood, Brockholst Livingston, John Murray, Jr., Jacob Morton, Thomas Eddy, Daniel D. Tompkins, John Pintard, Thomas Pearsall, Rev. Dr. Samuel Miller, Joseph Constant, Robert Bowne, Matthew Clarkson, Archibald Gracie, John McVickar, Charles Wilkes, Henry Ten Broeck, Gilbert Aspinwall, Valentine Seaman, William Johnson, William Coit, Matthew Franklin, Adrian Hegeman, Leonard Bleecker, Benjamin G. Minturn, Thomas Franklin, Samuel Russell, Samuel Doughty, Alexander Robertson, Samuel Torbert, John Withington, William Edgar,

George Turnbull, William Boyd, Jacob Mott, Benjamin Egbert, Thomas Farmer, and Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchill. They were men of different religious persuasions and political parties, and represented nearly every profession, as well as the commercial and social life of the city, embracing more solid worth and real and merited distinction than is usually found among an equal number of individuals. The common welfare and the common safety in the broadest catholicity of spirit was the goal. No sect or creed, nationality or name, was to be known in admitting scholars. Thus with open-hearted hospitality the metropolis welcomed the perpetually arriving hosts from other States and countries. As New York had been foremost on this continent in establishing, after the manner of Oxford, a university, to which was intrusted the superintendence of all colleges and seminaries of learning within the State, and as her eldest college, Columbia, exacted, it is said, of a candidate for admission more classical and other knowledge than any other college in the United States, it is the more interesting to note the sound policy with which provision was made for the education of the humblest and most destitute within her borders.

Thomas Eddy was a philanthropist of the highest order, and his life was in a certain sense spent for the good of New York. He was the son of a Philadelphia Quaker, but removed to New York at an early age. He was not quite fifty at the time his exertions helped to found the first free school, and for months he spent his leisure moments in going through the lanes and back streets looking up children, and devising ways and means for the success of the undertaking. He had already been for years laboring to change the penal code of the State and establish a new penitentiary system. His doctrine was the prevention of crime by eradicating vice; and at a later period we shall find him prominent in founding the Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents, and also with De Witt Clinton and others projecting the Bloomingdale Asylum for the insane. It was through his influence, as one of the governors of the New York Hospital, that the first hospital for the insane was erected in 1807; he became deeply interested in the treatment of lunatics, and corresponded with philanthropists in every part of the world upon that delicate subject. He was actively concerned in nearly all the other great charities of his time.

Charles Wilkes was president of the Bank of New York. He was a nephew of the celebrated John Wilkes, the member of Parliament who in English politics for a long period, and the brother of John ryer residing in Wall Street, whose son Charles, born in famous naval commander, hero of the capture of Mason

and Slidell.[1] Alexander Robertson was an educated Scotchman of about thirty-three, who, removing to New York some years before, had developed artistic gifts of superior order; he was recognized as a successful portrait-painter, and became secretary of the Academy of Fine Arts. Matthew Clarkson's name is familiar to the reader. He was called to the presidency of the Bank of New York in 1804, which position he retained until a few days before his death, a period of twenty-one years. He was also the senior vice-president of the American Bible Society. De Witt Clinton said, "Wherever a charitable or public-spirited institution was about to be established Clarkson's presence was considered essential. His sanction became a passport to public approbation." His name is associated with the foundation of nearly all the early meritorious societies of New York, whether intended for education, culture, relief, or protection. Chancellor Kent said, "His portrait presents an elevation of moral grandeur 'above all Greek, above all Roman fame.' It belongs to Christianity alone to form and to animate such a character." In private life no man was more beloved for amiable qualities.

Gilbert Aspinwall was a wealthy importer and owner of ships, the prominent representative of a family of princely merchants whose history for upwards of a century is interwoven with that of the city. He lived in a large commodious mansion in Beaver Street, corner of Broadway, afterwards the home of his son-in-law, John Van Buren. He was a man of fine tastes and no inconsiderable learning, of great financial ability, of large benevolence, and of many social attractions. He was one of The Friendly Club, which flourished for many years before and a few years after the death of Washington — until annihilated by political differences. This club included among its members Chancellor Kent, Charles Brockden Brown, Anthony Bleecker, Dr. Edward Miller, John McVickar, William Walton Woolsey, George Muirnson Woolsey, William Dunlap, and Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchill; it met at the houses of its members in rotation every Tuesday evening, and it was the duty of the host to direct conversation through the reading of a passage from some favorite author. At the close of the discussion light refreshments — wine, cake,

[1] When the Bank of New York first commenced business in 1784, Charles Wilkes was its principal teller. In 1794 he was made cashier: Gulian Verplanck was then president. He was subsequently elevated to the presidency of the institution, and remained in the directorship to the end of his life. His son, Hamilton Wilkes, married a daughter of Henry A. Coster. Commander Charles Wilkes married the sister of Professor Renwick. The Slidells were also a New York family, and lived on Broadway. John Slidell was president of the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen in the early part of the century, and from 1810 to 1817, was the first president of the Mechanics' Bank. His son, John Slidell, the future senator, and Commander Wilkes were neighbors and playmates in childhood.

etc. — were served without ceremony. Gilbert Aspinwall was the son of Captain John Aspinwall, a vestryman of Trinity Church before the Revolution, whose country-seat was at Flushing; and his brother, John Aspinwall, was his partner in business.

John McVickar was also an importer and ship-owner. He was a tall, sharp-featured, courtly man, with a kindly eye, a smile of singular sweetness, and a mouth and chin indicative of an unbending will. He was rich and respected, able and generous. He was noted for his prominence in building churches, and was constantly aiding the clergy — also unobtrusively assisting deserving young merchants in trouble. It was a common remark in disastrous times among business men, "Well, who is McVickar going to help to-day?" His wife was Ann, daughter of John Moore, first cousin of Bishop Moore, and the sister of Lady Dongan. He had nine children, to all of whom he gave a liberal education, and the benefit of a tour through Europe. His son John was the accomplished professor in Columbia College, who married the daughter of the famous Dr. Bard; another son, Archibald, after graduating from Columbia, went to England and finished his education at Cambridge, then married Catharine, daughter of Judge Brockholst Livingston; still another son, Benjamin, married Isaphane, daughter of Isaac Lawrence, president of the United States Bank in New York; and one of his daughters, Augusta, married Judge William Jay, the youngest son of the chief justice.

Archibald Gracie was another great merchant doing business with all parts of the world. Oliver Wolcott, who knew him intimately, said "he was one of the excellent of the earth — actively liberal, intelligent, seeking and rejoicing in occasions to do good." His wealth was enormous, even after he lost over a million of dollars through the Berlin and Milan decrees. Josiah Quincy was entertained by him at dinner while passing through New York on his journey to Washington in 1805, and described his country-seat on the East River, opposite Hell-Gate, as beautiful beyond description. "A deep, broad, rapid stream glances with an arrowy fleetness by the shore, hurrying along every species of vessel which the extensive country affords. The water, broken by the rocks which lie in the midst of the current into turbulent waves, dashing, foaming, and spending their force upon the rocks, and the various courses every vessel has to shape in order to escape from the dangers of the famous pass, present a constant change and novelty in this enchanting scene. The shores of Long Island, full of cultivated prospects and interspersed with elegant country-seats, bound the distant view. The mansion is elegant, in the modern style, and the grounds laid out with taste in gardens." Among the other guests

at Mr. Gracie's dinner-table on this occasion were, Oliver Wolcott, who resided in the city for a dozen or more years after he retired from the Treasury, becoming the first president of the Merchants' Bank, Judge Pendleton, Hamilton's second in the fatal duel, and Dr. Hosack, who subsequently married the widow of the Holland merchant, Henry A. Coster, who was then residing at his country-seat on the East River, near the foot of Thirtieth Street.[1]

Of Archibald Gracie, whose beautiful ships and well-known red and white private signal were familiar in every sea, no more endearing memory exists



Residence of Archibald Gracie.
[On East River at Horn's Hook, or Gracie's Point — foot of Eighty-ninth Street.]

than that of his intelligent and far-reaching sympathy in the free-school enterprise. His manliness and liberality are recorded in imperishable colors. He said ignorance was the cause as well as the effect of bad governments, and the rational powers must first be cultivated if we would entertain just ideas of the obligations of morality or the excellences of religion. The fundamental error of Europe was, in his opinion, the infamous neglect of the education of her poor. Magnificent colleges and universities, dedicated to literature, were all very well, but it was a cardinal mistake to withhold appropriations for diffusing knowledge among the lower classes. He gave a strong impulse to the movement from which millions have already reaped benefits beyond price. Mrs. Gracie was an educated lady of rare culture, and their domestic life was of the purest, sweetest, and most charming character. She was Esther Rogers, sister of

[1] The first wife of Dr. Hosack was the sister of Thomas Eddy the philanthropist.

the distinguished merchant brothers, Fitch, Henry, Moses, and Nehemiah Rogers, three of whom founded three great mercantile houses in the city. Her sons were men of sterling character, and her daughters were among the best informed and most attractive ladies in New York, two of whom married sons of Hon. Rufus King, and a third married Hon. William Beach Lawrence.

Between Gracie's Point — which the traveler on the East River may now recognize by an enormous tree towering above the bluff, nearly or quite two centuries old — and the city were at that date numerous country-places and fine grounds of special historic interest, of which the Beekman mansion near Fifty-first Street, and the Kip mansion on the line of Thirty-fifth Street, have been illustrated in the earlier pages of this work.[1] Between these two, overlooking Turtle Bay near Forty-first Street, stood the summer residence of Francis Bayard Winthrop, a descendant of Governor Winthrop, who married the daughter of Moses Rogers, and after her death, Elizabeth, daughter of William Walton Woolsey.[2] In architectural appearance the Winthrop mansion was similar to that of the Beekmans, except that it was flanked by two octagon wings. At a more modern period it was known as the Cutting homestead. The Coster mansion was more of the Grecian type of architecture, then much in vogue upon Manhattan Island.[3] It was finely shaded, and a smooth-cut lawn extended to the river's edge.



The Coster Mansion.
[On East River, near Thirtieth Street; purchased by Anson G. Phelps in 1835.]

[1] See Vol. I. 159, 569. The residences of Peter Gerard Stuyvesant and his brother Nicholas Stuyvesant are illustrated in Vol. I. 217.

[2] The wife of Moses Rogers was Sarah, sister of William Walton Woolsey, and of Mary, the wife of President Timothy Dwight of Yale College. William Walton Woolsey's wife was Elizabeth, sister of President Dwight, and granddaughter of President Edwards. He was a great sugar refiner and merchant, and held many public offices and trusts. His son, Theodore Dwight Woolsey, born in New York in 1801, was President of Yale College from 1846 to 1871.

[3] Henry A. Coster owned a handsome residence also in Chambers Street. His wealth and

In the mean time, while the foundation was being laid for the golden records of the Free School Society, a number of the cultivated and influential ladies of New York originated a scheme of usefulness similar to that of the industrial schools of a later date, except that the teaching was gratuitous. Mrs. Isabella Graham, her daughter, Mrs. Joanna Bethune, mother of Rev. Dr. George Washington Bethune, the celebrated divine, author, and poet, and Mrs. Sarah Hoffman were foremost in this endeavor to throw light into the habitations of the destitute. A meeting was called February 11, 1804, and twenty-nine ladies assembled in the parlors of Josiah Ogden Hoffman. It was resolved to visit the poor districts personally, in pairs for mutual protection, and devote certain specified hours of the day to the work of instruction. As it was before the establishment of Sabbath schools in the city, and while the pressing need of a non-sectarian free school was agitating the community, the self-imposed duties of these philanthropists may be easily conjectured.

In the course of two following years other ladies of commanding social position joined the charitable coterie, among whom was Mrs. John McVickar, Mrs. Coster, and the wife of Major Fairlie. The question of providing for the orphan children of deceased widows was again and again discussed, and it was finally decided to appeal to the benevolent public. A meeting was called on the 15th of March, 1806, when the New York Orphan Asylum Society was organized, with Mrs. Sarah Hoffman first directress, Mrs. Alexander Hamilton second directress, Mrs. Bethune treasurer, and ten prominent ladies constituting a board of managers. A two-story frame house in Greenwich village was hired, and a few orphans gathered at once into the fold. The ladies adopted from the beginning, as a principle of management, never to refuse an orphan child brought to them for protection, whether they had a dollar in the treasury or not, from which they never swerved. Rev. Dr. Bethune wrote: "I have often heard my mother say that in any time of need a few words stating that the funds of the society needed replenishing, thrown into a newspaper, was sure to bring in donations equal to the need; more frequently the money came in before the appeal was made." 1806.

that of his brother, John G. Coster, added materially to the prosperity of New York. They imported all kinds of goods, and were constantly buying and shipping to Europe all kinds of American produce. Both brothers were directors in the chief money corporations of the period, such as the Manhattan Bank, the Merchants' Bank — of which John G. Coster was elected president to succeed Henry Remsen, in 1826 — and the two insurance companies, the Phœnix and the Globe; and they were large contributors to the humane institutions rapidly springing into existence. One of the daughters of Henry A. Coster married William Laight, another married the son of Charles Wilkes. John G. Coster built a splendid granite double residence above Canal Street on Broadway, about 1833, which was considered palatial in its day. His children intermarried with the Primes, De Lanceys, and other notable families.

It soon became evident that a building was indispensable, and an acre of ground was purchased in Bank Street, where a plain structure fifty feet square was erected at a cost of some twenty-five thousand dollars. Mrs. Bethune managed the finances with great skill, pledging her husband's credit for thousands of dollars rather than that the building should be delayed. Several of the ladies advanced money from their own well-filled purses. The debt that remained at the completion of the building was soon canceled by donations and legacies; and the growth of the city increased the value of the property in such rapid ratio, that in 1840 it was comparatively easy to replace the original by the noble edifice which now stands in the midst of ten acres of ground on the shore of the Hudson at Seventy-fourth Street. In 1817 Mrs. Hoffman resigned her place at the head of the institution, and was succeeded by Mrs. Hamilton, still beautiful in her ripening age, brilliant in conversation, and whose chief happiness was found in a religious life devoted to active charities.

An English writer in 1807 enumerates thirty-one benevolent institutions in New York City, and calls attention particularly to the
1807. efforts of the ladies to provide for poor widows and orphan children as worthy of imitation in Great Britain.[1]

A medical society was incorporated in 1806 to regulate the practice of physicians and surgery in the State. All practitioners henceforward must be examined, and receive a diploma from a board of censors appointed by this body, before they could legally collect any debts incurred in the duties of their calling. A College of Physicians and Surgeons was chartered by the Regents of the University in 1807, the Legislature having sanctioned the act sixteen years prior to that date. It was opened in November with such success that the State immediately appropriated twenty thousand dollars for its support. The importance and usefulness of an institution devoted exclusively to the cultivation and diffusion of

[1] These institutions, or benefit societies, were: The Free School Society, Tammany Society, Provident Society, incorporated in 1805, Mutual Benefit Society, Benevolent Society, Albion Benevolent Society, Ladies' Society for the Relief of Widows with Small Children, New York Manufacturing Society, Fire Department Society, Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen, The Dispensary, instituted in 1790 for the relief of the sick poor who were unable to procure medical aid at their dwellings — and incorporated in 1795, the Lying-in Hospital, founded in 1798 by Robert Lenox, Dr. Hosack, and others, the Manumission Society, the Marine Society, chartered April 12, 1770, Sailors' Snug Harbor, Kine-pock Institution, City Hospital, Almshouse, House Carpenters' Society, Bellevue Hospital, founded by the city upon the old estate of Lindley Murray for an occasional infirmary, Marine Hospital at Staten Island, Humane Society, Masonic Society containing thirteen lodges, German Society, Society of United Brethren for propagating the Gospel among the Heathen, First Protestant Episcopal Charity School Society, St. George's Society, St. Patrick's Society, St. Andrew's Society, the New England Society, and the Cincinnati.— *Hardie's Description of New York; The Picture of New York, or Traveler's Guide*, by Dr. Mitchell, 1807; *Corporation Manual*, 1870, p. 855

medical science was highly appreciated by the community, and fifty-three students the first, and seventy-two the second year, bore testimony to the ability with which courses of instruction were delivered in all the branches of medicine. In September, 1813, a great event occurred in the medical annals of New York: the medical faculty and medical school of Columbia College and the College of Physicians and Surgeons were consolidated, becoming one of the most distinguished schools of practical medicine at that time in the country.

The demand for classical learning in New York was so great at this period that many excellent private seminaries were sustained where boys were prepared for college under able teachers. The publishers and booksellers were numerous, and generally men of property. In 1802 the first social gathering of American publishers occurred at the old City Hotel in Broadway, under the auspices of Matthew Carey. From that time a "literary fair," as then called, was held every year, alternating between New York and Philadelphia. It promoted acquaintance, encouraged the arts of printing and book-binding, and facilitated the circulation of books through the nation. The high taxes and prices of paper and labor in Great Britain were favorable to authorship and the publication of books in America. English works of celebrity were reprinted and sold for one fourth the original price. Latin editions of the writings of Cæsar, Cicero, and Virgil were printed in beautiful style, and some remarkable editions of the Bible were issued. Three or four public reading-rooms were supported by subscription, and several of the booksellers established circulating libraries.

Nineteen newspapers, of which eight were dailies, together with several monthly and occasional publications, entertained New York in 1807.[1] The expansion of the press during the eventful years since the adoption of the constitution of the State, when the editor of an almost solitary newspaper was content to be compositor, pressman, folder, and distributor, and considered himself doing a fair business if he sold three or four hundred copies of one issue, seems marvelous. But it was only the healthful indication of the brilliant future for journalism in New York, which in the

[1] The morning newspapers in 1807 were *The American Citizen*, *The New York Gazette*, *The Mercantile Advertiser*, *The Morning Chronicle*, *The People's Friend*; and the evening newspapers were *The Commercial Advertiser*, *The Evening Post*, and *The Public Advertiser*. Twice every week *The Republican Watch-Tower* was issued from the office of *The American Citizen*, *The Spectator* from the office of *The Commercial Advertiser*, *The Express* from the office of *The Morning Chronicle*, *The Herald* from the office of *The Evening Post*, and *The People's Friend* from the office of *The People's Friend*. The weeklies were *The New York Price Current*, *The Weekly Museum*, *The Weekly Visitor*, *The Independent Republican*, *The Weekly Inspector*, and *The New York Spy*.

three-fourths of a century following 1807, was to result in the record to appear upon a future page.

To measure the situation at this early period of the century, it must be borne constantly in mind that all modern facilities for traveling through the country were yet unknown. Slow, unwieldy stage-coaches, private conveyances, saddle-horses, and sloops where bodies of water made their use practicable, were the only vehicles for transportation. Country roads were hardly passable, and bridges were almost unknown. Accidents often occurred in solitary places, for the fording of rivers is always perilous, and the scows used for ferry-boats were little better than death-traps in a multitude of instances. In the summer of 1803 a pleasure-party from New York City visited Canada, spending a few days in Ogdensburg, Montreal, and Quebec. They traveled in wagons. The party consisted of Mr. and Mrs. Ludlow Ogden, Mr. and Mrs. Josiah Ogden Hoffman, Miss Ann Hoffman, Miss Eliza Ogden, and Washington Irving, then a gay youth of twenty. On one occasion the wagon in which the young ladies, attended by Washington Irving, were riding "stuck fast in the mud, and one of the horses laid down and refused to move." The young people alighted and climbed into the next wagon, which presently mired, and the whole party were compelled to walk. Suddenly it began to rain, and coming upon a little shed of bark laid on crotchets, which had served some hunter for a night's shelter, the ladies were hurried into it; but one half of it tumbled down upon them in the beginning, and although the gentlemen tried to make a roof with their overcoats, it was in vain to think of remaining, and they toiled along half a mile further, where they found a small hut about sixteen by eighteen feet square. It had but one room, although occupied by eight persons already, and here our New York travelers spent the night, and the next day proceeded on their journey in an ox-cart.

It should furthermore be observed that art and literature could hardly be said to have secured an existence in New York prior to 1807. Through the suggestion of Chancellor Livingston a subscription had been opened in 1801 for raising means to purchase statues and paintings for the instruction of artists, and a Fine Art Society was finally organized in 1802. A school for drawing and painting had been successfully taught by Robertson for some years. But it was not until February 13, 1808, that an act of the Legislature incorporated the American Academy of Fine Arts. Livingston had secured for it many valuable specimens of art during his residence in France, and was chosen the first president of the institution; Colonel John Trumbull, the great American artist, was vice-president; Mayor De Witt Clinton, Dr. Hosack, John Murray, William Cutting, and

Charles Wilkes were its first directors. Emperor Napoleon presented to the academy valuable busts, antique statues, twenty-four large volumes of Italian prints, and several portfolios of drawings; he was made an honorary member, as were also his brothers Lucien Bonaparte and Joseph Bonaparte. There was no dearth of literary talent in the city, but it had been almost exclusively directed to political subjects, and to organizing theories and testing untried institutions. Charles Brockden Brown had written a series of remarkable novels, but James Fenimore Cooper, who has the credit of giving the first decided impulse to romantic fiction in this country, and some of whose works are known abroad in almost every living language, was but eighteen, and striving for promotion in the navy rather than to turn love-stories into bank-accounts. The geography of Morse and the spelling-books of Webster had made their way to public approbation through much opposition. Their success may be classed among the wonders of literary history. But the trepidation of an American publisher when the question was to be decided of reprinting an English poem reveals the lack of practical experience in the publishing world. Sir Walter Scott issued his *Lay of the Last Minstrel* in 1804. A presentation copy in luxurious quarto was received by Mrs. Divie Bethune, who was intimate with the author in Scotland. The volume circulated widely among friends, and it was observed that the Minstrel was a classic. An American reprint was suggested. The publisher hesitated, then called in a literary coterie, who pronounced the poem too local in its nature, and its interest obsolete; its measure was thought too varied and irregular, and without the harmony of tuneful Pope. Thus it was rejected by the critical tribunal. Longworth, however, soon brought sufficient resolution to the front, and printed it in his *Belles-Lettres Repository* of 1805.

Washington Irving was but twenty-four, and then more distinguished in the city of his birth for being a very heedless law-student than for genius in letters. He was admitted to the New York bar in the autumn of 1806, through the lenity of Josiah Ogden Hoffman, as he says, with whom he had studied, and who examined the candidates. He was living with his mother in William Street, corner of Ann, and wrote clever articles very frequently for *The Morning Chronicle*, edited by his brother Dr. Peter Irving, but few knew that he was the author of them. On the 24th of January, 1807, *Salmagundi* first appeared, in the form of a little primer about six and one half inches long and three and one half inches wide, published by Longworth. The editors announced themselves three in number, "all townsmen, good and true," and said their new paper would contain "the quintessence of modern criticism." They further

proclaimed: "Our intention is simply to instruct the young, reform the old, correct the town, and castigate the age. As everybody knows, or ought to know, what a *Salmagundi* is, we shall spare ourselves the trouble of an explanation. . . . Neither will we puzzle our heads to give an account of ourselves, for two reasons: first, because it is nobody's business; secondly, because, if it were, we do not hold ourselves bound to attend to anybody's business but our own, and even that we take the liberty of neglecting when it suits our inclination. . . . We beg the public particularly to understand that we solicit no patronage. We are determined, on the contrary, that the patronage shall be entirely on our side. We have nothing to do with the pecuniary concerns of the paper; its success will yield us neither pride nor profit, nor will its failure occasion us either loss or mortification. The publisher professes the same sublime contempt for money as its authors. As we do not measure our wits by the yard or the bushel, and as they do not flow periodically nor constantly, we shall not restrict our paper as to size, or the time of its appearance. It will be published whenever we have sufficient matter to constitute a number, and the size of the number shall depend on the stock in hand. The price will depend on the size of the number, and must be paid on delivery. The public are welcome to buy or not, just as they choose. But we advise everybody, man, woman, and child, that can read, or get any friend to read for him, to purchase it. If it be purchased freely, so much the better for the public, and the publisher — we gain not a stiver. If it be not purchased, we give fair warning: we shall burn all our essays, critiques, and epigrams in one promiscuous blaze; and, like the books in the Alexandrian Library, they will be lost forever to posterity. For the sake, therefore, of our publisher, for the sake of the public, and for the sake of the public's children to the nineteenth generation, we advise them to purchase our paper. . . . We have said we do not write for money — neither do we write for fame; we know too well the variable nature of public opinion to build our hopes upon it — we care not what the public think of us; and we suspect before we reach the tenth number they will not *know* what to think of us — we write for no other earthly purpose but to please ourselves, and this we shall be sure of doing, for we are all three of us determined beforehand to be pleased with what we write. If we edify, instruct, and amuse the public, so much the better for the public; but we frankly acknowledge that so soon as we get tired of reading our own works we shall discontinue them."

Upon the western bank of the Passaic River, a little above the city of Newark, stood a famous old mansion built by the Gouverneurs of New York, who owned an extensive plantation in that vicinity. It was occu-

pied by a bachelor and his servants; and thither Washington Irving and James Kirke Paulding, who was a clerk in the loan office and lived with his sister, the wife of Washington Irving's brother William, went nearly every Friday afternoon during the summer and remained until Monday morning with their genial host. Sometimes they were accompanied by William Irving. It was a quiet retreat, and the stage-ride of nine miles over the corduroy road between Paulus Hook and Newark was not without its influence in sharpening their humor. They named the house "Cockloft Hall." A little octagonal summer-house in the yard, where the gay bachelors concocted the witty papers which monthly "vexed and charmed the town," with its private wine-cellar, had three windows looking inland, that old "Pinder Cockloft," so Irving said, "might have his views upon his own land, and be beholden to no man for a prospect." This quaint little publication was managed with such dashing, buoyant audacity that the sobriety of New York was greatly disturbed, and unusual efforts were made to discover its authorship.



Washington Irving.
[Copied from a rare mezzotint by Turner in possession of the author.]
[Engraved in London from the painting by Newton.]

It was in the latter part of the same year that Washington Irving, assisted by Dr. Irving, who had just returned from Europe, commenced the writing of *Knickerbocker's History of New York*, intended as an extravagant burlesque of Dr. Mitchell's *Picture of New York*, just published. The felicitous style of the work, which was issued before the end of the following year, and its wonderful humor, sufficiently broad not to be confounded with realities, gave it a high place in public favor. Everybody

read and laughed, and everybody wished for more. It is said the great satirist, Judge Brackenridge, smuggled a copy of the book to the bench and exploded over it during one of the sessions of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. Sir Walter Scott has left his own testimony of the impression the production made upon his mind, in an autograph letter, written to Mr. Henry Brevoort, of New York. He says: "I beg you to accept my best thanks for the uncommon degree of entertainment which I have received from the most excellently written history of New York. I am sensible that, as a stranger to American parties and politics, I must lose much of the concealed satire of the work; but I must own that, looking at the simple and obvious meaning only, I have never seen anything so closely resembling the style of Dean Swift as the annals of Diedrich Knickerbocker. I have been employed these few evenings in reading them aloud to Mrs. Scott and two ladies who are our guests, and our sides have been absolutely sore with laughing. I think, too, there are passages which indicate that the author possesses power of a different kind, and has some touches which remind me of Sterne. I beg you will have the kindness to let me know when Mr. Irving takes pen in hand again, for assuredly I shall expect a very great treat, which I may chance never to hear of but through your kindness." [1]

Although Washington Irving continued to write at intervals, it was a dozen or more years — as late as 1820 — before he began to attract the attention of the whole world by his singularly pure and graceful diction, and the fine pathos and imaginative power of his productions. His genius was artistic, and the color thrown into his pictures indelible. Many a grave scholar at this day turns to the old Holland records, in vain, for the origin of the popular term "Knickerbocker," which is not only applied to the early Dutch inhabitants of New York by universal consent, but is prefixed to nearly every article in the range of industrial products on this side of the Atlantic; and yet it dates no farther back than the humorous history of Irving, in 1807. It was the name of a highly respectable Dutch family dwelling in New York through many generations, with one member of whom Irving was acquainted. A charm

[1] The autograph letter of Sir Walter Scott, from which the author has been permitted to make the extract, has been carefully preserved by a member of the family of the gentleman to whom it was written, and is now for the first time given to the public. Washington Irving was born in William Street, New York City, April 3, 1783, the same year that the city was evacuated by the British army. He died in 1859. His father, William Irving, was a native of Scotland. His brother Dr. Peter Irving (born 1771, died 1838) was a man of eminent abilities, and many years editor of a New York journal. His brother William Irving (born 1766, died 1821) was a New York merchant, eminent for wit and refinement. He married the sister of James Kirke Paulding.

equally potent is thrown into legends from the pen of Irving, until certain localities have come to be like places bewitched. One almost thirsts for a taste of the cool water from the mysterious spring which he tells us the Holland housewife took up in the night before emigrating, unbeknown to her husband, and smuggled to the banks of the Hudson in a churn, being confident in her own mind that she should find no water fit to drink in the new country.

The year 1807 was rendered memorable in the history of New York by the experiment of Robert Fulton in steam navigation, which, unlike the experiments of his predecessors in that field of enterprise, was a successful application of the steam-engine to ship propulsion. 1807.

The *Clermont*, built under the direction of Fulton at the ship-yard of Charles Brown, on the East River, was launched in New York waters early in the spring. While its machinery was being placed, its possibilities were denied, and proceedings were watched and criticised with as much incredulity as if the strange craft had been proclaimed a veritable Noah's Ark. In July, while the work was going forward, Fulton tried a notable experiment in the harbor with one of his torpedoes. He exploded an old brig at anchor near Governor's Island. In the next number of *Salmagundi* appeared a laughable account of the excitement into which the town was thrown by "an attempt to set the Hudson River on fire."

One bright midsummer day the *Clermont* was in readiness for a trial trip to Albany. Very few believed it would ever reach its destination. The gentlemen whom Fulton invited to accompany him on this voyage were present with evident reluctance. They predicted disaster, and wished they were well out of it. They stood around in groups, silent and uneasy, as the signal was given, and the great uncouth wheels, without any wheel-houses, stirred the water into a white foam, and the boat moved forward. Presently it stopped, and the crowd upon the river-banks shouted in derision, while audible whispers of "I told you so" from those on board reached Fulton's ears. He had not been without his own anxieties from the first, as unexpected difficulties might arise in more than one direction; but he mounted a platform and assured his passengers that if they would indulge him one half-hour he would either go on or abandon the undertaking for that time. This short respite was conceded without objection. He hurried below, and found the trouble to have been caused by the improper adjustment of some of the machinery, which was quickly remedied. His sensitive nature had been very much hurt by the witticisms of the press, and still more by the lack of faith manifested by his friends; hence the occasion was for him one of keen solicitude. But "the horrible monster" steamed on,

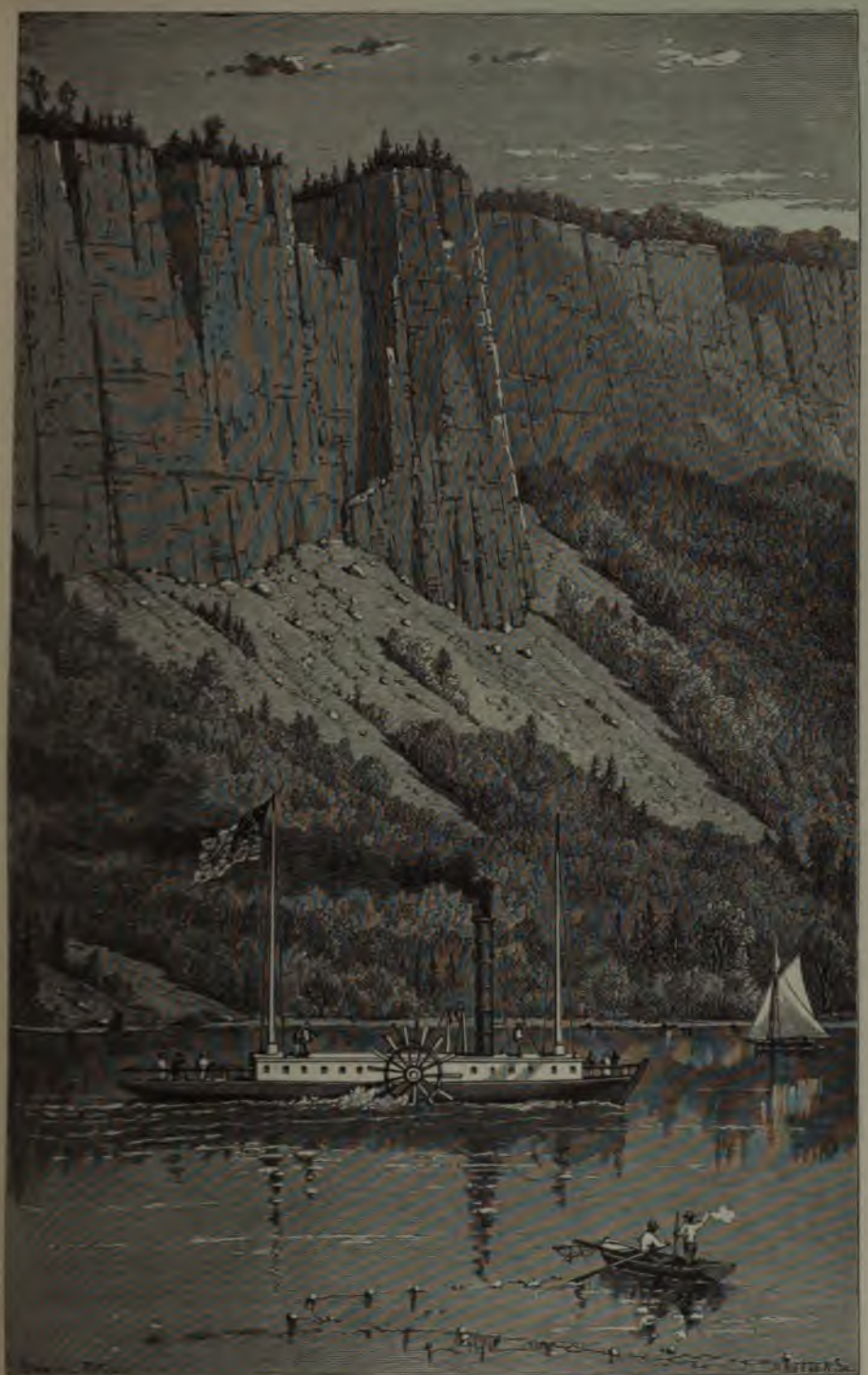
"breathing flames and smoke." Pine wood was used for fuel, and the blaze often shot into the air considerably above the tall smoke-stack; and whenever the fire was stirred or replenished immense columns of black smoke issued forth, mingled with sparks and a cloud of ashes. The terrific spectacle, particularly after dark, appalled the crews of other vessels, who saw it rapidly approaching in spite of adverse wind and tide; many of them fell upon their knees in humble prayer for protection, while others disappeared beneath their decks or escaped to the shore.

As this new-fangled craft was passing the Palisades, a wall of solid rock twenty miles long, the noise of her machinery and paddle-wheels so startled an honest countryman, that he ran home to tell his wife he had seen "the devil on his way to Albany in a saw-mill."

At Clermont, the country-seat of Chancellor Livingston, Fulton paused to take in wood, and tarried for a short time. He reached Albany in safety and in triumph, having accomplished the distance of one hundred and fifty miles at the average rate of five miles per hour. He returned to New York City in two hours less time than had been consumed in going from New York to Albany. This was the first voyage of any considerable length ever made by a steam vessel in any quarter of the world.

While Fulton cannot be said to have originated steam navigation, nor, indeed, to have invented the mechanism which rendered steam possible and profitable in navigation, he is justly accorded the great honor of having been the first to secure that combination of means which brought the steamboat into every-day use. His industry and ingenuity resulted also in the experimental determination of the magnitude and laws of ship resistance, together with the systematic proportioning of vessel and machinery to the work to be accomplished by them.

It is hardly remembered of Fulton that he was an artist of considerable merit, so closely have his name and fame been associated with mechanical achievements. When he first came to New York in 1785 he was only known as a miniature-portrait painter. He had actually bought a small farm with his earnings in Philadelphia prior to that date — which speaks well for his industry, and for the appreciation of the good people of the Quaker City. He went to England and studied several years with Benjamin West, during which period he was one of the household of that great artist. He traveled about England with the design of studying the masterpieces of art in the rural mansions of the nobility. It was in the neighborhood of Exeter that he made the acquaintance of the Earl of Bridgewater, the famous parent of the canal system in England. Through his advice and example, and the encouragement of Lord Stanhope, Fulton was led to adopt the profession of a civil engineer. Afterwards, in jour-



"As the new-fangled craft was passing the Palisades, a wall of solid rock twenty miles long, the noise of her machinery and paddle-wheels so startled an honest countryman, that he ran home to tell his wife he had seen 'the devil on his way to Albany in a saw mill.'" *Page 532.*

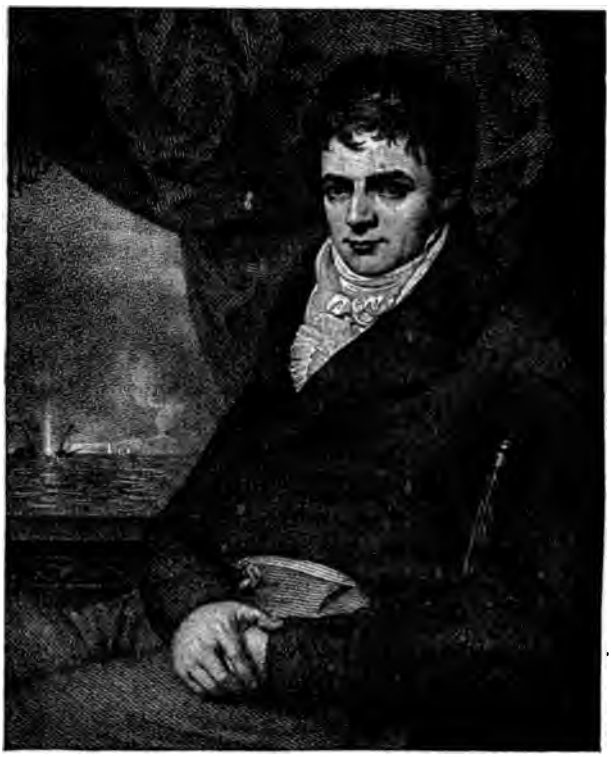


neying through Europe, he sketched picturesque figures by the wayside; and in Paris he executed the first panorama in that city.

As early as 1793 he proposed experiments in steam navigation to Lord Stanhope, and seems never to have lost sight of the subject. In Paris he succeeded so well with his submarine torpedoes and torpedo-boats that no little anxiety was created in the English mind; for war then existed. In France he lived with Joel Barlow, and studied the French, German, and Italian languages, and the higher branches of mechanical science. When Chancellor Livingston arrived as minister to the French Court, Fulton called upon him, and together they discussed the project of constructing a steamboat to be tried on the Seine. Fulton directed the work, and it was completed in 1803. But the hull of the little vessel was too weak for its heavy machinery, and it broke in two and sank to the bottom of the Seine. This was, however, reconstructed, and the little craft again steamed up the Seine in presence of an immense concourse of spectators, among whom was a committee from the National Academy, and the officers of Napoleon's staff. The trial was attended with apparent success, and yet Napoleon would not render Fulton any pecuniary aid. Livingston wrote home and procured an extension of the legislative act granted in 1798 by the State of New York, and thus secured the monopoly of the Hudson for a few years longer. He was more than ever convinced that a boat could be successfully moved by steam over the waters about New York. He had become an enthusiast on the subject, and his large wealth gave him confidence, and enabled him to accomplish what a mere inventor found impracticable. Fulton, under Livingston's pecuniary support, ordered an engine to be built by Boulton & Watt in England, from plans which he furnished. The engine was completed and sent to New York in the latter part of 1806. The Chancellor had resigned his mission in 1805, traveled on the continent for a few months, and reached New York about the same time, closely followed by Fulton. And the purse of the one and the genius of the other were applied lavishly to the production of results which were to mark an era in the science of navigation.

Fulton was a tall, slender, well-formed man, of quick perceptions, sound sense, graceful and pleasing manners, and voice of peculiar melody. His eyes were large, dark, and penetrating, and over his high forehead and about his neck were scattered curls of rich dark brown hair. His refined character rendered him a social favorite. At times his vivacity was singularly engaging, but usually he was reserved and serious, his features expressing deep thought. His portrait by Benjamin West seems to bring him before us in the flesh with all his lovable charac-

teristics and grave disappointments. He was forty-two years of age when he demonstrated the utility of the steamboat. He was at the time very deeply in love with Miss Harriet Livingston, the niece of the Chancellor, and early in the spring of 1808 their nuptials were celebrated with distinguished ceremony. This was the season of Fulton's superlative glory. His triumph in the application of steam to navigation had opened to him the prospect of vast riches, through the exclusive grant of the navigation of the Hudson. And he was caressed, applauded, and honored.



Portrait of Robert Fulton.
[From a painting by Benjamin West.]

The *Clermont* left New York again for Albany in October, 1807, with ninety passengers. She was repaired and enlarged during the following winter, and in the summer of 1808 advertised as a regular passenger boat between New York and Albany. Meanwhile Fulton built other steamboats; each one larger than its predecessor, and abounding in improvements.

The reaction came swiftly. Prosperity is always exposed to some severe test. Fulton found that improvements in machinery, and the demands of travel, rapidly increasing, occasioned perpetual expense. He was, moreover, beset with legal difficulties touching the right of exclusive navigation of the Hudson. New Jersey claimed that it was too wide a privilege to be given by the legislature of a single State. And inventors were springing up in various quarters, as is usually the case after a fact is established, to deny his having originated a single mechanical idea. They said in England, where, prior to 1811, steam navigation had practi-

cally no existence, that he had visited Symmington and made drawings of the machinery of the unfortunate *Charlotte Dundas*, which, built to tow vessels on the Forth and Clyde Canal, was abandoned because its paddles washed down the bank in an alarming manner. The friends of John Fitch quoted his unique steamboat on the Delaware twenty years before, which moved at the rate of four miles an hour — although its boiler burst before proceeding far, and no practical results followed. All the immature schemes and various experiments of ingenious mechanics, for a score of years, were used to invalidate Fulton's pretensions as an inventor of the steamboat. Claimants for the honor arose on every hand. It was said that Fulton employed men in building the *Clermont*, who had been brought from Germany and trained by Nicholas Roosevelt, and that he used the side-wheels invented by Roosevelt. Fulton and Roosevelt were subsequently associated in the introduction of steam-vessels on the Western waters, establishing a ship-yard at Pittsburg and building the *New Orleans*, the pioneer steamer of the Mississippi, in 1811.

It is not to be supposed that those who were experimenting with steam as a propelling power, and drafting suggestions and recommendations, were unacquainted with what had been done by their predecessors, or by their contemporaries on two continents; and they undoubtedly profited, as far as it was possible, by the experience of all. But Fulton's fame was justly earned. He had done what his rivals had not, bridged the chasm between mere attempts and positive achievements. He had given the world the fruits of the inventive genius of the world, and mankind was reaping its benefits. At the time of the trial of the *Clermont* not another steamboat was in successful operation on the globe.

The laurels of Fulton were very closely contested by Colonel John Stevens of Hoboken, who had been experimenting with steam and machinery ever since John Fitch, in 1796, tried his little boat with a screw propeller on the Collect, or Fresh Water Pond, in New York City. It is said that Stevens first became interested in the application of steam-power to the methods of travel through coming accidentally upon the imperfect steamboat with which John Fitch experimented on the Delaware in 1787. If so much could be done, why not more? He studied the subject attentively, noting failures and their causes. His venture on the Passaic, in company with Livingston and Roosevelt, in 1798, increased his desire for ultimate success. In 1804, while Fulton was still in Europe, he built an open steamboat sixty-eight feet long, with a screw propeller, which possessed certain recognized elements of success. The next year he built another of similar style, with twin screws, a novel device which many years afterwards was brought forward and adopted as something

new. He invented improvements to the boiler he had imported, which his eldest son, John Cox Stevens, patented while in England in 1805. He appears to have been one of the first to comprehend the importance of the principle involved in the construction of the sectional steam-boiler. Finding the signs of promise as developed by his performances thus far sufficient to warrant the outlay, he built the *Phœnix*, a formidable rival of the *Clermont*, which was completed and launched in the autumn of 1807, only a few weeks after Fulton's triumph had been assured.
1807. The *Phœnix* being excluded from the waters of New York by the monopoly held by Fulton and Livingston, trips were made for a time between New York and New Brunswick. But Stevens and his sons decided to send their steamboat to Philadelphia to ply on the Delaware.

The passage was made by the sea in June, 1808, and although a severe storm of wind was encountered no accident occurred. The conductor of the expedition was Robert Livingston Stevens, son of Colonel John Stevens, then but twenty years of age. Inheriting his father's mechanical genius, he had already commenced a career of discovery and improvement which was to give him a very high rank among modern inventors. He introduced into the *Phœnix* the concave water-lines, the first application of the "wave line" to ship-building; also a feathering paddle-wheel, and the guard beam, now used. And he was the foremost man of any country to trust himself upon the ocean in a vessel relying entirely upon steam-power. Thus was inaugurated ocean steam navigation.

New York also is entitled to the honor of introducing steam navigation upon the great rivers of the West. Nicholas Roosevelt conducted the first steamboat from Pittsburg — where it was constructed under the auspices of Fulton and Livingston — to New Orleans in 1811. He embarked with his family, an engineer, a pilot, and six "deck hands" in October, and reached New Orleans in about fourteen days.

Colonel John Stevens, like Roosevelt, was a native of New York City, where he was born in 1749. He was the grandson, through his mother, of the great lawyer and mathematician, James Alexander, who figured so conspicuously in the reader's acquaintance prior to the Revolution; and through his grandmother, Mrs. Alexander, he was descended from Johannes De Peyster, founder of the De Peyster family in America.[1] He was

[1] See Vol. I. 225, 503, 504. John Stevens, the grandfather of Colonel John Stevens, came from England to New York as one of the law officers of the Crown. John Stevens (2) married Elizabeth Alexander. Colonel John Stevens (3) married Rachel, daughter of John Cox. He bought the Bayard estate at Hoboken when it was sold under the Confiscation Act in 1784, upon which he founded the city of Hoboken. In 1804 he advertised a four days' sale of eight hundred lots. He was [illegible] the State of New Jersey. — *History of the County of* [illegible]

the nephew of Lord Stirling; and his sister was the wife of Chancellor Livingston. His inventive talent and his philosophical far-sightedness were remarkable. In urging well-conceived plans for the application of the steam-engine to land transportation, he was so far ahead of the age that his advice and his offers were unaccepted. The appointment of commissioners in 1811, of whom Robert Fulton was one, to explore a canal route from the Hudson River to the Great Lakes, induced him to issue a pamphlet, in 1812, to prove the superior advantages of steam-carriages over canal navigation. He unfolded a scheme — varying little from our present railway system — and offered to construct a roadway from Albany to Lake Erie, to be traversed by a steam-carriage, which he thought might be moved with the velocity of one hundred miles an hour, although in practice he presumed convenience would confine it to twenty or thirty miles an hour. This great project was broached by Stevens, with the political, financial, commercial, and military aspects of the question all apparently present to his mind, while there was but one locomotive in the world, that of Richard Trevithick at Merthyr-Tydvil — which was powerless except on a level surface — and nothing in the way of railroads except the old wooden tram-roads of the English collieries.



Trevithick's Locomotive, 1804.

After Fulton and Stevens had thus led the way in New York, steam navigation was introduced very rapidly on both sides of the ocean. The unimaginative mind can hardly keep pace with the production of steam-vessels in this country. While Fulton was multiplying them upon the Hudson and Stevens was bringing out a fleet upon the Delaware, other mechanics were preparing to contest the field with them. Upon the breaking down of the Fulton monopoly by the courts, the Stevenses, father and son, built some of the finest steamboats on the Hudson. Both Fulton and Stevens were enthusiasts in trying to bridge by steam the rivers that separated New York from the opposite shores. Until 1810 barges with oars were the established ferry-boats, excepting some recently constructed horse-boats, with the wheel in the centre, propelled by a sort of horizontal treadmill worked by horses. Stevens was the first to bring a steam-ferry into active operation. In October, 1811,

he invited the corporation of New York City, and numerous celebrities, to attend him on a voyage from New York to Hoboken upon the first regular steam ferry-boat ever used in any part of the world.

The next year Fulton completed a small steam ferry-boat for the Paulus Hook ferry. Within another twelvemonth he had two steam ferry-boats connecting New York with Brooklyn.

The exigencies of the war by this time turned the thoughts of our inventors towards war-vessels propelled by steam. Fulton submitted plans to Decatur, Perry, John Paul Jones, Evans, and others, which met their approval; he proposed to build a cannon-proof steam-frigate, capable of carrying a heavy battery and of steaming four miles an hour. The vessel was to be fitted with furnaces for red-hot shot, and some of her guns were to be discharged below the water-line. Congress authorized an expenditure of three hundred and twenty thousand dollars, in March, 1814, and the new steam-frigate, named in honor of its projector, *The Fulton*, was launched in the autumn of the same year. Its trial-trip to the ocean at Sandy Hook and back was an overwhelming success. Its projector did not live to witness its completion, but fell as it were a martyr to the undertaking. Exposure in crossing the Hudson amidst the ice in an open boat produced illness, and before he was fully restored he superintended some work on the open deck of *The Fulton*. His death followed, and it was mourned as a national calamity. "I have observed him," wrote Dr. Francis, "on the docks, reckless of temperature and inclement weather, anxious to secure practical issues from his midnight reflections, or to add new improvements to works not yet completed. His floating dock cost him much personal labor of this sort. His hat might have fallen into the water, and his coat be lying upon a pile of lumber; but trifles were not calculated to impede him or dampen his perseverance." Not long before his death Fulton planned a vessel for service in the Baltic Sea; but circumstances induced a change of plan, and it was subsequently placed on the line between New York and Newport.

The Fulton comprehended the first application of the steam-engine to naval purposes, and for the period was exceedingly creditable. The *Savannah*, built in New York, with side-wheels, and propelled by steam machinery and sails, made the voyage to St. Petersburg in 1819, which had been proposed for Fulton's ship. She was in charge of Captain Moses Rogers, a New-Yorker, who had previously commanded both the *Clermont* and the *Phœnix*. The trip from New York to Savannah, where a vessel had been purchased by Mr. Scarborough, occupied seven days. ceeded to Liverpool, and thence, touching at Copenhagen and St. Petersburg; Lord Lyndock was a passenger, and on

taking leave of Captain Rogers at the Russian capital presented him with a silver teakettle inscribed with a legend commemorative of the important event. Thus virtually commenced Atlantic steam navigation.

Colonel John Stevens designed a circular or saucer-shaped iron-clad steamer, like those built sixty years later for the Russian navy, in 1812. It was to be plated with iron of ample thickness to resist shot fired from the heaviest ordnance then known. A set of screw propellers beneath the vessel, driven by steam-engines, were to be so arranged as to permit the vessel to revolve rapidly about its centre. Thus each gun after its discharge could be reloaded before coming round again into the line of fire. The vessel did not obtain an existence beyond paper at that period, but the genius of its inventor was reflected through his son, Robert L. Stevens, who at a later date originated the first well-planned iron-clad ever constructed. Indeed, the younger Stevens became one of the greatest of naval architects, and for twenty years after the trial trips of the *Clermont* and the *Phœnix* was constantly lavishing time and money upon changes and improvements in steam navigation, the variety, extent, and importance of which it would be impossible to describe in common language. He adopted a new method of bracing and fastening steamboats; discovered the utility of employing steam expansively; was the first on record to use the new, unmanageable, anthracite coal for steam fuel; he designed the now universally used "skeleton beam"; he first placed the boilers on the guards; he introduced the artificial blast for forcing the fires; and he invented the inelegantly styled "hog-frame," one of the peculiar features of every American river-steamer of any considerable size to prevent its bending in the centre. Another of his productions, in 1814, was an elongated bomb-shell of marvelous destructive power, for which he received a large annuity from the government.[1]

While New York was taking the lead so nobly in the advancement of steam navigation, Aaron Burr was arraigned and tried for treason in Richmond, Virginia. He had crossed the mountains, traveled through the western country, conceived his famous Mexican scheme, been thwarted in its execution, and captured while trying to escape through the woods on the Tombigbee River. Two judges sat upon the bench, 1807.

[1] Robert Livingston Stevens was born at Hoboken in 1788, and died in 1856. He was the projector, engineer, and president of the Camden and Amboy Railroad, in process of construction at the time of the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railroad in 1830. He invented the new standard T-rail, known in this country as the Stevens rail, and in Europe, where it was afterwards introduced, as the "vignolles" rail, which was first tested upon this road. Colonel John Stevens built in 1825 a small locomotive which he placed on a circular railway before his dwelling-house at Hoboken to prove that his early speculation had a basis of fact. — *Thurston.*

Chief Justice John Marshall and Cyrus Griffin, judge of the District of Virginia. The array of legal talent on both sides was imposing. Burr was himself the real leader of the defense, as not a step was taken or a point conceded without his concurrence. His policy was to overthrow the testimony. The trial was tediously long. Richmond, then a city of six thousand inhabitants, was thronged with magnates from all parts of the country. New York was well represented. So many distinguished persons claimed seats within the bar, that lawyers of twenty years' standing were excluded from their accustomed places and thankful to obtain admission even to the hall. Theodosia, who had fondly hoped to see her father the glorious and powerful head of a nation created by his own genius, came to share his prison life, accompanied by her devoted husband.

Through the scorching days of that memorable summer of 1807 the excited eyes of the nation rested upon one reposeful figure — that of the well-dressed man with hair powdered and tied in a cue, who, polite and confident, seemed above all others at peace with the entire world. Could he have had in view the destruction of the Union? Who could trace in his placid countenance the determination to assassinate Jefferson, corrupt the navy, and overthrow Congress, with which he was charged? The President wrote of the mad enterprise: "It is the most extraordinary since the days of Don Quixote. It is so extravagant that those who know Burr's understanding would not believe it if the proofs admitted doubt. He has meant to place himself on the throne of Montezuma, and extend his empire to the Alleghany, seizing New Orleans as the instrument of compulsion for our Western States."

The acquittal of Burr by the jury was the result of the difficulty found by the prosecution in proving overt acts; but it had very little effect upon public sentiment, which had already pronounced his condemnation. He went forth a free man, while his conduct was singularly like that of a criminal fleeing from justice. He lay concealed in the houses of his friends in New York until an opportunity offered for securing a passage, under an assumed name, and with passage-money borrowed from Dr. Hosack, for Europe.

At this moment Napoleon was nearing the pinnacle of his greatness. Every human interest was subordinate to his gigantic wars. All
1807. Europe was in arms. On the 14th of June the battle of Friedland was fought, and on the 25th the French and Russian emperors met on a raft in the middle of the river and vowed eternal friendship, two armies looking on. On the 7th of July a treaty of peace was concluded at Tilsit. Months prior to these events the British and French govern-

ments had issued retaliatory proclamations which interfered with the neutral commerce of America upon the ocean. Great Britain declared the whole coast between the Elbe and the Brest to be in a state of blockade. This subjected American vessels attempting to enter the continental ports to capture and condemnation -- a manifest violation of the law of nations. The plundered merchants appealed to Congress for defense and indemnity. Napoleon in turn issued the famous Berlin decree which declared the British Isles to be in a state of blockade, and which rendered American vessels liable to seizure and condemnation when carrying on what had heretofore been a lawful trade with Great Britain. The American government remonstrated, but without effect.

While matters were thus situated the frigate *Chesapeake* was attacked by the British and disabled, as she was leaving her post for a distant service; several of her crew were killed, and four of them taken away by the assaulters. About the same time the British government published an order, holding all their absent seamen to their allegiance, recalling them from foreign service, and pronouncing heavy penalties upon such as disobeyed. This principle of the law of allegiance was diametrically opposed to that recognized by the American government, as it denied the right of expatriation. Every naturalized citizen of the United States who had been in the marine service of Great Britain was commanded to disregard his oath of allegiance to the United States, and return to Great Britain. An order was passed declaring the sale of ships by belligerents illegal. This was eclipsed by Napoleon's decree of Milan, enforcing the decree of Berlin, which, if carried out, would have doomed to confiscation every vessel of the United States that had been boarded or even spoken by the British. The order of Napoleon was approved by Spain, and in some instances enforced. Vessels were also burned by the French cruisers. Under the impression that neither England nor France could dispense with our productions, as the demand for breadstuffs occasioned by the war had raised the price of produce in this country to an amount before unequaled, President Jefferson recommended an embargo on all American shipping until the two hostile powers should acknowledge our neutral rights by a repeal of their obnoxious orders and decrees.

Congress passed a bill in accordance with the President's recommendation, at eleven o'clock at night, December 22; American vessels were thenceforward prohibited from sailing for foreign ports, all foreign vessels were forbidden to take out cargoes, and all coasting vessels were required to give bonds to land their cargoes in the United States. Thus terminated the year 1807. Dec. 22.

CHAPTER XLIV.

1808-1812.

THE RISING STORM.

EFFECTS OF THE EMBARGO IN NEW YORK. — POLITICAL ANIMOSITIES. — ELECTION OF GOVERNOR TOMPKINS. — THE FIRST WOOLEN MILLS IN NEW YORK. — LIVINGSTON HOMES ON THE HUDSON. — OPPOSITION TO THE EMBARGO. — FASHIONS OF THE PERIOD. — MADISON'S ELECTION. — PARTY STRIFES IN NEW YORK. — THE TWO HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DISCOVERY OF MANHATTAN ISLAND. — THE BANQUET. — THE NEW CITY HALL. — CITY HALL PARK. — GEORGE FREDERICK COOKE. — CHURCH EDIFICES OF THE CITY IN 1812. — CANAL STREET. — THE GRADING AND EXTENSION OF STREETS. — LAYING OUT OF THE WHOLE ISLAND INTO STREETS AND AVENUES. — THE ALDERMEN. — COLONEL NICHOLAS FISH. — THE ERIE CANAL IN CONTEMPLATION. — SURVEYS. — WAR PROSPECTS. — CELEBRATED CHARACTERS.

NEW YORK suffered severely from the embargo. Her kings of commerce were doomed to see their immense business suspended, for no vessels could sail to the East and West Indies, or to the vast colonial regions of North and South America, any more than to England and France, without being subject to capture and condemnation. The trade of the whole world, in fact, was interdicted, and could not be carried on without risk of forfeiture. Ships in which a vast amount of capital was invested rocked idly at anchor and went to decay in New York harbor. The merchant discharged his clerks, and warehouses were in many instances closed and deserted. The farmer had either no market for his produce or must sell at a great reduction of price. Prosperity was arrested, and actual, palpable, pecuniary loss stared every merchant and farmer in the face.

The Federalists denounced the measure in the most violent terms. They said it was one which would not and could not produce the desired result of compelling the belligerents to rescind their orders and decrees. Both England and France had distinctly intimated that if the United States would side with them every advantage should be given to her commerce; and they had both resolved that the United States should not permitted to remain neutral, but should be forced to go to war with r other of the contending powers. It was not believed that either would be seriously affected by a suspension of American com-

merce. As for France, the emperor, after the peace of Tilsit, wielded the chief resources of the European Continent and directed them to the avowed purpose of conquering the British Empire; and the United States was greatly desired as an ally.

Napoleon's minister, Champagny, wrote in January: "War exists, in fact, between England and the United States; and his Majesty considers it as declared from the day in which England published her decrees." The Federalists insisted that France was the principal aggressor, and if America must have a war it ought to be with the French, and not with the British. 1808.

Meanwhile England dispatched a special minister to adjust the difficulty with the United States which had arisen from the assault on the frigate *Chesapeake*. On arriving at Washington he informed Secretary Madison of his instructions requiring President Jefferson's proclamation, interdicting British vessels of war from the harbors of the United States, to be withdrawn before he could enter upon the subject of reparation. Jefferson declined, and insisted upon bringing into review other cases of aggression, even the whole question of impressment itself, and the further progress of the negotiation was interrupted. In March the British minister re-embarked for England in the same frigate which had brought him out.

This event excited afresh the animosity of the two political parties. The Republicans sustained Jefferson, and claimed that the settlement of the one point in dispute would have been of no real consequence in the present position of affairs. They said the embargo policy prevented the loss of ships, and avoided an entanglement of the nation in a war that was waged solely for conquest and empire. The Federalists in turn charged the President and his party with hatred of England and a desire to further the wishes of France; and contended that other and more efficient measures less injurious to the nation, and especially to the grain-growing and commercial States, than an embargo for an indefinite period of time, might have been adopted.

At a public meeting in New York of which De Witt Clinton was chairman, resolutions were adopted disapproving the embargo. The Clintonian paper, edited by Cheetham, decidedly opposed the measure. The new council of appointment chosen in February proceeded to restore De Witt Clinton to the mayoralty of New York City, he having been removed in 1807, and Marinus Willett elevated to that office. It also restored Pierre Cortlandt Van Wyck to the office of recorder, who had been displaced the year before by the appointment of Maturin Livingston. Thirteen other removals and appointments were made on the same day.

[illegible] Martin Van Buren [illegible]

[illegible] New York in 18[illegible]



Daniel D. Tompkins.
[Governor of New York, Vice President of the United States.]

Tompkins was a young a[illegible] very popular man. Ed[illegible] cated at Columbia and a[illegible] mitted to the bar early. [illegible] in 1804, when on[illegible] thirty years of age, been e[illegible] vated to the bench as ass[illegible] ciate justice of the Supre[illegible] Court of New York, at t[illegible] same time that the gr[illegible] jurist, James Kent, w[illegible] made chief justice. H[illegible] pleasing manners, not l[illegible] than his fine, manly, ma[illegible] netic presence, were gre[illegible] ly in his favor, and the[illegible] was depth to his learni[illegible] and strength in his char[illegible] ter which gave him wi[illegible] influence. Governor Lev[illegible] was supported by the L[illegible] ingstons, and by many **the Federalists**; but the report having been circulated that he had gone o[illegible] **to the Federalists**, Tompkins received the respectable majority of f[illegible] **thousand** and eighty-five votes. In his first speech to the Legislature **the commencement** of the annual session, in Albany, January 26, 18[illegible] led in a clear, forcible manner the foreign policy of the admin

tration of Jefferson, and justified the embargo act: and his views were sustained in the answers of both houses.

Ex-Governor Lewis retired to his country-seat at Staatsburg on the Hudson, and interested himself in agricultural pursuits. The mania for merino sheep was at its height, and he was soon possessed of a flock. Chancellor Livingston had wintered successfully a large number at Clermont the year before, and was writing a volume on sheep-raising. The importation of the animal was prohibited by the laws of Spain, but adventurers were every now and then landing some which sold at fabulous prices; one lamb easily brought a thousand dollars, and not infrequently fifteen hundred. "At such ruinous rates there will be men to import them from the very jaws of the infernal regions," exclaimed John R. Livingston, who had escaped the contagion.

The interruption of foreign traffic naturally turned attention to home industry. American wools had not been supposed suitable for fine cloths, and the woolen fabrics hitherto produced had been largely the product of household labor and private looms. Capital had not been expended to any considerable extent in the building of factories. But the wool from merino sheep, unwashed, sold for one and two dollars per pound, and the manufacture of fine broadcloth was seriously contemplated in many parts of the land. Dr. Seth Capron, who erected and put in operation the first cotton manufactory in the State of New York, at Whitesborough, Oneida County, formed a wool company and established the Oriskany Woolen Mills, not only the first of the kind in the State, but believed now to be the oldest existing wool-making institution in the United States. He was a man of known sagacity, integrity, and moral worth, and in taking the lead in an enterprise of such importance, located in the commanding geographical avenue of intercourse between Albany and the region of the lakes, was regarded with curious interest.[1] 1809 is the date of the

[1] Dr. Seth Capron was born in Rhode Island about 1760, died at Walden, Orange County, in 1835 (*New York Commercial Advertiser; Niles Register*, October 3, 1835). He served under Washington during nearly the whole period of the Revolution. He settled in Whitesborough, Oneida County, New York, soon after Slater established the first successful cotton mill in this country at Providence, Rhode Island, in 1790, and was the pioneer of the cotton industry in New York. He established also both cotton and woolen mills at Walden, where he spent the later years of his life. The account of the establishment of the Oriskany Woolen Company in the *Annals and Recollections of Oneida County*, by Pomeroy Jones, fixes the date of the act of incorporation as 1811, referring to the general act of incorporation for manufacturing companies. Dr. Seth Capron was the father of General Horace Capron, who while at the head of the Agricultural Department of our national government at Washington, in 1870, was invited by the Mikado of the great and ancient Empire of Japan to teach his people the science of agriculture. As commissioner and adviser of the Kattakushi, General Capron spent several years in developing the resources of Yesso and its dependent islands, — a task without precedent, and performed amidst the most novel difficulties and surroundings.

charter of the Company, which included such men as Stephen Van Rensselaer, Ambrose Spencer, De Witt Clinton, John Taylor, James Platt, Nathan Williams, Newton Mann, and Theodore Sill; but the mills had then been in operation some months. The satinets first made sold readily at four dollars, and broadcloth for ten and twelve dollars per yard. For the first four years the wool used cost an average price of one dollar and twenty cents per pound.

The beautiful estates of the various members of the Livingston family on the shores of the Hudson at this period would have made a village of villas, indeed, if they could have been collected. John R. Livingston disputed with his brother, the Chancellor, the honor of having the show place; his stately house covered so much ground, and was esteemed so perfect in architectural symmetry, that drawing-masters made sketches of it and gave it to their pupils to copy. The design was by Brunel, after the château of Beaumarchais in France. His establishment in the city was unrivaled for style, and both himself and family mingled in fashionable life with great zest. Henry Beekman Livingston inherited his grandfather Beekman's estate at Rhinebeck. He was a fine-looking man, and by many thought to surpass even the Chancellor in the manly courtesy of his address. He married Miss Shippen, niece of Henry Lee, president of the first Congress. Montgomery Place, the residence of their oldest sister, the widow of Richard Montgomery, stood upon an elevation nearly opposite the Catskills, with picturesque views on every hand. It embraced a great number of valuable acres in a high state of cultivation. Mrs. Thomas Tillotson was the mistress of Linwood; from the piazza of her dwelling the river had all the effect of a lovely lake, enclosed by gently sloping hills adorned with pretty villas half hidden in the groves. Briercliff, Mrs. Garretson's country-seat, was within a mile of Linwood; she was said to have more genius and imagination than either of the sisters. Her husband, Rev. Freeborn Garretson, was one of the pioneers of the early Methodist Church in America.

Rokeby, the country-seat of Mrs. Armstrong, was one of the ornaments of the river. The house was of stone and very spacious, and the beautiful, well-planned grounds elicited general admiration. She was the youngest of the sisters, and the most striking in personal appearance, with queenly manners, and large, dark, expressive eyes. When her brother, the Chancellor, retired from his mission to France, her husband, General John Armstrong, was appointed to the post in his stead, and she, with her family, accompanied him to Paris, residing there seven years. She was a special favorite among the distinguished men and women at the court of Napoleon, where her intelligence, animation, overflowing good-

humor, and tact in conversation were unrivaled. In knowledge of the French language she was in nowise inferior to her brother Edward, who found his acquirements of such practical value in New Orleans; and who had, when a boy, so captivated Lafayette, while at one time domesticated for a season in the family, that he was urged by the Marquis to run away with him to Europe. "I will adopt you for my brother, and you shall have every advantage of education that Europe can afford," Lafayette argued persuasively; "we will write from the other side to be forgiven." It is needless to add that the temptation was resisted. Mrs. Armstrong's only daughter married William B. Astor.

Still another handsome property not far from Clermont was Grasmere, left Mrs. Montgomery by her deceased husband, but which had been purchased by her sister Joanna, who married Peter R. Livingston, the brother of Maturin Livingston.[1] The house was of French architecture, and furnished with many costly articles imported from France, such as red morocco sofas and Turkey carpets. Maturin Livingston sold his New York house in Liberty Street upon being removed from the office of recorder — at the close of the governorship of his father-in-law, Morgan Lewis — and bought Ellerslie, a valuable estate near Rhinebeck, upon which he erected an elegant mansion, the same that was subsequently owned and occupied by Hon. William Kelly.

These fine domains, as the reader will observe, belonged simply to one of the branches of the extensive and opulent Livingston family, and they were clustered within a few hours' drive of each other in the neighborhood of Clermont. The Livingston manor property was further to the north; and other estates of magnitude, located between Clermont and the metropolis, were equally illustrative of the development of the rich country bordering the Hudson, and of the wealth and consequence of the dominant political party in New York at this epoch. The Clintons eclipsed the Livingstons in will-power if not in moneyed influence, and an irreconcilable feeling of hostility existed between them. But they were of one mind in sustaining the administration. Mayor De Witt Clinton renounced his opposition to the embargo laws after mature reflec-

[1] Peter R. and Maturin Livingston were sons of Robert James Livingston, born 1729, whose wife was Susan, daughter of the famous lawyer and judge, Hon. William Smith (see Vol. I. 567, 568), and sister of the equally famous William Smith, the historian, who became Chief Justice of Upper Canada, and who married Janet Livingston, her husband's sister. Robert James Livingston was the son of James Livingston, born 1701, who married Elizabeth Kierstede. And James Livingston was the son of Robert, nephew of the first Lord of the Manor, who, coming from Scotland in 1696, married Margaretta Schuyler in 1697; their daughter Janet married Colonel Henry Beekman; and another daughter, Angelica, married Johannes Van Rensselaer.

tion, for which he was charged with bad faith by Cheetham, who adhered to the stand he had first taken, his paper thereby losing its party caste. And both the Livingstons and the Clintonians disclaimed with energy the charge of the Federalists that they were under French influence.

But the election of a new President was drawing near, and old feuds broke out afresh. Jefferson declared his fixed determination to retire. Many wished to see Vice-President George Clinton elevated to the Presidential chair, and were displeased, when, according to the fashion of the day, a congressional caucus nominated James Madison. James Monroe would have better suited a considerable number of the Virginians, on the special ground that Madison was so identified with the existing system of foreign policy that with him for President no change could rationally be expected. In New York some overtures were made and a meeting held for the purpose of transferring the Federal vote to Vice-President Clinton. This arrangement, however, failed, and the Federal candidates were Charles C. Pinckney and Rufus King. When the electors were chosen by the Legislature, they were distributed six to Clinton and the remaining thirteen to Madison, through a compromise between the Clintonians and Livingstons. At the same time a most vigorous personal opposition to Vice-President Clinton was prosecuted quite as persistently by some of his own party as by the Federalists, and great efforts were made to impair the public confidence in Mayor De Witt Clinton.

Before the results of the Presidential election were known, Jefferson became uneasy about the unpopular embargo. It did not work well. Indeed, it had proved a total failure in bringing England and France to terms. While it bore heavily upon England, it was far more injurious to the United States. England could obtain supplies elsewhere — cotton from Brazil, tobacco from South America, naval stores from Sweden, lumber from Nova Scotia, and grain from the Baltic. The United States was deprived of the trade of all nations, and must do without silks, linens, woolens, hardware, pottery, and many other articles to which the people were accustomed, and had not the facilities to manufacture at

[illegible] insolence of the French was even more humiliating than the arro-
[illegible] England. To Minister Armstrong's remonstrances when Ameri-
[illegible]re seized because they had merchandise of British origin
[illegible] craftily answered that since the passage of the em-
[illegible]can vessel had a legal right on the ocean, thus any
[illegible]erican must either be British or subservient to
[illegible]ourse there were American vessels abroad at the

time the law was enacted; and many of these, instead of returning to their native wharves, conducted a hazardous traffic from one European port to another, contriving to evade the French prohibitions by forged documents; and the Bayonne decree was chiefly aimed at the suppression of this trade. But it subjected to confiscation innocent vessels as well, for which there was no remedy.

Jefferson had no intention of going to war with England. With nothing but a handful of useless gunboats, no army, and almost no fortifications, the idea of actual hostilities was scouted rather than entertained. He had summarily and cavalierly rejected the treaty negotiated by James Monroe and Pinckney, and looked with equanimity upon the distresses of the merchants and the multitudes dependent upon trade for support, fondly imagining that agriculture would be benefited thereby. He had in earlier times expressed the abstract opinion that it would be happy if the United States could be shut out from the rest of the world, like China, and her inhabitants be all husbandmen.

He was amazed to see how much of secret evasion and open resistance the embargo encountered at home. It even became necessary to send troops to check the traffic on Lake Champlain, a convenient outlet for the produce of portions of New York and New England. Some bloody encounters took place in that quarter, leading to trials for murder and treason. It was exceedingly difficult to obtain verdicts of guilty from jurors, and the treason cases came to nothing in every instance. Judge Livingston held that no resistance to law, however extensive or violent, could amount to treason where mere private advantage was the object, and not the overthrow of the government. In New England prosecutions were defended by the celebrated Samuel Dexter, and other eminent lawyers, on the ground of the unconstitutionality of the embargo. It was impossible, with such extensive coasts and numerous ports, to enforce an odious law which every knave violated, however scrupulously honest men might obey and suffer. And it was found productive of mischief in an infinitude of ways. The richer the merchant, the less he objected to the cessation of his business, which was sure to furnish him with the opportunity of buying up, at a great discount, the ships and produce of smaller men. Those of moderate means were the victims. The very poor were not hesitant about demanding food and shelter when labor was denied them.

The mayor of New York, for instance, called a special meeting of the common council, on one occasion, to advise in relation to a significant notice published in the *Daily Advertiser*, inviting the idle seamen in the vicinity of the city to assemble in the Park at eleven o'clock the next morning, for the purpose of inquiring of the mayor what they were to do

for their subsistence during the winter. A resolution was entered upon the minutes, and also inserted in the evening papers, to the effect that the mayor disapproved of the mode of application, but informed the public that "the corporation would in the emergency, as they had done on former occasions, provide for the wants of all persons, without distinction, who might be considered proper objects of relief." [1]

1808. Josiah Quincy was the champion of the principles and policy of the Federalists at Washington in 1808, and in his vehement and peculiar style of oratory declared it would be as reasonable to undertake to stop the rivers from running into the sea, as to keep the people of New England from the ocean. It was all very well to talk about the patriotism and quiet submission of such as dwelt in the interior, who had no opportunity to break the embargo; but when those whose ships lay on the edge of the ocean loaded with produce, with the alternative before them of total ruin or a rich market, and they risked the latter, they could not for any length of time be identified with common smugglers. Already the suspension of imports had imposed a loss of thirty millions of dollars, principally on the maritime interest of America; and it was not to be expected that such ruinous sacrifices would be long borne with patience.

In one of Quincy's letters to his wife in March he said, "We are tired of one another, and Jefferson of us. The only difficulty to be surmounted is, that those who voted for the embargo do not like to go home with it on, and yet they dare not take it off. We meet and adjourn, do ordinary business, wrangle, and then the majority retire to intrigue for the Presidency." A glimpse of his manner of life is afforded through a passage in an earlier letter during the same session: "At half past six in the morning my servant comes into my room, makes my fire, gets my dressing apparatus, and at half past seven I am out of bed, and dressed for the day. My servant, not content with tying my hair simply with a ribbon, works it up into a most formidable queue, at least three inches long, and as big as a reasonable Dutch quill. He says this is the mode in New York, and as I do not wear powder, and it looks a little more trig, I acquiesce."

Although John Jay in one of his letters speaks of the French Revolution as having abolished silk stockings and high breeding from the land, and Jefferson was making a study of carelessness in personal attire to illustrate his notions of equality and democracy, old-school fashions had by no means become obsolete. The carriage dress worn by Mrs. Quincy while visiting the home of her brother, General Jacob Morton, in New York, the year before, was a short pelisse of black velvet, edged round the

[1] *Minutes of Common Council in Manuscript.* 1808, Vol. XVIII. p. 18.

skirt with deep lace, and trimmed with silk cord and jet buttons, while her hat was of purple velvet and flowers; her costume worn in Washington the same winter at a ball given by the British Minister was of rich white silk embroidered in gold, with train, and a corresponding head-dress, ornamented with a single white ostrich feather.

Peter Parley tells an amusing story of a leading New York barber, who was shaving a gentleman on the evening Madison's nomination for the Presidency was announced. "Dear me!" he exclaimed. "Surely this country is doomed to disgrace and shame. What Presidents we might have had, sir! Just look at Daggett of Connecticut, or Stockton of New Jersey! What queues they have got, sir — as big as your wrist, and powdered every day, sir, like real gentlemen as they are. Such men, sir, would confer dignity upon the chief magistracy; but this little Jim Madison, with a queue no bigger than a pipe-stem! Sir, it is enough to make a man forswear his country!"

The winter of 1808 – 1809 was one of intense anxiety and excitement throughout the country. Madison was found to have received one hundred and twenty-two votes for President; and George Clinton one hundred and thirteen votes for Vice-President, thus both were declared elected. The question of preparing for war agitated the public mind almost equally with that of repealing the embargo act. Many of Jefferson's partisans became alarmed at the condition of affairs, and sided with the Federalists. After much caucusing Jefferson consented to a compromise, and non-intercourse was substituted for embargo, which was the last act of his administration.

By the new law all nations except France and Great Britain were relieved from the arbitrary provisions of the former act, and the coasting trade was in a great measure set free. Men breathed with more ease, and business began to revive. But the restraints still subjected honorable merchants to serious embarrassments, and evasions by the dishonest were ten times as frequent as during the fourteen months' embargo. Jefferson laid down the scepter with hearty good-will. He had discovered a wide difference between authority in theory and authority in practice. He had pursued his policy of peace, with one half the nation lauding him as a political saint and the other charging him with intolerable tyranny, until earth and sea seemed to have united in one great paroxysm of madness, and war threatened both at home and from abroad. 1809. March 4.

Madison was inaugurated with the usual ceremonies, and in his address declared his intention "to cherish peace and friendly intercourse with all nations having correspondent dispositions; to maintain sincere neutrality

where at the election in 1809 the union against the administration was complete. In New York the Federalists carried the State election, for the first time in ten years.

Consequently, at the first meeting of the new Council of Appointment De Witt Clinton was removed from the mayoralty of the city, and Jacob Radcliff chosen in his stead; while Pierre Cortlandt Van Wyck was exchanged for Josiah Ogden Hoffman in the recordership. The politics of New York at this time would puzzle a stranger unfamiliar with the deadly feuds between families, which had raged for upwards of a century. The tactics and the manœuvres of the factions for supremacy might be likened to a kaleidoscope, presenting many fine colors and symmetrical forms, but leaving a singular uncertainty upon the mind as to the future character of the exhibition. Purely partisan conflicts are of as little moment to history as the rise of cliques which after brief existence suddenly disappear from the horizon of politics. A few brave men of the Republican party still clung to Aaron Burr, who in abject poverty was at this moment vainly trying to get out of France, and believed his vexatious detention was due to the enmity of Armstrong; he was under the surveillance of "that perfect police which could make the empire as impassable a prison as a walled and moated fortress," and learned from Theodosia that the newspapers in America seldom mentioned his name but to stigmatize it, and that politicians knew too well that to appear in his defense would be to share his odium, and destroy all their hopes of the smallest governmental favor. Another section of the Republican party, which had supported Madison for the Presidency in opposition to George Clinton, made common cause with the Livingstons.

Before the end of the year the pressure from the Federalists was so great that the Clintonians and the Livingstons coalesced, and re-elected Governor Tompkins by ten thousand majority over Jonas Platt, the Federal candidate. Thus the Federalists, although having increased their strength in the city, lost both the Assembly and the council of appointment, and were doomed to see every man of their party holding office removed to make room for former incumbents. De Witt Clinton was restored to the mayoralty, and Van Wyck to the recorder-

lebration was planned in the summer of 1809 by the New York ociety, to commemorate the discovery of Manhattan Island. ears had elapsed since Henry Hudson came in sight described in the second chapter of the first volume anniversary of such a momentous event attracted The corporation of the city tendered the use

towards belligerent nations; and to exclude foreign intrigues and foreign partialities." At the same time he acknowledged the difficult crisis of affairs, the more striking by its contrast to the extraordinary commercial prosperity of preceding years, a crisis resulting, in his opinion, solely from the misconduct of the powers in Europe who were at war with each other, and not from errors of administration.

One of his first acts, in view of the dark clouds of war which for years had overshadowed Europe and were now rolling towards America, was to send John Quincy Adams on a mission to Russia. The youthful Emperor Alexander was rising to a prominent and influential position among the nations of the Old World. Adams had veered about in politics and sustained Jefferson and his embargo policy, and with his eminent talents and literary acquirements, his perfect knowledge of the relations of nations, and of the diplomatic language of Europe, he was well fitted for such an embassy. Twenty-eight years before, while a mere lad, he had been in the same place as private secretary to Dana. He was now in his prime, and, arriving at St. Petersburg in the autumn of 1809, made such a favorable impression upon the court, that the emperor, charmed by his varied qualities, admitted him to terms of personal intimacy seldom granted to the most favored individuals.

An attempt to negotiate a treaty with Great Britain was unsuccessful. Erskine, the English minister at Washington, had been sincerely desirous of effecting conciliatory arrangements with the United States, and entered into an agreement with Madison's Secretary of State that the British orders in council should be repealed on the tenth day of the coming June. The highest hopes of commercial freedom began to fill the American mind. But news came that turned the tide into a flood of bitter resentment. The British government peremptorily refused to honor the treaty of their minister, and charged him with having exceeded his instructions, knowingly. President Madison, who had fondly hoped to relieve the nation from the multiplied evils of the restrictive policy, had no alternative but to issue a mandate renewing non-intercourse.

The excitement was intense. Republicans generally charged the British Cabinet with a palpable breach of public and pledged faith, and the Federalists blamed the President and his advisers. A remarkable change had taken place in the respective politics of Republicans and Federalists during the eight years of Jefferson's rule, showing that party distinction had arisen greatly from differences of opinion as to certain questions of temporary policy, together with divided sympathies respect-
contest between England and France. The embargo system had
the strength of the Federalists, particularly in New England,

where at the election in 1809 the union against the administration was complete. In New York the Federalists carried the State election, for the first time in ten years.

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A celebration was planned in the summer of 1809 by the New York Historical Society, to commemorate the discovery of Manhattan Island. Two hundred years had elapsed since Henry Hudson came in sight of our shores, as described in the second chapter of the first volume of this work. The anniversary of such a momentous event attracted universal attention. The corporation of the city tendered the use

of the front court-room in the City Hall to the Society for the exercises of the day, which was accepted, and a large audience of ladies and gentlemen assembled therein to listen to a brilliant and learned historical address by Rev. Dr. Miller. Governor Tompkins was present, also the mayor and corporation of the city.

1809. Sept. 4.

At the conclusion of the discourse, about four in the afternoon, the Society adjourned to the City Hotel on Broadway, where an elegant dinner had been prepared. Among the invited guests were ex-Mayor Marinus Willett, Judge Nathaniel Pendleton, Theodorus Bailey, the postmaster, Colonel Peter Curtenius, Charles Baldwin, and Henry Gahn, the Swedish Consul. The viands served were "a variety of shell and other fish with which our waters abound, wild pigeons and succotash (Indian-corn and beans), the favorite dish of the season, with the different meats introduced into this country by the European settlers."[1] It was a banquet in keeping with the historical spirit of the occasion, all modern delicacies having been rigidly excluded.[2]



City Hotel, Trinity Church, and Grace Church.
[From a rare old print.]

Among the nominees for membership of the Historical Society at this meeting were Oliver Wolcott, David B. Ogden, William Paulding, Jr., Washington Irving, Richard Riker, James Swords, and Matthias B. Tallmadge. A few of the honorary members elected were Lindley Murray, Noah Webster, Charles Brockden Brown, George Gibbs, Timothy Alden, Rev. Dr. Jedediah Morse, Rev. Dr. John Elliott, Rev. Dr. William [illegible]el Johnson, Rev. Dr. Benjamin Trumbull, Dr. Samuel Bard, Dr.

[1] *the New York Historical Society in Manuscript*, Vol. I. p. 23; *Dr. Miller's* : *Hist. Soc. Coll.* Vol. I. 1809.

[illegible]ured at this notable dinner were :—

[illegible]. — The discoverer of America. His monument is not inscribed

Benjamin Rush, Rev. Dr. Timothy Dwight, president of Yale College, Rev. Samuel Stanhope Smith, president of Princeton College, Josiah Quincy, and Vice-President George Clinton.

with his name, yet all nations recognize it. Its base covers half the globe, and its summit reaches beyond the clouds."

"Queen Isabella of Spain. — The magnanimous and munificent friend and patron of Columbus."

"John and Sebastian Cabot. — The contemporaries of Columbus and the discoverers of North America."

"John Verrazano. — His enterprising genius and his visit to this part of our country deserve to be better known."

"Henry Hudson. — The enterprising and intrepid navigator. Though disastrous his end, yet fortunate his renown, for the majestic river which bears his name shall render it immortal."

"The Fourth of September, 1609. — The day on which Hudson landed on our shores."

"Wouter Van Twiller. — The first governor of New Netherland."

"Peter Stuyvesant. — The last Dutch governor, an intrepid soldier and faithful officer."

"Richard Nicolls. — The first English governor of the Province of New York."

"George Clinton. — The first governor of the State of New York."

"William Smith. — The historian of New York."

"Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas. — May future compilers of historical documents emulate their diligence and fidelity."

"William Smith, Cadwallader Colden, Samuel Smith, Jeremy Belknap, and George Richards Minot — American historians. — They have merited the gratitude of their country."

"The United States of America. — May our prosperity ever confirm the belief that the discovery of our country was a blessing to mankind."

"The State of New York. — May it ever be the pleasing task of the historian to record events that shall evince the wisdom of her Legislature, and display the virtue of her people."

"The Massachusetts Historical Society, which set the honorable example of collecting and preserving what relates to the history of our country."

"Our Forefathers. — To whose enterprise and fortitude, under Providence, we owe the blessings we enjoy."

Among the numerous volunteer toasts — after the governor and the mayor had retired from the table — were the following: —

By William Johnson, the chairman (in the absence of Judge Benson, the president of the Society): — "The Governor of the State of New York."

By John Pintard: — "The mayor and corporation of the city of New York."

By Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill: — "A speedy termination of our foreign relations."

By Simeon De Witt: — "May our successors, a century hence, celebrate the same event which we this day commemorate."

By Dr. David Hosack: — "The memory of St. Nicholas. May the virtuous habits and simple manners of our Dutch ancestors be not lost in the luxuries and refinements of the present time."

By Judge Pendleton: — "May the same virtues and the same industry combine in our land which have converted an Indian cornfield into a Botanic Garden."

By Josiah Ogden Hoffman: — "Egbert Benson, our absent and respected president."

By Colonel Curtenius: — "Pierre Van Cortlandt, the first lieutenant-governor of the State of New York."

By Mr. Gahn, the Swedish Consul: — "The mouth of the Hudson. May it soon have a sharp set of teeth to show in its defense.

The new City Hall in the Park was not yet completed, although workmen had been employed upon it almost without intermission since
1810. the corner-stone was laid by Edward Livingston in 1803. In 1810 an order was sent to England for copper with which to cover the roof, and it came at last, although not until 1811, costing ten thousand five hundred dollars. The edifice was pronounced finished in 1812, upwards of half a million of dollars having been expended upon it, exclusive of its furniture. It was the handsomest structure at the time in the United States.

The white marble of the front and sides was brought from Stockbridge, Massachusetts. The architecture was both Ionic and Corinthian, the great columns resting upon a rustic basement of brown freestone, nine feet in height. The principal entrance was on the south front by a terrace walk extending the length of the building, about forty feet in breadth, and raised some three feet above the level of the Park. From this walk a flight of steps led to an Ionic colonnade, thence to a large vestibule adjoining a corridor which communicated with the different apartments and staircases. In the centre of the edifice, facing the entrance, was a large circular stone staircase, with a double flight of steps upheld without any apparent support. On the level of the second floor stood ten marble columns of the Corinthian order, with a circular gallery around them. The columns were fluted, and the entablature fully enriched; the whole covered by a hemispherical ceiling, ornamented with stucco in novel designs, and lighted from the sky with fine effect. A balustrade of marble surrounded the building, hiding a great portion of the roof. The centre had an attic story crowned with a well-proportioned cupola surmounted by the figure of Justice.

The council chamber was richly ornamented with wood and stone carvings, and the chairs provided for the mayor the same that had been used by Washington while presiding over the first Congress in New York City; it was elevated by a few steps on the south side of the room, and graced with a canopy overhead.

The City Hall Park was described by a writer of the period as "a piece of inclosed ground in front of the new City Hall, consisting of about four acres, planted with elms, planes, willows, and catalpas, the surrounding foot-walk encompassed with rows of poplars. This beautiful grove, in the middle of the city, combines in a high degree ornament with health and pleasure; and to enhance the enjoyments of the place, the English and French reading-room, the Shakespeare gallery, and the theater, offer ready amusement to the mind; while the mechanic-hall, the London hotel, and the New York gardens present instant refreshment to the body.

Though the trees are but young, and of few years' growth, the Park may be pronounced an elegant and improving place."

The Park Theater will be recognized in the sketch, upon the southeast side of the Park, and has the effect of a large and commodious building, as it must necessarily have been to accommodate twelve hundred persons with seats. The boxes are said to have been remarkably well adapted to the display of beauty and fashion, as well as to the view of the scenic performances. In November of this year George Frederick Cooke appeared in Richard III., before the largest audience ever crowded within its walls. The throng was so great that many were pushed through

Nov. 21.



City Hall Park.
[With the Park Theater and Brick Church to the right.]

the doors without paying. Ladies were taken to the alley and introduced to the boxes from the rear. Cooke's vast renown had preceded him to this country, and his arrival was one of the chief milestones in the progress of the drama. He was fifty-four years of age, possessing all the elasticity of thirty, of stalwart figure and commanding presence, and being a man of keen observation who had for a decade made mankind a perpetual study, his breadth of vision and boldness and originality of conception convinced the New York community that he was the first of living actors. He engrossed all minds; and old play-goers discovered a mine of wealth in Shakespeare never before comprehended.

On the 23d he played Sir Pertinax, and, notwithstanding a violent snowstorm, the receipts of the house were fourteen hundred and twenty-four dollars. It was his greatest performance, and was

Nov. 23.

rendered the more acceptable by his wonderful enunciation of the Scotch dialect. He was told that all the town had concluded he was a Scotchman. "They have the same opinion of me in Scotland," he replied, "yet I am an Englishman." When asked how he had acquired so complete a knowledge of the Scotch accentuation, he said, "I studied more than two and a half years in my own room, with repeated intercourse with Scotch society, in order to master the Scotch dialect, before I ventured to appear on the boards in Edinburgh as Sir Pertinax, and when I did Sawney took me for a native. It was the hardest task I ever undertook."[1]

The Brick Church with its little yard of tombs, then occupying the site of the present building of the *New York Times*, was the scene of the ordination and installation of Rev. Dr. Gardiner Spring in August, 1810. He was a young divine of great promise, who first saw the light in Newburyport, Massachusetts, twenty-five years before, and who maintained for over half a century the position as pastor of this church organization — unmoved by invitations to preside at Hamilton and at Dartmouth colleges. He was one of the most able, popular, and esteemed preachers of the city, as well as the author of twenty or more valuable works which have passed through many editions, and have been in part translated and republished in Europe.[2]

During the summer of the same year the Wall Street Presbyterian Church was rebuilt on an enlarged plan, ninety-seven feet long and

[1] George Frederick Cooke was born in England, April 17, 1756, died in New York City September 26, 1812. He began life as a printer's apprentice, but his fondness for the stage led him early into that career. He was three years in Dublin, and in 1800 appeared at Covent Garden in Richard III., taking his place in the front rank of actors. He was also celebrated in Macbeth, Iago, Shylock, and Sir Pertinax. His habitual intemperance destroyed his constitution, and while it never impaired his dramatic reputation, it disgusted the world and terminated his dazzling career. (*Drake; Dunlap; Old New York*, by Francis.) He was buried in Trinity Churchyard, where a monument was erected to his memory in 1821, by Edmund Kean, of the Theater Royal, Drury Lane. "His funeral was an imposing spectacle. He had no kindred present, but the clergy of New York, physicians, members of the bar, officers of the army and navy, the *Literati* and men of science, together with the dramatic corps, and a large concourse of citizens, moved in the procession." — *Tombs in Old Trinity*, by Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, in *Harper's Magazine*, November, 1876.

[2] Rev. Gardiner Spring, D. D., was the son of Rev. Dr. Samuel Spring, of Newburyport, Massachusetts, one of the chaplains of the army who accompanied Arnold in his attack on Quebec in 1775. He graduated at Yale in 1805, after which he studied law with the distinguished jurist, David Daggett, of New Haven, who was at one time chief justice of the State and also mayor of New Haven. Admitted to the bar in December, 1808, he commenced practice. But the effect of one of the great sermons of Rev. Dr. John M. Mason — from the text, "To the poor the gospel is preached" — was to turn his mind to the study of theology. After a year passed at Andover he was licensed to preach, and in a few months received and accepted the call to the Brick Church. — *Greenleaf; Sprague; Hardie; Duyckinck; Drake.*

sixty-eight feet wide, with a handsome spire. Rev. Dr. Rodgers was at the time bending under the weight of years, and died the following spring at the ripe age of eighty-four. He continued his pastoral relations with the church, however, until the last, and was one of the most active in urging the work forward on the new edifice. Rev. Dr. Miller, who had been associated with him as collegiate pastor, assumed the entire charge until 1813, when he resigned in consequence of his appointment to the professorship of divinity at Princeton. He was succeeded by Rev. Philip Melancthon Whepley, the son of Rev. Samuel Whepley, of Stockbridge, Massachusetts, an author and clergyman who established a very popular school in New York about 1814, and who died in 1817. Young Whepley was but twenty-three at the time of his installation over the Wall Street Church in 1815, yet he fulfilled his duties satisfactorily until his death in 1824. For two years the church was without a pastor, but in 1826 Rev. William W. Phillips accepted a call, and entered upon his pastorate on the 19th of January.

In the month of April, 1809, the three Presbyterian churches of the city, which hitherto had been one collegiate charge, were separated in an orderly manner by the Presbytery; and the Rev. Dr. Philip Milledoler, installed as a colleague in 1805, became the sole pastor of the Rutgers Street Church until 1813, when he resigned. He was a distinguished scholar, born at Farmington, Connecticut, in 1775, educated at Edinburgh, and developed into a most philosophical and industrious literary man. He was one of the founders of the Bible Society; and subsequently president of Rutgers College — from 1825 to 1841. The Rutgers Street Church was a spacious frame edifice erected on land presented by Henry Rutgers in 1797, and had a cupola and a public clock. Rev. Dr. John McKnight, who had labored incessantly with the ministers since 1789, resigned his sacred office with the consent of the Presbytery in 1810.

This was a period when new churches were being founded by every denomination. The Presbyterians commenced a new house of worship in Spring Street, near Varick, in 1810, the venerable Dr. Rodgers being present and offering a short prayer. The Canal Street Church was organized in 1809, the original structure being located on Orange Street, near Grand, the corner-stone of which was laid by Dr. Rodgers. The site proving unfavorable and the building badly constructed, it was abandoned, in 1825, for a larger and more substantial brick edifice erected upon the corner of Canal Street and Green. Meanwhile the Pearl Street Church, between Elm and Broadway, built of stone in 1797, had for a few years formed a collegiate charge with the Scotch Presbyterian Church in Cedar Street, but separated in 1804. In 1810 a third Associate Pres-

byterian Church was formed chiefly from the Cedar Street congregation, and an elegant stone edifice was built on Murray Street, opposite Columbia College. When completed, in 1812, Dr. John M. Mason became its pastor, he having retired from his former charge. The Duane Street Church was established with twenty-eight members in November, 1808, and first occupied a small church edifice in Cedar Street, between William and Nassau. Under the ministry of Rev. Dr. John B. Romeyn until his death in 1825, a large congregation was gathered, and not until 1836 was it thought expedient to remove to the elegant house of worship erected on Duane Street, corner of Church.[1] The spring of 1836 marked also the removal of the Scotch Church in Cedar Street to a new edifice in Grand Street, near Broadway. The organization known as the earliest Associate Presbyterian Church, formed in 1785, worshiped in a small edifice in Nassau Street erected in 1787; that of the earliest Reformed Presbyterian Church dated back to 1797, and occupied a church edifice built in 1801, in Chambers Street, east of Broadway, the Rev. Dr. Alexander McLeod being its pastor from 1800 to 1818.[2] In 1810 a religious meeting under a Congregational or Independent form was established in Elizabeth Street, and the following year it was reorganized as a Presbyterian Church, admitted to the Presbytery of New York, and Rev. Henry P. Strong was installed pastor.[3]

While the Presbyterians of the city prior to the war of 1812 had multiplied into twelve distinct organizations, the Episcopalians, inclusive of chapels and mission churches, had fourteen places of worship. Trinity, St. Paul's Chapel, and St. George's Chapel in Beekman Street, have hitherto been brought before the reader's notice. St. John's Church, an elegant stone structure costing upwards of two hundred thousand dollars, was built by Trinity Church in 1807. The site chosen, in Varick Street, between Laight and Beach, was one of the most desolate imaginable, the scenery comprehending little else than a dreary marsh, covered with brambles and bulrushes, and tenanted by frogs and water-snakes. How-

[1] In May, 1836, Rev. George Potts was installed pastor of the Duane Street Church, but after a few years the congregation had scattered towards the north to such an extent that he followed, and, preaching for a time in the chapel of the New York University, laid the foundation for the handsome church edifice in University Place, corner of Tenth Street. Rev. Dr. James Waddell Alexander succeeded to the pulpit of the Duane Street Church, which subsequently removed to Fifth Avenue, corner of Nineteenth Street; and in 1875 again removed to the handsome edifice, corner of Fifth Avenue and Fifty-fourth Street, of which the present pastor is the eloquent and popular divine, Rev. Dr. John Hall.

[2] The original session of this church consisted of John Currie, Andrew Gifford, David Clark, John Agnew, and James Nelson.

[3] The Elizabeth Street Church was dissolved by the Presbytery in 1813, it being too feeble to sustain itself.

ever, the spirit of progress which actuated the New York mind soon became visible in the laying out of Hudson Square, covering an entire block in front of the church.

In Ann Street, a few doors east of Nassau, stood Christ's Church, founded in 1794; in 1810 it counted three hundred members in communion; and in 1823 a new edifice was erected in Anthony Street, a little west of Broadway. Its rector from 1805 to 1848 was Rev. Dr. Thomas Lyell. The French Church, Du St. Esprit, in Pine Street, was open for worship until 1834, at which time the property was sold, and the congregation removed to an elegant structure of white marble in Franklin Street, corner of Church. In Broome Street, corner of Chrystie, St. Stephen's Church was built in 1805. Upon the site of the old chapel of Governor Stuyvesant in Second Avenue, corner of Eleventh Street, — beneath which was the Stuyvesant vault — St. Mark's Church was opened for worship in 1799, the property having been generously donated to the vestry of Trinity Church by the great grandson of the governor, together with some eight hundred pounds sterling in money



St. John's Church.

towards the erection of the edifice. Rev. Dr. William Harris was the rector from 1801 to 1816, although elected president of Columbia College in 1811. Grace Church was founded in 1805, and a spacious edifice was soon erected in Broadway, near Trinity Church, upon the site of the old Lutheran Church which was burned in 1776; the elegant church in Broadway, corner of Tenth Street, was completed by this organization in 1846; the first rector was Rev. Dr. Nathaniel Bowen. Zion Church stood in 1810 in Mott Street, corner of Cross; it was built by a small society of Lutherans in 1801, and was afterwards received into the communion of the Episcopal Church; Rev. Ralph Williston was the pastor from 1811 to 1815, when the building was burned, and about two years later rebuilt. In the neighborhood of Manhattanville and Washington Heights many families desired religious privileges; therefore, in 1807, St. Michael's Church was founded, and a small frame building erected at Bloomingdale. In 1810 St. James's Church was formed, and a church edifice erected about a mile east of St. Michael's. The two parishes were associated under the rectorship of the Rev. Dr. Samuel Farmer Jarvis until 1818, when he was appointed Professor of Biblical Learning in the new General Theological Seminary established in New York. The colored Episcopalians held a service by themselves in a school-room in William Street from 1809 to 1812, after which they removed to a room in Cliff Street, where they worshipped for several years; in 1819 they erected St. Philip's Church in Centre Street, between Leonard and Anthony. Calvary Church, near Corlaer's Hook, resulted from a missionary effort in 1810 of the Rev. Benjamin P. Aydelott, a physician who had received orders, and entered with great enthusiasm into the work of preaching the Gospel to the inhabitants of that locality. A church was regularly organized with eleven members in August of that year, but it afterwards became extinct.

The Reformed Dutch Church had at the same time not less than seven houses of worship. It was the oldest organization of Christians in the city, and distinguished for the high character of its well-trained theologians and devoted ministers. The three principal churches, Garden Street, Middle Church, and North Church, described upon former pages, constituted a collegiate charge — a plan which seems to have prevailed among all the early churches of New York, and was first abandoned by the Presbyterians. The old church in Garden Street was taken down in 1807, and a new edifice erected on the same site — which was destroyed in 1835 by fire, and its successor rebuilt on Washington Square. In 1813 a petition from the congregation procured a separation from the collegiate connection, and this church proceeded to form a Consistory of

its own. Its pastor for a series of years was Rev. Dr. James M. Mathews. The Middle Dutch Church, in Nassau Street, was occupied for divine service until 1844. Meanwhile, in 1807, the consistory of the collegiate church built the Northwest Church, in Franklin Street, near West Broadway; and the same year enlarged the little wooden church in Greenwich village, which had been erected in 1782. A church was founded at Harlem soon after the settlement of the city; and about 1805 Jacob Harsen erected at Bloomingdale, upon his own land, a small wooden building for public worship, which was formally dedicated by Rev. Dr. Livingston on the last Sabbath in June of that year. In October the officers were duly installed, and the edifice conveyed to the organization by Mr. Harsen. In 1808 the Rev. Alexander Gunn was called to the pastorate; and six years later a substantial structure was erected by the congregation in Sixty-eighth Street, between Ninth and Tenth Avenues.

The German Reformed Church, built in Nassau Street before the Revolution through the efforts of Dominie Kern, was sold in 1804, and a new edifice erected in Forsyth Street. A controversy arose about the same time concerning the church property, which two adverse parties within the organization, one Calvinistic, and connected with the collegiate Reformed Dutch, and the other Lutheran and standing alone, both claimed; at length, in 1834, the Lutheran party obtained possession of the edifice. Ten years later the decision was reversed, and the Calvinistic party returned, while the Lutherans retired to Columbia Hall in Grand Street. In 1846, by a decision of the Court of Errors, the Lutherans once more took possession of the building. Their minister was connected with the Lutheran Synod, and officiated in the German language.

The Lutherans whose church was burned in Broadway in 1776 united after the war with another congregation of Lutherans who had in 1767 erected a small stone edifice, known as the Swamp Church, in William Street, corner of Frankfort, where the Rev. Dr. John Christopher Kunze was the stated pastor from 1784 until his death in 1807. He was succeeded by Rev. Dr. F. G. Geissenhainer. Both of these divines preached in the German language only.

The Baptists had already expanded into eight distinct church organizations. As early as 1770 a difficulty in the First Baptist Church arose about psalmody. It had been the usage of the church to have the lines parceled out as sung, but an innovation was desired with such persistence that fourteen members seceded and formed the Second Baptist Church. Their first pastor was Rev. John Dodge of Long Island. In 1791 a division arose in the Second Church, which resulted in the founding of a third church, and the erection of an edifice in 1795 in Oliver Street, corner of

Henry, which was enlarged and rebuilt in 1800. The Second, afterwards called the Bethel Church, built a church edifice of wood in Broome Street, near the Bowery, in 1806. The Mulberry Street Church was formed in 1809, and until 1838 was under the ministry of Rev. Dr. Archibald Maclay. In 1809 the North Beriah Church was also formed, a colony of some thirty members from the First Baptist Church having united in a new church enterprise, and erected a frame building in Van Dam Street, between Varick and Hudson. It was known as the North Church until after the War of 1812. The structure was burned in 1819, and its successor rebuilt in McDougall Street, near Van Dam. In the mean time the Scotch Baptists formed a church in 1802, styled the Ebenezer Baptist Church, and in 1806 built a small house of worship in Anthony Street, near West Broadway. In 1809 the Abyssinian Church was organized, consisting of a colony of colored people from the First Baptist Church, and bought the little edifice so recently completed by the Scotch Baptists in Anthony Street, who obtained a frame building in York Street not quite as costly. In 1807 a party of seventy-six Welsh Baptists, all communicants, organized into a church, with Rev. John Stephens pastor, worshiping in a small house in Mott Street.

Two Methodist churches were formed in 1810, the Allen Street Church and the Bedford Street Church, the former erecting a stone edifice in Allen Street, seventy feet by fifty-five, and the latter a frame building in Bedford Street, corner of Morton. These, with the four churches of this denomination before mentioned, and one African Methodist — which had a small brick edifice, erected in 1800 in Church Street, corner of Leonard — comprise the seven Methodist churches of 1812. There were, also, one Moravian Church; one Universalist Church, located in Pearl Street near Chatham; one Congregational Church, built in Elizabeth Street, between Walker Street and Hester, in 1809; two Quaker meeting-houses, one in Pearl Street near Franklin Square, built in 1775, and the other in Liberty Street in 1802 — a brick building sixty by forty feet; one Jewish Synagogue, in Mill Street, and one Roman Catholic Church. While the English laws were in force prior to the close of the Revolution, no Catholic clergyman was allowed to officiate in the State of New York. But in all legislation after the war every man was permitted to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience. The Roman Catholics formed a congregation in 1783, and commenced worship in a small building in Vauxhall Garden, on the margin of the Hudson, until St. Peter's Church was completed in Barclay Street, corner of Church, in 1786. For more than thirty years this was the only Catholic church in the city of New York.

Deep and strong New York had laid the foundation of her religious society in the beginning. Thus the wonder is not that her church edifices increased in proportion to the rapid spread of her boundaries, until the number reached fifty-nine prior to the second war with Great Britian, many of which were spacious, elegant, and costly, but that so much was done in this direction during the marked period of pecuniary distress from 1807 to 1812.

The creation and regulation of streets form a chapter of interest and importance in the history of the metropolis. While the grave discussion of non-intercourse was agitating every mind, and foreshadowing the most serious consequences, new roadways were springing into existence, and by-paths and alleys striking new levels or new orbits, and growing like mushrooms in the night. In the midst of the struggle to obtain appropriations from the government for defenses, and the general feeling of insecurity pervading New York City—the shining mark for a foreign foe—the labor of grading hills and elevating valleys went forward with as much apparent spirit as if the whole ambition of the community was involved. The minutes of the Common Council teem with reports of commissioners and surveyors, and with resolutions for opening and elongating streets, until the city was actually blockaded by the British.



Foot of Canal Street and Hudson River.
[From an original pencil-sketch by Alexander Anderson.]

The corporation brain encountered no puzzle half as formidable as the proper course to be pursued with the swamp in the region of Canal Street. Broadway was graded below the stone bridge, and for some distance above, and Spring Street was marked out, and houses built in certain parts of it, while yet nothing but a small sluggish stream of water marked the site of the broad and convenient Canal Street of to-day. The Lispenard Meadows were overflowed with water at some seasons of the year, and in winter they formed a skating pond for thousands of persons who delighted in the amusement, as the Collect, or Fresh Water Pond had done before its beauty was spoiled by the filling in of offal and rubbish. The point where the Canal Street rivulet united with the Hudson River was sketched one winter's morning in the early part of the century by Alexander Anderson, the first wood-engraver in America, and the scene represented is in such striking contrast with that of the same locality at the present day that it is reproduced for the

entertainment of the public. The habitable portion of the city had crept up the Bowery as far as Bond Street. Various schemes had been discussed of disposing of the Collect, and Canal Street had been laid out upon paper by competent engineers as many times as there were months in the calendar. The most feasible plan for some years seemed to be the construction of a canal or tunnel on a level one foot below low-water mark, passing directly through the pond, from the East River to the Hudson, which should drain the meadows adjacent as well, "carrying off the water from the streets that descend thereto." Before funds had been raised for its execution, the idea of filling the pond with the cleanest and best earth which could be obtained was acted upon; at the same time an effort was made to dig from the bottom a sediment soil formed from decomposed vegetable matter similar to peat or turf, extending to a great depth, and which it was believed might be converted into fuel and thus prove remunerative. Laborers were employed in the summer of 1808 for one or two months, but for some reason the work was discontinued, and the old process of "filling in" again prevailed.

During the same season a great clamor arose among property owners along the line of Canal or Duggan Street — as it was at first called from Thomas Duggan, a large property-owner in the vicinity — which had been temporarily laid out in 1806. The method which met with more general approbation than any other had been laid aside for less practicable suggestions, and then reconsidered, until any one plan, however imperfect, if only permanent, was sought as a special boon. It was represented that upwards of three thousand lots fronting on the proposed street could not be improved, and that cellars, wherever they existed, were filled with water. At what is now the corner of Grand Street and Greene, as was stated, a man had walked into deep water by mistake in the night and been drowned. Some went so far as to declare that when the Hudson and the East Rivers were swollen with the spring tides "their waters ran into and covered the swamps, meeting one another."

In accordance with an earnest petition, application was made to the Legislature, and an act passed appointing commissioners to decide upon the method, and to regulate and open the street. This was a separate and distinct act from the one passed April 3, 1807, appointing Gouverneur ris, Simeon De Witt, and John Rutherford "commissioners of streets roads in the city of New York"; and all three of those gentlemen ed to serve on the new commission, their duties lying chiefly above n Street. Difficulties of a scientific character interposed, and the was well advanced before the tangled meadows and wild grass



began to disappear. The drainage must necessarily embrace a considerable extent of high land to the north, where the permanent grade of the streets had not yet been established. Thus the work progressed slowly, and with many interruptions. It resulted finally in a street one hundred feet wide with a ditch or open canal in its center bordered with shade trees, upon either side of which was a broad drive lined with habitations — and which was very naturally called Canal Street.

In the mean time the Collect received the tops of all the eminences in the neighborhood, and was obliterated from the topography of the city. East of its site were several unfinished streets for many years. The property in the neighborhood of the Jews' burial-ground was not considered worth anything — at least nobody could be found willing to buy it at any price. But there were several estates lying beyond, which subsequently became extremely valuable. The Banckers owned a large tract of land in the vicinity of Bancker — afterwards Madison — Street, adjoining the Roosevelt property, from which Roosevelt Street received its name. And the Janeways were extensive real-estate proprietors in the same neighborhood at one period. Colonel Rutgers was immensely rich in lands, and one of the most liberal men of his time in the matter of donating sites for public buildings and streets.

On the west side of the town the wealthy corporation of Trinity Church was munificent in contributing landed property to the authorities for streets — as it was required from year to year. In 1808 it ceded to the city the ground for Washington Street, from Christopher Street to the Hudson River; also that for Greenwich Street from Spring Street north to the extent of the church property, for Hudson Street from North Moore Street to Vestry Street, for Varick Street from North Moore Street to Vestry Street, for Beach Street from Hudson to east boundary of church land, for Laight Street from Hudson to east boundary of church land, for Vestry Street from Greenwich Street to east boundary of church land, for Desbrosses Street from Greenwich Street to Hudson River, for Le Roy Street from Hudson Street to Hudson River, for Van Dam, Charlton, King, Hamersley, Clarkson, Barrow, and Morton Streets as far as the church lands extended from east to west, and for two alleys, each twenty-five feet wide — one in the rear of St. John's Church, and the other from Beach Street to Laight Street. The beautiful park itself, in front of St. John's Church, was not only appropriated from the Trinity Church domains and made the pride of the city, but embellished at the expense of the church corporation. At the same time hardly a form could be mentioned in which the liberality of Trinity Church was not manifested towards the younger and needy Episcopal churches not only of the city but of every section

of the State. Gifts of communion-plate, organs, bells, salaries, and lots, were of common occurrence, donations reached hundreds of aged and infirm clergymen from time to time, institutions of learning were endowed, and loans were granted which in a few years exceeded a million of dollars.

The labors of Bishop Moore in this field terminated through a severe illness in February, 1811, from which he never recovered, although he survived until 1816. He had been associated in the duties of the Trinity Church pulpit since 1774, shortly after his return from England, where he was ordained by the Bishop of London in the Episcopal palace at Fulham. Upon the resignation of Bishop Provoost in 1801 he was unanimously elected his successor. From 1801 to 1811 he was also president of Columbia College, but the terms of his acceptance of the office relieved him from all regular instruction and the details of college discipline, confining his duties to presiding at the public examination of classes, the weekly declamations, at commencements, and other public occasions. His style of conferring degrees was very charming. He was a slender man, of medium stature, and a bright, attractive countenance; and without the least semblance of affectation or any attempt to appear condescending or patronizing, his manners were the perfection of grace, dignity, and gentleness, reflecting both intelligence of mind and loveliness of character. "His voice," wrote the Rev. Dr. David Moore, "though feeble rather than powerful, was music to the ear, and his enunciation was so distinct that the most distant hearer was in no danger of losing a word." He was always ready to sympathize with those in difficulty or trouble; and the truly catholic spirit breathing through his whole conduct radiated an influence which might be traced in thousands of praiseworthy deeds that seemed to emanate from other sources than himself. In his thirty-seven years' connection with Trinity Church he celebrated no less than three thousand five hundred marriages, according to the parish register, and baptized over three thousand persons. He retained the office of Rector and Bishop of New York during life; but Rev. Dr. John Henry Hobart was consecrated assistant bishop in May, 1811, and in 1816 became Diocesan of New York. Rev. Dr. Abraham Beach was appointed assistant rector to Bishop Moore. He was then over seventy years of age, and had been leading a noiseless course of usefulness as assistant minister of Trinity parish for twenty-seven years.[1] He retired, how-

[1] Rev. Abraham Beach, D. D. (born 1740, died 1728), was the son of Captain Elnathan Beach, of Cheshire, Connecticut, whose second wife, the mother of the great divine, was the sister of General David Wooster, who fell while opposing the British at the burning of Danbury. (See page 160, Vol. II.) Rev. Dr. Beach married Ann, daughter and sole heiress of Evert Van

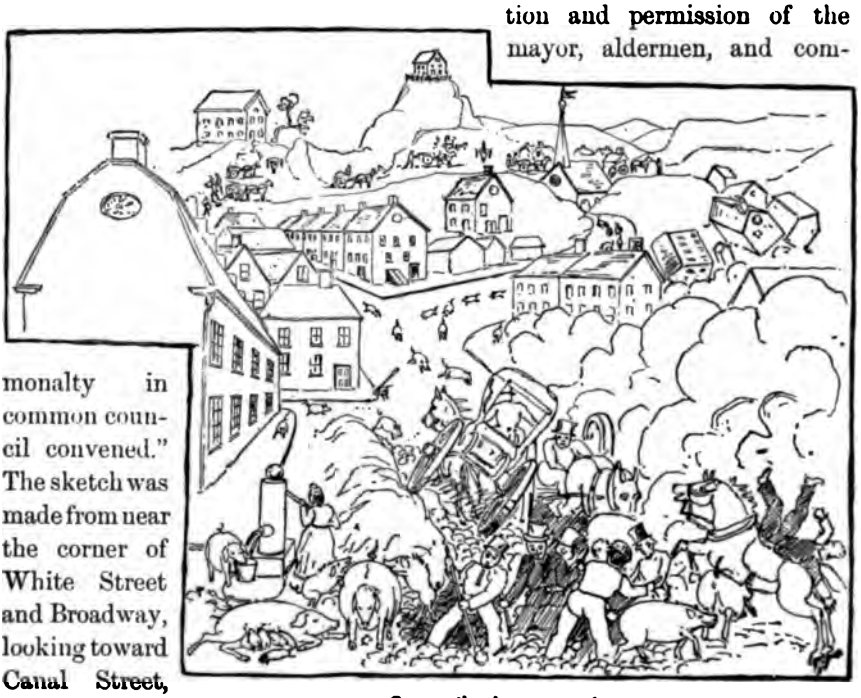
ever, from the pulpit in 1813. He was an elegant scholar, and "one of the excellent of the earth." Elected a Regent of the University of New York in 1784, he took a deep interest in educational affairs, and was named in the charter of Columbia College in 1787 as one of its trustees; for many years he was secretary of the board. During a considerable portion of his busy life in New York he was the rector of Christ's Church in New Brunswick.

All that was romantic in scenery and prepossessing in cultivated grounds immediately above Canal Street was quickly doomed. The city was on the march, and every form of hill and dale and pleasant valley must be sacrificed. From the Bayard mansion, on the summit of the high point of land between Grand Street and Broome, the views — just before the edifice was built downward, so to speak — embraced a curious variety of suggestive scenes. The valley of Canal Street at its foot had been transformed into a busy thoroughfare, no longer presenting a pastoral picture with streams of water flowing through it into both rivers, that on the east finding its way through the low lands along the line of Roosevelt Street; and over the roofs and foliage of the new street the City Hospital could be seen, and then the city itself in outline, its smoke and spires reaching into the sky; to the southwest the handsome country-seat of Leonard Lispenard was plainly visible, crowning a beautiful eminence near St. John's Church; to the north of west appeared, above the intervening fields and glens, the green woods which surrounded Richmond Hill; to the north and northeast a half-dozen villas, including those of the Stuyvesants, met the eye in peculiar fellowship with intermediate dwellings of every description scattered along the neighborhood of the Bowery road; while in the distance the Hudson and East Rivers, the magnificent bay, and the shores and heights beyond, completed as fair a prospect as could be found on either continent.

The enemy, with its armor of pickaxes, stood back appalled at the strong, firm, bold front which the Bayard Hill presented. It seemed invincible. But the assault was finally made, the citadel yielded, and the inhabitants fled. As for the real-estate owners, they were solaced by the rise of property. Fortunes grew while dwellings, stables, flower-gardens,

Winkle, one of the original Dutch settlers on the Raritan, near New Brunswick. **Their eldest daughter married** Rev. Elijah D. Rattoone, D. D.; another daughter was the wife of **Rev. Thomas Lyell,** D. D., rector of Christ's Church, New York; a third daughter married **Rev. Abiel Carter,** rector of the Episcopal Church in Savannah; and a fourth daughter **married Isaac Lawrence** of New York, and was the mother of the author and jurist, William **Beach Lawrence,** and of the wife of James A. Hillhouse, of New Haven. — *Sprague's Annals of the American Pulpit*; *Dr. Berrian's History of Trinity Church*; *Disosway's Earliest Churches of New York*; *Greenleaf's History of the Churches.*

fruit-orchards, grassy lawns, summer-houses, lovers' walks, and finely shaded private avenues tumbled promiscuously into the mass of worthless ruins — and posterity was enriched. The humorous etching of John P. Emmet, Professor of Chemistry in the University of Virginia, showing the condition of Bayard's house during the jubilee of destruction, which he designates as "corporation improvements," will be regarded with a smile of credulity, and a twinge of painful reminiscence, by all those who have witnessed the demolition of their earthy idols, "with the approbation and permission of the mayor, aldermen, and commonalty in common council convened." The sketch was made from near the corner of White Street and Broadway, looking toward Canal Street, and, however exaggerated, is a clever illustration of the confusion of affairs consequent upon removing eminences in the herculean endeavor to perfect the site of a great city like the New York of to-day.



Corporation Improvements.
[From an original etching by John P. Emmet; copied through the courtesy of his son, Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.]

The city records afford picturesque glimpses of the details of the labor. Streets were pushed through a block or two in length one year and allowed to rest the next. Springs and rivulets impeded progress and were finally choked into subordination to the laws, and buried without ceremony. Litigations arose involving the rights and privileges of citizens, and questioning the vast extent and complexity of powers assumed by the corporation. The investigation of land-titles was troublesome, and

the settlement and collection of assessments upon individual property attended with an incalculable amount of hinderance and vexation.

The entrance-gate to the Bayard country-seat was on the Bowery road, and the location of the private avenue called Bayard's Lane was nearly on the line of Broome Street, until torn away by the cartmen. The property had been very much cut up by military works during the Revolution. From it, also, in anticipation of the great future for real estate, lots had been sold fronting on Broadway, and some few buildings erected, although chiefly of an inferior class — so long as the discordant action relating to the digging of the ditch in Canal Street continued. Poplar-trees were planted in 1809 along the line of Broadway between Spring Street and Art Street, now Astor Place. The other farm of Nicholas Bayard, known as the West farm, comprising one hundred or more acres, and bounded on the north by Amity Lane and the Herring farm, on the east by Broadway, on the south by the line of Prince Street, and on the west by what was the Henry and Elias Brevoort farm prior to 1755, extended irregularly southwest to McDougall Street. Having been mortgaged, and fallen into the hands of trustees, it was laid out into lots and streets, and sold in parcels. Another farm belonging to one of the Brevoort family extended from Tenth Street to Fourteenth, and from the Bowery on the east to a part of the old estate of Sir Peter Warren on the west.

The property of this English nobleman of the former century, Sir Peter Warren, embraced not less than two hundred and sixty acres, ninety-one of which rested upon the line of Christopher Street on the south, and that of Ganesvoort Street on the north, bounded by the old Greenwich road on the east. He married the daughter of Stephen De Lancey and granddaughter of Stephanus Van Cortlandt, the first lord of the Van Cortlandt manor, who had great possessions. The estate became vested in Richard Amos, John Ireland, and Abijah Hammond, chiefly under Lord Willoughby, who married Sir Peter Warren's daughter.[1]

The commissioners, Gouverneur Morris, Simeon De Witt, and John Rutherford, in their task of laying out the whole island of Manhattan to Kingsbridge into streets and avenues, under the act of 1807, encountered the most novel and unexpected difficulties. Numerous farmers and mechanics of small means had purchased plots of land in various places, laid out and cultivated gardens, and erected comfortable dwellings. When they discovered that the city was about to run streets wherever it pleased, regardless of individual proprietorship, and that their houses

[1] See diagram in the Appendix to *Murray Hoffman's Treatise upon the Estate and Rights of the Corporation of the City of New York*, Vol. III. For sketch of Sir Peter Warren's mansion overlooking the Hudson, see Vol. I. p. 588.

and lots were in danger of being invaded and cut in two, or swept off the face of the earth altogether, they esteemed themselves wronged and outraged. At the approach of engineers, with their measuring instruments, maps, and chain-bearers, dogs were brought into service, and whole families sometimes united in driving them out of their lots, as if they were common vagrants. On one occasion, while drawing the line of an avenue directly through the kitchen of an estimable old woman, who had sold vegetables for a living upwards of twenty years, they were pelted with cabbages and artichokes until they were compelled to retreat in the exact reverse of good order. They adopted the method of parallel streets across the island, numbering towards the north from Houston Street, at which point their special labors began. The streets were intersected with avenues one hundred feet wide, extending to the extreme northern limit of the island, twelve of which numbered eastward from First Avenue, the remainder to the east being designated by the letters of the alphabet, A, B, C, and D. In their report, under date of March 22, 1811, the commissioners explained why they had set apart space for an immense reservoir, believing the city must sooner or later be supplied with water from the country above the Harlem River; and they half apologized for having provided for a greater population than was collected at any spot this side of China, while they did not presume "the grounds north of Harlem Flats would be covered with houses for centuries to come." The avenues were aged to extend south as far as the boundary marked out by the statute he exception of Fourth Avenue, which was lost in Union Square



Diagram.
[Showing condition of a part of Broadway in 1810.]

at Fifteenth Street. The commissioners were perplexed at this place. The Bowery road curved somewhat in passing through the present site of Union Square, and from about Sixteenth Street pursued a straight course towards Bloomingdale. The meeting of so many large roads at one point naturally involved considerable space for security and convenience. Broadway had been opened in an undeviating straight line from the Battery to Tenth Street, from which point a slight divergence westward was perceptible; and it seemed desirable to continue this great central thoroughfare along the line of the Bloomingdale road. By straightening Fourth Avenue into the Bowery road, a narrow, irregular, shapeless tract of land was left open. If the cross-streets should be laid through it, as elsewhere, it would be cut into morsels and rendered valueless. Owners of property in the vicinity differed widely in their wishes and opinions concerning it. While attempting to regulate Broadway in 1806 it was found necessary to call in assessors to settle claims for damages. Some time must elapse before any of the contemplated cross-streets could be opened, in any event; thus the troublesome subject was allowed to rest. In 1815 an act was passed appointing Union Place, as it was called, which was occasionally used as a Potters' Field, for public purposes. But its only ornamentation for the following ten years was a miserable group of shanties. It was as late as 1832 before the city corporation resolved to have it enlarged and regulated; and not before 1845, after one hundred and sixteen thousand dollars had been expended upon it, were the elegant mansions projected which in the course of events received an influx of fashionable residents, rendering this charming square for more than a decade the Court end of the city.

The farm of Henry Spingler, some twenty-two acres, extended along the west side of the Bowery road from Fourteenth Street to Sixteenth. He had purchased it in 1788 from the executors of John Smith for nine hundred and fifty pounds sterling, it having been originally a part of the large estate of Elias Brevoort, purchased by Smith twenty-six years before. The Brevoorts divided up and sold other portions of their landed property both above and below, and a succession of suburban residences were established in the vicinity — many of which, however, were removed in consequence of the line of Fourth Avenue cutting diagonally through them. The mansion of Henry Brevoort fronted the Bowery road, and, according to the plan of the commissioners, Eleventh Street would occupy the same site. He resisted the opening of the street with such determination and effect that although ordinances were passed in 1836 and in 1849, they were rescinded. To this day the block remains undisturbed, Eleventh Street having no passage-way between Broadway and Fourth Avenue.

The homestead property of Henry Brevoort extended back from his house to a point between Fifth and Sixth Avenues.

Adjoining the Brevoort farm was the notable estate of Andrew Elliott, son of Sir Gilbert Elliott, Lord Chief Justice Clerk of Scotland, who was receiver-general of the province of New York under the Crown. This also fronted the Bowery road, and the handsome mansion he erected before the Revolution stood back so far that Broadway, when cut through, clipped its rear porch. It was the property and residence of Baron Poelnitz at the time of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, who sold it in 1790 to Robert Richard Randall. The latter resided here until his death. By his will, made in 1801, he established one of the most munificent charities in the country for the support of aged, infirm, and worn-out seamen, chiefly on the basis of this estate; he directed the erection of an edifice to be called the "Sailors' Snug Harbor," by which name the property was known for many years. The buildings, for good and sufficient reasons, were erected on the north shore of Staten Island in 1833.

The junction of the Bloomingdale road with the Old Boston Road, at what is now Madison Square, left another piece of corporation land in a deformed and unsightly condition. It had been used in early times as a Potters' Field, but in 1806 the city ceded it to the United States government for the erection of an arsenal, and it was thus occupied until 1823, when an institution of which we shall speak more at length hereafter was founded upon its site.

Notwithstanding the election combinations and conflicts of the period, comparatively few changes occurred from year to year among the aldermen of the city. Men of ability and position were required for the management of municipal affairs, those who commanded the respect and confidence of the community at large. Each alderman looked after the interests of his ward, and gave personal attention to the enforcement of the laws within its limits. Indeed, an alderman was then really and truly a guardian of the city. And no graver responsibility ever devolved upon a corporate body of citizens than that of providing for the prosperous future of New York while yet its site was largely but a picturesque and diversified landscape. During the early years of the century such names appear on the lists of "City Fathers" as Robert Lenox, Mangle Minthorne, Jacob Le Roy, Stephen Ludlow, Henry Brevoort, George Janeway, Wynant Van Zandt, Robert Bogardus, Samuel Torbet, Jacob Mott, muel Kip, John Slidell, Benjamin Haight, Jasper Ward, Joseph Watts, John Hopper, and Simon Van Antwerp. Many of the aldermen ed from six to a dozen years in succession; as, for instance, Peter r from 1807 to 1818; Augustus H. Lawrence from 1809 to 1816;

Elisha W. King from 1810 to 1815, and again from 1818 to 1824; Samuel Jones from 1809 to 1817; Reuben Munson from 1813 to 1823; and Colonel Nicholas Fish from 1806 to 1817.

The death of Lieutenant-Governor Broome in 1810 necessitated the choice of a successor, and De Witt Clinton consented to accept the nomination. This was a matter of surprise to those who had not supposed he was willing to admit himself to be of less political consequence than Tompkins, the governor; and Clinton was, moreover, the mayor of the city, deriving emoluments equal to fourteen thousand dollars per annum. A section of the Republican party, called "the Martling Men," afterwards the "Tammany party," from their place of rendezvous in "Martling's Long Room," Tammany Hall, opposite City Hall Park, met immediately upon hearing of De Witt Clinton's nomination, determined upon his defeat, and, after passing resolutions, with a preamble to the effect that they believed Mr. Clinton was cherishing interests distinct and separate from the general interests of the Republican party, and bent "upon establishing in his person a pernicious family aristocracy," they nominated Colonel Marinus Willett for lieutenant-governor, and appointed Dr. Mitchill, Matthew L. Davis, John Ferguson, Teunis Wortman, and others, a committee to promote his election. Mangle Minthorne, the father-in-law of the governor, presided at this meeting. The Federalists nominated and supported Colonel Nicholas Fish as their candidate for lieutenant-governor.

The election occurred in April; and such was the disposition of Clinton's opponents in the city, and the popularity of Colonel Fish, 1811.
that while Clinton received but five hundred and ninety votes, and Willett six hundred and seventy-eight, Fish actually received two thousand and forty-four. But despite the vigorous efforts of many gentlemen of great influence and weight of character to detach from Clinton the support of his party, the estimation in which he was held by the Republicans in other parts of the State, and the general confidence his talents and integrity had hitherto inspired, prevented any serious results, and he was elected. He filled the position of lieutenant-governor of New York until 1813, during which time he was the peace candidate for the Presidency of the United States, receiving eighty-nine electoral votes in opposition to Madison.

Colonel Nicholas Fish was the Revolutionary officer who has been frequently mentioned heretofore; he was in the confidence of Washington, and regarded as an excellent disciplinarian. In 1797 he became president of the New York Society of the Cincinnati. He was a New-Yorker by birth, and a lawyer by profession; also one of the most active members of

several of the early religious literary and benevolent institutions of the city. He was at this time about fifty-three years of age, a representative citizen, of elegant scholarship, refinement, and good breeding. His wife was Elizabeth Stuyvesant, the great-great-granddaughter of Governor Stuyvesant, and a descendant through her mother, Margaret Livingston, of the first lord of Livingston manor. Peter Gerard Stuyvesant, afterwards president of the Historical Society, and Nicholas William Stuyvesant were her brothers; and Mrs. Benjamin Winthrop and Mrs. Dirck Ten Broeck were her sisters. The lawyer and statesman, Hon. Hamilton Fish, who was governor of New York in 1850, and Secretary of State during the eight years' administration of President Grant, was the son of Colonel Nicholas and Elizabeth Stuyvesant Fish, born in New York City in 1809.



Colonel Nicholas Fish.

The city was visited by a terrible conflagration in May, 1811, a fire breaking out in Chatham Street, near Duane, one Sunday morning, which consumed between eighty and one hundred good buildings. The firemen were baffled by the wind in their exertions to check the flames, and the scene became very exciting and impressive. The Brick Church was in danger, its spire being lighted by the flying embers; and all eyes were turned in that direction. Presently a sailor appeared on the roof of the edifice and climbed up the steeple hand over hand, clinging only to the rusty, slender iron of the lightning-rod. The perilous ascent was watched with breathless anxiety by the vast multitude collected in the

vicinity. He must hold on, or fall and perish. If he should succeed in reaching the part of the steeple that was blazing, what could he do? How, unaided, extinguish the fire? Neither hose nor bucket could be sent to his assistance. The crisis came swiftly, and a prolonged shout rent the air as the brave man, firmly grasping the lightning-rod with one hand, caught his hat from his head in the other and with it literally beat out the flames with strong, quick, nervous, incessant blows. When his work was accomplished he slowly and safely descended to the ground, and quickly disappeared in the crowd. A reward was offered for the hero who performed the noble, daring, and generous act, but he never came forward to claim it. The cupola of the old jail, which stood on the spot now occupied by the Hall of Records, also took fire, but the building was saved through the exertions of one of the prisoners.

In the midst of the desolation caused by the burning of so much property, public attention was divided between the report of the commissioners concerning the internal navigation of New York and the aggressions of Great Britain. It would be in vain to inquire who first conceived the prodigious idea of connecting Lake Erie with the Atlantic Ocean. Nor would the original thought, if traced to its native brain, reflect special credit upon the individual proprietor, unless he did something towards the execution of the project. Many intelligent and scientific New York men had opportunities for acquiring all the knowledge connected with the matter, and the notion was undoubtedly common to hundreds at the same time. The embargo and consequent prostration of commerce, together with the substitution of non-intercourse, and the general belief that the country was rapidly drifting into another war with its ancient enemy, created an intense desire for the opening of a direct route of communication between the tide-waters of the Hudson River and the western lakes. 1811.

Experiments had been tried to improve the navigation of the Mohawk with small canals and lockage some time before the close of the last century. Christopher Colles was several times before the Legislature with enterprises for the public good, all of which were thought too mighty for the public resources;[1] he received some encouragement, however, in relation to connecting the Mohawk with Lake Ontario. General Philip

[1] **Christopher Colles**, the philosopher, was born in Ireland in 1738, and died in New York in 1821. He was left an orphan at an early age, and was educated by the Bishop of Ossory, upon whose death in 1765 he left Ireland for America. In 1773 he delivered a series of lectures in New York upon inland lock navigation, and in 1774 he proposed to build a reservoir for New York City. He surveyed the country of the Mohawk prior to 1785, and published a book on roads through New York; he also subsequently published a pamphlet on inland navigable communications. He was one of the eminently useful men of his day and generation.

Schuyler was one of the most efficient promoters of the important measure, which developed finally into the great canal system of New York.[1] He studied out a plan of locks to overcome the descent in the Mohawk at Little Falls, and as the success of the project would depend largely upon the favor with which it was received by the Dutch settlers, he visited the region and, calling a meeting at a country tavern, unfolded his views. His audience listened attentively. The astute Dutchmen perceived the advantages, and were pleased with the prospect of the Mohawk's bearing the commerce of the State past their own doors, but they did not understand how the boats could ascend the Little Falls. The general explained the principle of locks in vain. They shook their heads and shrugged their shoulders. They liked the general, and would take his word for almost anything, but they could not be made to believe that water would run up hill. The unsatisfactory meeting was finally adjourned, the Dutchmen going to their beds, and the general retiring to worry over his failure. All at once he arose, and lighting his candle, took a knife and a few shingles and went into the yard, where he dug a miniature canal of two different levels and connected them by a lock of shingles. Then providing himself with a pail of water he summoned the Dutchmen from their beds, and pouring the water into the ditch, locked a chip through from the lower to the upper level. "Vell! vell! General!" the Dutchmen cried, "now ve understands, and ve all goes mit you and the canal!"

The works at Little Falls — a canal about two and three fourths miles in length, with five locks — were completed in 1796. Governor George Clinton had recommended to the Legislature in 1791 the policy of "taking measures to facilitate the means of communication with the frontier settlements"; and during the same session an act was passed by which commissioners were directed to survey the section between the Hudson River and Wood Creek, and to report an estimate of the expense of making canals between the two points. During the same year Elkanah Watson journeyed through the State and published essays which influenced public opinion greatly in favor of canals. In 1792 an inland navigation company was incorporated, the act being draughted by General Schuyler, who was chosen its first president. Thomas Eddy, the philanthropist, Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, Barent Bleecker, Elkanah Watson, and Robert Bowne were among its most active and important members. To a herculean a task did it appear to build a canal of a few miles in length, that the company was allowed fifteen years to accomplish its objects. But, succeeding in the enterprise at Little Falls, it soon con-

[1] *Memoir* by Cadwallader D. Colden; *Randall's History of New York State; Eastman's History of New York; Letter from General John Cochrane to the author.*

structed a canal of a mile and a quarter in length at the German Flats, and completed a canal connecting the Mohawk with Wood Creek in 1797 — in all less than seven miles. Some years afterwards its improvements had so far progressed that a boat might pass from Schenectady into the Oneida Lake; but the great expenditure necessitated heavy tolls, and these canals were little used. Land carriage and the natural rivers were generally preferred.

Prior to 1800 no definite idea of a canal from Lake Erie to the Hudson appears to have existed. The company above mentioned only aimed to improve the natural water-courses. In the summer of 1800 Gouverneur Morris visited some property of his own and some that had been confided to his care by others in the northern parts of the State, and extended his journey to Montreal, thence down the St. Lawrence to Lake Ontario, and by land to Lake Erie. He wrote to John Parish in January, 1801: "hundreds of large ships will, at no distant period, bound on the billows of these inland seas. The proudest empire in Europe is but a bawble compared to what America will be, must be, in the course of two centuries; perhaps of one! One tenth of the expense borne by Britain in the last campaign would enable ships to sail from London through the Hudson River into Lake Erie. As yet, my friend, we only crawl along the outer shell of our country." To Henry Lee he wrote before the end of the same month upon the subject of making "a conquest of the finest country on the earth" through commodious internal navigation, similar in character but on a much more extended plan than that which he said had been "feebly and faintly attempted by a private company between the Mohawk and Lake Ontario."

The remarkable topography of New York became a favorite topic of conversation, and the practicability of the canal a fixed fact in the minds of many influential citizens as the years rolled on. Gouverneur Morris, Jesse Hawley, and James Geddes of Onondaga wrote frequently upon the subject for the press. In 1810 James Geddes reported to the surveyor-general, Simeon De Witt, the result of a survey made by himself, which was communicated to the Legislature. Jonas Platt at once proposed a resolution, which was promptly supported by De Witt Clinton and unanimously adopted, appointing Gouverneur Morris, Stephen Van Rensselaer, William North, Thomas Eddy, and Peter B. Porter, commissioners "to explore the whole route for inland navigation, from the Hudson River to Lake Ontario, and to Lake Erie." This was accomplished during the summer and autumn of the same year.

Their report, drawn up by Morris, who acted as president of the board, and signed by each of the commissioners, was published in the spring of

1811. De Witt Clinton immediately introduced a bill into the Legislature, which passed into a law April 8, 1811, investing the commissioners with "power to manage all matters relating to the navigation between the Hudson and the Lakes." This law, the first passed on the subject of the great canals, added Chancellor Livingston and Robert Fulton to the board of commissioners. It was authorized to apply to other States and to Congress for co-operation and aid; to ascertain if loans could be procured to the extent of five millions of dollars; and to treat with the Inland Lock Navigation Companies for a surrender of their rights and interests. The Legislature was induced to give the commissioners power to apply to Congress, because reliance was placed on the seeming promise of President Jefferson in his message of 1807, and on the report of Secretary Gallatin, who, although not having mentioned the Erie Canal, was supposed to be warmly in favor of enterprises of this nature; Gouverneur Morris and De Witt Clinton proceeded to Washington in order to promote by their presence the success of the application to the general government. But while the project was thought no less interesting to the nation than to the State in which it was to be executed, it met with little favor. It was not absolutely rejected. But the answer received was, that nothing could be done for New York that was not done for the other States; thus the matter was left for future action. Evidently Congress had the power to afford assistance, if it was its pleasure to do so; and the disappointment was severe when, in 1817, President Madison conceived that "the Constitution would not permit an appropriation of any part of the national funds or means to these purposes."

This disappointment was the greater since no objection was made by the President to acts of Congress appropriating very large sums for roads in Maryland, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and elsewhere. It was not well understood how the Constitution could allow an appropriation for roads and not permit a water highway.

New York was so fortunate as to be able in the end to complete her canals without any extraneous aid. The other States sent their best wishes — not one of them a dollar. "Happily for us," wrote Colden, "the objection of the executive prevailed so long as the State of New York needed the aid of the general government; and, most happily for ery other State in the Union, these scruples have since entirely sub- and we are gratified that in similar enterprises they will not only by funds from the National Treasury, but will have the assist- distinguished foreigners and natives who are employed in the rtments of the general government."

When the Erie Canal was completed, as Colden said, "without the interference of Congress," a polite petition from New York for the privilege of enjoying it in the same manner was not out of place. Congress was requested "not to sanction any such pretension as of late made by some of its revenue officers, that our canal-boats, traversing our hills and valleys in an artificial channel made by ourselves, entirely within our own territory, hundreds of miles from the sea, and six or seven hundred feet above its level, were engaged in the coasting trade of the United States — and that they must, therefore, take custom-house licenses, and pay a tax to the general government."

But from the time of these movements in 1811 until the conclusion of the second war with Great Britain, little appears to have been done towards carrying into effect the scheme which the new law made practicable. The State was obliged to employ its funds on objects properly belonging to the general government; and the commissioners met with great opposition from those who would not believe that the hand of man could effect such a stupendous work.

Dr. Hugh Williamson published a series of newspaper articles on canal navigation, and an essay entitled *Observations on Navigable Canals;* also, *Observations on the Means of preserving the Commerce of New York.* His writings were argumentative, possessing an element of power that converted multitudes. He was an enthusiast, and proved a most able and effective advocate of the canal policy. Being a resident of the city, he was in intimate association with the magnates of the period; he was also connected with many of the medical, literary, and philanthropic institutions of New York, contributing generously to her material interests. His biography was subsequently written by Dr. Hosack, and his portrait was painted by Trumbull.

In all prominent movements connected with the arts, the drama, literature, medicine, city improvements, or State affairs Dr. Hosack bore a conspicuous part. For thirty or more years he was a leading practitioner in the city, and distinguished beyond all rivals in the art of healing. He is universally acknowledged, also, to have been the most eloquent and impressive teacher of scientific medicine and clinical practice this country had as yet produced. His manner was pleasing, and his descriptive powers and his diagnosis were the admiration of all. His efficiency in rearing the College of Physicians and Surgeons to a state of high consideration won for him the respect of the whole Republic; and his early efforts to establish a medical library in the New York Hospital, his co-operation with the numerous charities which glorify the metropolis, his primary formation of a mineralogical cabinet, his copious writings on fevers,

quarantines, and foreign pestilence, his biographical essays, prepared in a style of great elegance, and his adventurous outlay in establishing the Botanical Garden evinced the lofty aspirations which marked his whole career as a citizen. It was a frequent remark in New York during his lifetime that Clinton, Hosack, and Hobart were the tripod upon which the city stood. Through his fondness for society he exercised a strong



David Hosack, M. D., F. R. S.
[From the painting by Sully.]

personal influence. He gave Saturday evening parties, and, surrounded by his large and costly library and his works of art, there never was a more genial and captivating host. Great divines, jurists, statesmen, philosophers, philanthropists, physicians, merchants, scholars, authors, artists, editors, educated men in any specialty, and distinguished foreigners, were summoned to his entertainments, and charmed with his liberal hospi-

tality. Indeed, his house was the resort of the learned and enlightened from every part of the world. No European traveler rested satisfied without a personal interview with Dr. Hosack, who received many a deserved compliment in the foreign journals and books of travels; the Duke of Saxe-Weimer mentions in his diary the social prominence of the Hosack Saturday evenings.

Thomas Sully, who was keenly alive to the refined phases of life, was anxious to paint Dr. Hosack's portrait. He came to New York after having passed through a severe ordeal of privation and discouragement, and was introduced to some of the leading characters of the city by Robert Fulton. He was cordially welcomed by Dr. Hosack, who promptly consented to sit for his picture. Sully had an extremely dexterous method of crystallizing better moments, of fixing happy attitudes, and of seizing upon felicitous combinations. Thus we find the celebrated Botanical Garden founded by Dr. Hosack deftly introduced into the background of his portrait, with some of the volumes he had produced resting carelessly upon the table by his side. The value of the picture is greatly enhanced through this illustration of the peculiar aptitude of the gifted artist. The handsome, finely moulded features of Dr. Hosack, as revealed upon the canvas, express singular sweetness of character, and his graceful costume and air of high breeding are most effectively represented. Sully did not at any time reside permanently in New York, but he was employed on various occasions to delineate celebrated people, as, for instance, in painting the portrait of Commodore Decatur for the city. He thus became well known, and a universal favorite. He was unassuming, amiable, and intelligent, with a quick eye for whatever of grace was discernible in the whole range of literature and art. His association with such men as Mayor Clinton, Dr. Mitchill, Thomas Addis Emmet, who aided materially in giving immortality to Irish genius and private worth, Gouverneur Morris, Josiah Ogden Hoffman, Cadwallader D. Colden, Dr. Macneven, who in addition to his prominence as a physician and a surgeon was an accomplished scholar and writer, and Dr. Hosack, favored his ambitious tendencies. No American artist ever enjoyed more permanent social esteem and sympathy. His portraits are widely scattered, and may be found in all the principal cities of the United States. He spent the greater part of his life in Philadelphia.

Governor Tompkins, in his speech to the Legislature at the opening of the session in 1812, took occasion to protest in strong terms against the increase of a paper currency through the growing tendency to the multiplication of banks of issue. But he made no mention whatever of internal improvements. On the 14th of February commis- 1812.

... common-school system for the State of ... and the report, accompanied by a bill for ... became a law.

... was introduced for the charter of the Bank of ... York, with a capital of six millions of dollars; ... which was to be paid over for the benefit of the ... one hundred thousand to the literature fund for the ... academies, one hundred thousand to the State ... duration of twenty years, provided no other bank ... period receive a charter, one million to be loaned to ... construction of canals, and another million to farmers ... the promotion of agriculture and manufactures throughout ...

... Tompkins was vehemently opposed to this project. The ... the Bank of the United States, and the failure to procure ... in Pennsylvania, had thrown back into the hands of the stockholders a large amount of uninvested cash capital. It was plainly to be ... this juncture, however deluded the inhabitants of Philadelphia may have previously been, that the city of New York, and not Philadelphia, was destined to become the great commercial emporium of North America. Hence the capitalists and others interested in establishing a gigantic moneyed institution had turned their eyes towards the Island of Manhattan. They had also been courting the favor of politicians who wielded power in the Legislature of New York, that their application for a charter might not be in vain. De Witt Clinton declared himself opposed to the new bank, but thought the question of its charter ought not to be made a party test; whereupon he was charged fiercely with having his eye upon the Presidency of the nation, and with accepting the promise of support from the friends of the bank as the price of his neutrality. His enemies scouted the whole question of canals as visionary and absurd. A proposed railroad from the earth to the moon could not elicit more derision to-day than the idea of a canal from the Hudson River to Lake Erie did then — at least among the unsympathizing politicians. They pronounced the canal scheme a ridiculous hobby on which Clinton would ride into power if possible.

When the bill passed the House by a strong majority, all the Federalists and a part of the Republicans voting for it, and when its passage by the Senate was inevitable, Governor Tompkins resorted to an
March 17. extraordinary power — conferred indeed upon the governor by ... constitution of New York as it then stood, but never exercised except this single instance. He prorogued the Legislature for sixty days,

giving as a reason that attempts had been made to bribe the members.[1] The scene upon the reading of the governor's message was one of confusion and uproar, and for a few moments outrage and violence. The bank advocates charged Tompkins with having his own eye fixed upon the Presidency, and said his bold exercise of the remnant of royal prerogative, unsuitable to the genius of our government, was for the express purpose of preventing the nomination of Clinton. Intense excitement ensued. On the 21st of May the Legislature reassembled, and the bill for chartering the Bank of America almost immediately passed both Houses. Oliver Wolcott, late of the Merchants' Bank, and former Secretary of the Treasury, became its first president. A few days later De Witt Clinton received the nomination for President of the United States from the Republicans of the State of New York, not, however, without violent opposition from Morgan Lewis and from the old Burr party. A very large faction throughout the country, distrusting the energy of Madison, was favorably disposed towards Clinton, while several of the influential newspapers were filled with constant flings at the feebleness and irresolution of the administration.

May 21.

May 28.

The grave question of war at this moment occupied all minds. The friends of peace were in terrible consternation. A New York member of Congress wished to know what was the situation of our fortresses, and our preparations generally, and called attention to a letter from Judge Livingston, who stated that the forts at New York had neither cannon nor men. Henry Clay replied with angry vehemence that he did not want, on this subject, Brockholst Livingston's opinions, or those of anybody else. Gentlemen who said so much about want of preparations were really opposed to war. After the injuries we had received he should support war measures. Weak as we were said to be, we could fight France and England both if necessary. An Indian war was raging in the West, which he thought had been excited by the British. We had complete proof that Great Britain would do everything to destroy us, and resolution and spirit were our only security. Dr. Mitchill said the British were a proud, overbearing nation, who thought they had a right to

[1] At the September term of the Circuit Court, held in Chenango County, David Thomas, the State Treasurer, was indicted and tried before Judge William W. Van Ness for attempting to bribe Casper M. Rouse, one of the State senators, during the pendency of the bill for the charter of the Bank of America. No sufficient proof of the charge having been produced, Thomas was acquitted. Solomon Southwick, editor of the Albany Register, was also tried and acquitted during the same month of September before Chief Justice Kent, for an attempted bribery of Alexander Sheldon, Speaker of the Assembly. Thomas Addis Emmet, recently appointed attorney-general of New York in place of Matthias B. Hildreth, deceased, conducted these prosecutions on the part of the State.

despise us because we were not united enough to fight them. "With a population of seven millions, we should not be frightened by political screech-owls."

The relations existing between the United States and Great Britain had been for several years of an anomalous and unsettled character. While the two governments were not in a state of declared hostilities, the irritating discussions of many knotty questions of international and maritime law, with the collisions of antagonistic opinions and pretensions, had created and kept alive a vindictive feeling in both countries; and the criminations and recriminations which formed the burden of diplomatic correspondence, as well as the prominent topics of newspaper controversies, seemed to point with unerring certainty towards the field of battle. Great Britain took no special care to prevent war — incensed by the supposed leaning of the United States towards France — believing that in such an event she would quickly prove the vast superiority of her naval power in decisive victory, and in defeat and disgrace on the part of the United States.

Two parties opposed the war in America: the old Federalists on the ground that we had equal or greater cause for war with France than Great Britain; and the Clintonians and others, because the country was notoriously unprepared for the commencement of hostilities. A very large majority of the old Republican party were in favor of the war. For the time, war became the sole subject of disputation between the political parties which existed in the country.

Madison was averse to war in any shape; under the pressure of circumstances he was willing to sign a bill declaring hostilities, but wished to take no further responsibility. The leaders of the war party were inexorable. A committee headed by the imperious Clay waited upon the President with an intimation that he must consent to recommend a declaration war, or he would not be supported for the next term of the Presidency. must be his war, not the war of a few hot-headed statesmen. The President yielded finally to this hard condition. On the 20th of June, the same day that the New York Legislature adjourned, the ent forth, and war was declared by the United States of America Great Britain.

CHAPTER XLV.

1812-1814.

THE WAR.

[INSECURITY OF NEW YORK. — CONDITION OF EUROPE. — HOSTILITY TO THE WAR. — NEW YORK PRIVATEERS. — PLAN OF THE CAMPAIGN. — OFFICERS OF THE ARMY. — HULL'S EXPEDITION TO DETROIT. — THE NEW YORK ARMY. — GENERAL VAN RENSSELAER. — ALEXANDER MACOMB. — DEATH OF VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE CLINTON. — COLONEL SOLOMON VAN RENSSELAER. — THE NIAGARA FRONTIER IN 1812. — SURRENDER OF DETROIT. — MASSACRE OF CHICAGO. — SAVAGES COMING EAST. — CREATING AN INLAND NAVY. — CAPTAIN ISAAC CHAUNCY. — NEW YORK SHIPBUILDERS ON THE LAKES. — ELLIOTT'S DARING EXPLOIT. — STORMING OF QUEENSTOWN. — DEFEAT OF THE AMERICANS. — ELECTION OF PRESIDENT. — COMMODORE HULL'S CAPTURE OF THE GUERRIERE. — JONES' CAPTURE OF THE FROLIC. — DECATUR'S CAPTURE OF THE MACEDONIAN. — THE VICTORY OF BAINBRIDGE. — BANQUET TO THE VICTORS. — PECULIAR SITUATION OF NEW YORK CITY. — SHOCKING MASSACRE AT FRENCHTOWN. — LAWRENCE'S CAPTURE OF THE PEACOCK. — CELEBRATION OF VICTORY IN NEW YORK. — COMBAT OF THE CHESAPEAKE AND SHANNON. — DEATH OF LAWRENCE. — EXPLOITS ON THE ST. LAWRENCE. — PERRY'S VICTORY ON LAKE ERIE. — RECOVERY OF DETROIT. — BATTLE OF THE THAMES. — TECUMSEH KILLED. — STORMING OF FORT GEORGE. — THE BLOCKADE OF NEW YORK CITY. — GARDINER'S ISLAND. — THE CREEK WAR. — THE EMBARGO.

NEVER was an offensive war voluntarily undertaken in the face of such untoward circumstances. The youngest nation in the world, with self-reliant audacity, had buckled on her armor to compel one of the oldest, haughtiest, and most powerful of nations to respect her maritime rights. Would she succeed? The plan, so far as any definite plan was matured, was to invade and conquer the contiguous British provinces in America. But no financial provisions were yet made adequate for the vigorous prosecution of hostilities, no army was in readiness, no commanders had received the needful training, no just conception of the nature and character of the coming conflict existed, and the entire naval force of the United States consisted of eight frigates and twelve sloops — with a few smaller vessels — while the proud mistress of the ocean gloried in a navy embracing one thousand and sixty sail. 1812.

New York was exposed on every side. Her Canadian frontier of many hundred miles, and her defenseless harbor, were regarded with dismay by her inhabitants. A war of invasion would doubtless invite a war of inva-

sion. What was to prevent Great Britain from sending her ships through the Narrows or Long Island Sound, and taking possession of the city?

The victorious Napoleon was at this moment pushing towards Moscow in his struggle for universal dominion. His good understanding with the Russian Emperor had not been destined to endure. Both nations were, for months prior to this date, making formidable preparations for war.

June 24. Five days after the United States declared war against Great Britain, Napoleon crossed the Niemen, with an immense and splendid army, to oppose three hundred thousand Russians, who retired step by step before the invaders. The French encountered tempests, rains, and famine as the summer rolled on, but they still advanced. At Borodino, on the morning of the 6th of September, a battle ensued in which upwards of two hundred and fifty thousand men were engaged, and when the curtain of night fell upon the scene ninety thousand were among the slain. It decided the fate of Moscow, and on the 15th Napoleon rode into the ancient capital in triumph; but suddenly, at midnight, the glare of a thousand flames shot into the sky, and the baffled French, enveloped in fire, fled to the desolate surrounding country for refuge.

Great Britain had united with Russia, Sweden, and Spain against France, Prussia, Italy, Austria, and Poland. The Duke of Wellington commanded the armies of Great Britain in the Spanish Peninsula, and exhibited a degree of military skill and activity which was holding the marshals of Napoleon firmly in check, and which courted the presence of the Grand Master of War himself. Affairs in Europe thus left Great Britain free to send as many ships as necessary against America.

The worst feature of the situation on this side of the Atlantic was the lack of unanimity and concord on the part of the American people in prosecuting the war. Several of the States from whence men and money must come disapproved of the action of the government. Constantly recurring disputes and discords among politicians proved serious obstacles in the way of raising an efficient army. Boston, so illustrious in the Revolutionary conflict, upon hearing the news of the declaration of the second war, denounced the President and the whole war-party, while the flags of her shipping were hoisted at half-mast in token of mourning and humiliation. All New England resounded with invectives of a style and violence without parallel elsewhere in history. Josiah Quincy opposed the measure in Congress to the last. His fluency of speech in debate, his withering sarcasm of tongue and pen, his sterling worth in private life, his family connections and influence, together with his handsome and commanding presence, had made him peerless as a leader. Yet he was in the minority. He was caricatured by one of the artists of the day as

a king — upon his head a crown, his coat scarlet, his knee-breeches light green, his stockings white silk, and two codfishes crossed upon his left breast; he held a scepter in his hand, proclaiming himself "Josiah the First, King of New England; Grand Master of the Noble Order of the Two Codfishes." But no amount of ridicule could kill the force of his arguments, which were scattered broadcast, and repeated by every school-boy in his native State: "Is national honor a principle which thirsts after vengeance and is appeased only by blood? When we visit the peaceable, and, to us, innocent colonies of Canada with the horrors of war, can we be assured that our own coast will not be visited with like horrors? What are the United States to gain by this war? Will Canada compensate the Middle States for New York, or the Western States for New Orleans?"

The clergy, the State authorities, the merchants, the lawyers, the wealth and the talent of New England, declared, as with one voice, that the war had been instituted on the most frivolous and groundless pretenses. In the Middle and Southern States there was greater diversity of sentiment. Many were hostile to the war, but thought the time for discussion was ended. In the West the war-spirit prevailed over all opposition, and the bold pioneers were ready, almost without exception, to fight the British, whom they cordially hated.

New York was torn with conflicting opinions. A large portion of her substantial citizens believed "that the declaration of war was neither necessary, nor expedient, nor seasonable, but, having been constitutionally declared, should be supported in the manner prescribed by constitutional laws." Great outrages were committed in Baltimore — upon law and humanity, as well as the liberty of the press — because of the persistent and scathing opposition to the war by one of the Federal newspapers, and several valuable lives were lost in the riot that ensued. But to the honor of New York be it spoken, few and unimportant were the audible murmurs after the news of the positive action of the government reached the city. An immense meeting in the Park, June 24, with Colonel Henry Rutgers president, and Colonel Marinus Willett secretary, unanimously resolved "to lay aside all animosity and private bickering, and aid the authorities in constructing fortifications"; also, to unite in arms on the first approach of the enemy, and defend the city to the last extremity.

The wealthy inhabitants contributed magnanimously from their private purses; military companies were organized and drilled; men of all trades and avocations offered to labor on the works of defense about the city; and through individual enterprise alone New York fitted out and sent

to sea from her port, within four months after the declaration of war, twenty-six privateers, carrying two hundred and twelve guns and two thousand two hundred and thirty-nine men.[1] Fortresses had been in slow process of erection in the harbor since 1808. Governor's Island possessed a regular inclosed work of masonry, with a brick magazine, a furnace for heating balls red-hot, barracks, and an inexhaustible well of good water. The neighboring islands were fortified, and one or two forts had been projected in the city itself. Two hundred and twenty-eight pieces of artillery were reported to Congress, December 17, 1811, as fit for use; and it was stated that "three thousand three hundred and two artillerists" would be required for their operation.[2] But it was none the less apparent that the city and harbor were but feebly prepared to resist an attack from a powerful foe, and men were employed without delay in erecting new forts and strengthening those already existing.

The plan of the campaign was formed at Washington. The buoyant, persuasive, imperious speaker, Clay, and the ambitious and intrepid Calhoun, then a member of Congress, and but thirty years of age, both aspiring to leadership, were inexhaustibly supplied with ingenious arguments in support of aggressive warfare. Madison first thought of appointing Clay commander-in-chief; but the brilliant Kentuckian was unacquainted with military science, and, moreover, was wanted at Washington. Of the Revolutionary officers but few survived. Henry Dearborn had distinguished himself under General Washington, been Secretary of War from 1801 to 1809, and since then collector of the port of Boston; he was sixty-one years of age, a large, portly man of commanding mien, undoubted ability, and unimpeachable integrity. He was placed at the head of the land forces of the Northwestern department. Thomas Pinckney, sixty-two years of age, was appointed second major-general, and placed in command of the Southern department. Joseph Bloomfield, the governor of New Jersey since 1801, a veteran of the Revolution, who was in New York City in charge of the fortifications in process of erection when the news reached him, was commissioned a brigadier-general; and William Hull, governor of the Territory of Michigan, James Winchester of Tennessee, and John Parker Boyd of Massachusetts were also made brigadiers.

The invasion of Canada at Detroit and Niagara had been determined upon and openly avowed by Congress, months before the declaration of

[1] *Hardie's Description of the City of New York* (1827), p. 131; *Miss Booth's History of the City of New York* (1863), p. 697.
Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York for 1868, pp. 882, 883; *Dr. Mitchill's Relation of the Fortifications*, 1808.

war. Thus the British government had ample time to put their menaced province in a state of complete defense, and supply regular troops from England. Governor Hull was in Washington during the spring, and heard the subject freely discussed in official circles. He protested against the attempt, without a fleet upon Lake Erie, where the British had full sway. Solomon Sibley, a distinguished citizen of Detroit, wrote an earnest and manly letter to Senator Thomas Worthington of Ohio, requesting him to explain to the President the need of a large force at Detroit. He said "a scheme had been long in agitation, and generally approved by the Indians, to clear the country north and west of the Ohio of every American, and in future establish that river as a boundary." He also expressed the opinion that the attack would be made by the savages, whatever the result of pending negotiations with Great Britain, and that it was of the first importance to the government to send troops before May or June, lest the important post be sacrificed, and the whole line of frontier involved in ruin.[1] 1812

Objections were made to giving Governor Hull the control of the army in Ohio and Michigan. It was said that the people of the region had no confidence in him — that he was too old and broken in body and nerves to conduct the multifarious operations of such a command. He at first declined the proposed honor and service. The nomination was made on the ground of his valuable military experience. It was opposed, referred to a committee, reported upon favorably, and confirmed by the Senate. Return Jonathan Meigs, son of the heroic Colonel Meigs of Connecticut, was the governor of Ohio at this crisis; and in response to his call for troops to assemble at Dayton, in April, men flocked thither from every part of the State, ambitious for distinction and eager for action. Three regiments were organized, with their field-officers elected, when Hull arrived from Washington, May 25. Duncan McArthur was colonel of the first regiment, James Findlay of the second, and Lewis Cass, then thirty years of age, afterwards Secretary of State, of the third. General Wadsworth, commanding the fourth division of Ohio militia, obeyed with alacrity an order to raise three companies of volunteers. At Urbana the moving army was joined by a brave regiment of regulars under James Miller. The entire month of June was consumed by Hull and his troops in toiling through the almost unbroken wilderness towards the Maumee country. They must necessarily cut a road or pathway two hundred or more miles, and causeways of logs had to be constructed across morasses, and bridges thrown across considerable streams. Block-

[1] *Letter of Sibley to Worthington*, February 26, 1812; *Knapp's History of the Maumee Valley*, pp. 123–127; *Baines' French Revolution*, Vol. II. p. 368.

houses for the protection of the sick and of provision-trains were also indispensable. Meanwhile hostile Indians skulked behind the bushes and trees, watching every movement with malignant vigilance.

The news of the declaration of war reached Hull on the second day of July, a few hours after his army had moved from the foot of the Maumee Rapids towards Detroit. He had sent two small vessels from that point to convey the sick and the hospital stores to Detroit by water; he had also shipped his own baggage and that of most of his officers, together with intrenching tools and camp furniture. Captain Hull, the son and aid of the governor, executed the order of shipment, and unfortunately included a small trunk containing Hull's commission and instructions from the War Department, with the complete muster-rolls of the army about to invade Canada; and the wives of three of the officers, with thirty soldiers for their protection, were passengers. The messenger who conveyed the government despatch to Hull, which had been intrusted to the postmaster at Cleveland by the postmaster-general, was obliged to swim all the streams between Cleveland and Maumee; and thence pursued the army to its night encampment, which he reached about two o'clock in the morning, just as the moon was rising. Two hours later the troops were marching rapidly. In the mean time Hull despatched a party to the mouth of the Raisin to stop the vessels with their precious cargoes, but it was too late. The schooner had fallen into the hands of the British at Malden, who had been apprised of the declaration of war two days in advance of Hull, and the valuable information, as well as other treasures, was appropriated by the enemy. The smaller vessel with the sick passed up the more shallow channel on the west side of Bois Blanc Island, and reached Detroit in safety. On the 6th Colonel Cass was sent to Malden with a flag of truce to demand the baggage and prisoners taken from the schooner. On his approach he was blindfolded, and in this condition taken before Colonel St. George, and treated courteously. But the demand was refused.

The British were already erecting fortifications on the Canadian side of the river opposite Detroit, which would seriously menace the fort. Hull prepared with all possible expedition to drive them away. After great exertions in obtaining boats and canoes, and through a resort to strategy by which the British hastened to defend another point, he crossed [illegible]er in the night to Canada, just above the present town of Windsor, [illegible]ing the American flag on the bright and lovely Sabbath morning of [illegible]12, and issuing a stirring proclamation to the inhabitants.

Hull did not push immediately forward and attack the citadel of [illegible]and Indians at Malden, as his impetuous young officers de-

sired. He had no means of learning the real strength of that fortified post, thirteen miles below, which, from its position on the Detroit River near its entrance into Lake Erie, effectually commanded the waters. Its possession would soon become necessary for self-preservation, as its warriors infested the road from Ohio over which provisions were to be transported on wagons or pack-horses for the army; and yet failure was probable unless he could first provide his men with battering cannon, and ladders of sufficient height and number to scale the walls. This gave the British ample time to strengthen their garrison. He afterwards confessed that he took every step under two sets of fears: he dared not act boldly lest his incompetent force be totally destroyed, or cease from acting lest his uneasy militia desert him altogether. While beseeching government for reinforcement, some of his energetic officers performed daring exploits in the vicinity. Four days after he encamped on the Canadian shore, Fort Mackinaw, the strongest American post in the country, situated upon an island in Lake Huron, fell into the hands of the British. Its garrison numbered only fifty-seven, and its commandant was first apprised of the declaration of war by the British officer, who at the head of one thousand men demanded its surrender. The disaster completely changed the whole face of affairs. The Indians who had been owerawed by this northern fort became more deadly hostile, and influenced by the apparently victorious British were eager to march upon Detroit. Hull had been the governor of Michigan for nine years, and, perfectly aware of the danger and the brutal character of the savages, was appalled at the situation. He expected a promised attack upon the New York frontier at Niagara would create a diversion in his favor. But the British commander-in-chief, Sir George Prevost, and General Dearborn had already agreed to sign an armistice for a brief period, to take effect on the 13th of August, in which Hull was not included. And no notice of it was sent to Hull, otherwise Detroit might have been saved. Suspecting the whole force of the British was about to be directed against him, Hull on the 8th of August ingloriously retreated to Detroit. His officers of every grade were angered with disappointment, and upbraided him with imbecility and even treachery.

New York had by no means been idle during these summer days. While the little invading army at Detroit was fostering terrible suspicions concerning its commander-in-chief, the New York forces collected on the Niagara frontier were scattered along to guard a line of thirty-five miles. "We have eleven cannon for all our extensive territory," wrote Major John Lovett on the 14th of August; "and from Buffalo to Niagara, both inclusive, we have less than one thousand militia."

Confronting them on the Canadian shore was a well-appointed army, under the most exact discipline, and commanded by skillful and experienced officers. Every important eminence from Fort Erie to Fort George, on Lake Ontario, was crowned with a battery; and a commanding position on the heights of Queenstown was every day becoming more secure and formidable. All this, together with the mastery of the lakes, which gave the British facilities for crossing the river at a moment's notice, rendered the outlook extremely dubious for aggressive warfare.



Alexander Macomb.
[Major-General U. S. A.]

General Dearborn established himself in the beginning at Greenbush, opposite Albany, as Lake Champlain was the great military highway to the centre of the British province, and the American settlements at the foot of the lake were remote and exposed. But he delayed preparations for the proper conduct of the war in all directions through signing the armistice, which he continued until the 29th of August. The Legislature of New York, quite as vigilant as the national government, had taken measures in the early part of April for enforcing the laws against smuggling on her frontiers. Small forces of infantry and some artillery were stationed at various points. By a general order issued from the War Department on the 21st of April, the detached militia of New York were arranged in two divisions and eight brigades. The governor of New York made herculean efforts to raise the quota of the State, which in defect of sufficient regular troops was needed at once on the Niagara frontier; and he appointed Stephen Van Rensselaer, the patroon, to the chief command. John Armstrong, having "

mission to France, was commissioned a brigadier by the general government in place of the distinguished Peter Gansevoort, who died, after a long and distressing illness, on the 2d of July. Morgan Lewis was appointed quartermaster-general, Alexander Smyth of Virginia, inspector-general, and Thomas H. Cushing of Massachusetts, adjutant-general. Alexander Macomb, of the artillery, was made a colonel, and Winfield Scott, then twenty-six years of age, Edmund Pendleton Gaines of Virginia, and Eleazer Wheelock Ripley, Speaker of the Massachusetts Legislature, each received a lieutenant-colonelcy.

Alexander Macomb, son of Alexander Macomb (or McComb as the name is frequently written, the member of the New York Legislature at the time of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, who purchased upwards of three and one half million acres of land resting upon Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence River in 1792, and who had six sons in the War of 1812) was born in the British garrison at Detroit, in 1782, just at the close of hostilities between Great Britain and her colonies; he was brought by his parents to New York in infancy, and reared in the city. At a school in Newark, New Jersey, his military genius and taste first revealed itself in the organization and drilling of companies among his classmates. At twenty-three he was captain of a corps of engineers, and at twenty-six elevated to the rank of major. So highly were his attainments esteemed that he was employed at West Point by the government to compile a treatise on martial law. He was thirty when promoted to the colonelcy, on the outbreak of hostilities; and sixteen years later we shall find him general-in-chief of the army of the United States.

The death of Vice-President George Clinton at this juncture deprived New York of an able counselor. During the whole of the Revolutionary War he stood at the head of the government of the State, and sustained with unshaken firmness the rights of the people. No man was more familiar with the physical condition of New York, or better understood the difficulties to be avoided in attempting to defend her wild and unsettled frontiers. His judgment of men and motives was profound, as well as his knowledge of the human heart. He was to have been nominated for re-election, and would probably have served a third term of Vice-Presidency had his life been spared. He had already presided over the Senate for seven years with rare dignity and discretion. He died in office, at Washington, on the 20th of April, 1812, about nine o'clock in the morning. He was in the seventy-third year of his age. During his illness he was assiduously attended by his son-in-law, General Pierre Van Cortlandt lieutenant-governor during Clinton's eighteen years' governor-

ship of New York), who had succeeded his brother, General Philip Van Cortlandt, as member of Congress. The funeral ceremonies were conducted from the Capitol on the afternoon of the 21st, the President and his Cabinet, Congress, and distinguished men of every profession, citizens and strangers, attending. The imposing procession, escorted by cavalry, moved at four o'clock to the Congressional Cemetery on the Eastern branch of the Potomac, where his remains were tenderly interred.[1]

Van Cortlandt wrote to his brother Philip on the 23d censuring the President for having on the previous evening been so "disrespectful to the memory of a greater man than himself as to suffer Mrs. Madison to have her drawing-room as usual. It is spoken of in all places," he said. On the 26th he wrote again, criticising Madison in the severest terms for sending a message to Congress recommending two assistants to the Secretary of War "on the very day of the death of the Vice-President, and while both Houses were mourning the great loss of the nation. The message was not suffered to be read in either House." In the same letter he remarked: "Overtures were made to me to get Mr. De Witt Clinton to consent to be the Vice-President under Mr. Madison. This arrangement cannot nor will not take place."[2]



Clinton's Tomb

[1] Over the grave of Vice- of white marble was erected, pen of De Witt Clinton; "To He was a soldier and statesman council, distinguished in war. fulness, purity, and ability, those of governor of his native the United States. While he valor were the pride, the ornatry; and when he died he left spent life, worthy of all imita- President Clinton a monument bearing the inscription, from the the memory of George Clinton. of the Revolution, eminent in He filled with unexampled use- among many other high offices, State and of Vice-President of lived his virtue, wisdom, and ment, and security of his coun- an illustrious example of a well- tion."

[2] *General Pierre Van Cort- landt to General Philip Van Cortlandt*, April 26, 1812. The letters of General Pierre Van Cortlandt at this period, carefully preserved by the fami- ly, throw much light upon the conduct and motives of politi- cians at the seat of govern- ment. He was bitterly opposed to Madison, although one of the warmest friends of Jefferson during his late administration. He married Catharine, daughter of Vice-President Clinton, and was left a widower in 1811. See pp. 407–410 (Vol. II.). He sub- sequently married Ann Steven- son, who died in 1821; she was the daughter of John Stevenson, who married the sister of Volck- ert Peter Douw. — *Munsell's Annals of Albany.* See pp. 99, 100 (Vol. II.). Their only son, Colonel Pierre Van Cortlandt, the present proprietor of the old historical manor-house, mar- ried, in 1836, Catharine, daughter of Dr. Theodoric Romeyn Beck — known throughout the ized world as the author and founder of medical jurisprudence, a science which he sub- ully created, and who ranks, wherever law and justice are administered, with Blackstone,

It was a master-stroke of policy rather than the deliberate choice of a good military leader, when Stephen Van Rensselaer, a leading Federalist, and known to be greatly opposed to the war, was appointed to the major-generalship of the detached militia of New York. He was not a military man, but since his country was committed to the measure of war he nobly laid aside all party feeling and gave it his hearty support. It was thought the example of a man of such wealth and importance in the State would influence favorably the disaffected. He accepted the appointment only on condition that his cousin, Solomon Van Rensselaer, adjutant-general of New York, and well acquainted with military science, should accompany him as his aid and counselor. It was well understood that the latter would be the general, in a practical military point of view. He was some ten years younger than the patroon, the son of General Henry Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, who was wounded at the capture of Burgoyne. He was a born soldier. Before his twentieth birthday he raised a valiant little company of soldiers in his own county of Rensselaer, and, with the sacred commission of Washington in his pocket, led them through a dense Western wilderness of several hundred miles, and joined Anthony Wayne's expedition to the Maumee in 1794. He was promoted to the command of a troop and greatly admired and respected by his superior officers for his soldier-like deportment.[1]

Bacon, and Grotius. Children of Colonel Pierre and Catharine Beck Van Cortlandt: 1. Catharine Theresa Romeyn, married Rev. John Rutherford Matthews; 2. Pierre Van Cortlandt, died October 16, 1879; 3. Romeyn Beck, died March 1, 1843; 4. James Stevenson; 5. Theodoric Romeyn, died August 11, 1880; 6. Anne Stevenson; 7. Philip, died October 10, 1858. Maria, the youngest daughter of Vice-President Clinton, was with her father at the time of his death. She subsequently married Dr. Stephen Beekman, who was appointed a surgeon of the United States army under Dearborn, at Greenbush. He wrote to General Van Cortlandt, August 11, 1812: "I am sickened with campaigning — living in tow-cloth houses; and the mode of operating, sending soldiers off in small detachments, and not half found with clothing or ammunition, so that the Britishers may have no trouble in taking them and sending the officers home on parole of honor, disgusts me with the service, and I am determined to resign." — *Family Archives.*

[1] Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer was a rigid disciplinarian. He was at one time parading his famous sorrel troop near the quarters of General Wilkinson on the Wabash River. It was just prior to a contemplated action with the Indians in 1794; he had been exercising his men upon every description of service, whether the land was cleared or wooded, broken or smooth, and they were taught to consider no obstacle impassable without a fair trial. General Wilkinson was looking on, and, wishing to test the metal of the youthful officer, cried out, just as the troop came to a halt, facing a stone wall which surrounded his fine garden, "Charge!" In an instant the spurs touched Van Rensselaer's finely strung horse that stood with his neck proudly arched, and with a flying leap, the result of muscular energy that would have unseated a careless rider, he cleared the wall, followed by the whole troop, scampering over the vegetables and demolishing every growing thing in their progress. Having prompted this ruinous result to the fruits of a summer's industry and care by his own mandate, although he never supposed the cavalry would pass the high enclosure, Wilkinson

He married his cousin Harriet, daughter of Colonel Philip and Maria Sanders Van Rensselaer, in 1797. The mother of the bride refusing to sanction the marriage it was tinged with romance. One cold frosty afternoon in January, while the lady of the house was taking her customary nap on the sofa before a blazing fire in the family sitting-room, the young soldier, with the full consent of the bride's father was united to the beautiful Harriet in the bonds of matrimony by the venerable Dominie Van Vranken of Fishkill. After the ceremony the dominie and the bride-groom climbed out the back window, and the mother was none the wiser for some days. In April of the same year the young soldier wrote to his wife from Philadelphia: "Since I came here I have been sitting twice a day to have my miniature taken by Gilbert Stuart, a masterly artist. It was finished this evening. The price for painting was fifty dollars; although it is extravagant, yet with much satisfaction did I pay for it, as it was intended to give you pleasure. The likeness is not as striking a one as he took for President Washington and General Wilkinson, in my eyes." The exquisitely painted miniature, of which the accompanying sketch is a fac-simile, was executed on ivory, set in gold, and placed in a red morocco case lined with white satin.

John Lovett, a lawyer of Albany, afterwards member of Congress, was invited by the patroon to become his military secretary. "I am not a soldier!" was the quick response. "It is not your sword, but your pen that I want," said Van Rensselaer. Whereupon Lovett accepted the pro

stifled his regrets at the destruction of his garden, and with the gravity of a stoic brou
the mischief-makers back. After a few more manœuvres, and when the troop suddenly fa
the river, the general again shouted, "Charge!" Away under full speed the daun
young captain with his well-trained horsemen dashed down the steep bank, and head
before the order could be countermanded. If the chagrin of the genera
den had been destroyed, his apprehension was greater now
troop. He watched their movements in silent
own steed, and, in imminent danger
nd taken in tow by the
follows ance

fered post. He was a man of genius, charming in conversation, full of anecdote, and an acknowledged wit. He wrote, upon his arrival at Ogdensburg: "If flying through air, water, mud, brush, over hills, dales, meadows, swamps, on wheels or horseback, and getting a man's ears gnawed off with mosquitoes and gallinippers, make a soldier, then I have seen service." He accompanied the two Van Rensselaers on a tour of inspection along the Niagara River from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario. He spoke of the one little brig *Oneida* at Sackett's Harbor, "which could be burned at any hour if the British chose," and of the reception given Van Rensselaer by its brave commander, Melancthon Taylor Woolsey, of New York. This vessel had recently been attacked by five British vessels larger than herself, but by landing part of her guns and establishing a battery on shore, where two hundred soldiers were stationed, she succeeded in beating them off. On one occasion the little inspecting party were compelled to seek shelter at midnight in a deserted house. Lovett said: "We placed our general on the table about four and a half feet long, crooked up his legs, borrowed a thick blanket of a soldier, and covered him up quite comfortably. The colonel then laid down upon two boards in his great-coat; I selected a large Dutch-oven, as the thought struck me it would be the safest retreat from the vermin. But how to get in it I knew not. I finally took a wide board, placed an end in the mouth of the monstrous oven, laid myself on the board, and bade the sergeant of the guard raise up the other end and push me into the oven — and in I went like a pig on a wooden shovel; and there I staid and had one of the loveliest night's rest of my life."



Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer.
[From the Miniature by Stuart.]

Van Rensselaer decided to concentrate his forces at Lewiston Heights, opposite the British works at Queenstown, and had hardly established his new headquarters when intelligence of the armistice arrived. It thus became necessary to confer with the British general, Sheaffe, concerning the details of that agreement and the government of the armies on the Niagara River during its continuance. Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer,

in full military costume, crossed into Canada with a flag of truce. He was courteously received at British headquarters. To the proposition that no troops should move from that district to join General Brock, who had gone to reinforce the British army opposite Detroit, Sheaffe readily assented. But when the audacious American colonel insisted upon the use of Lake Ontario as a public highway, in common with the British themselves, for purposes of transportation, the demand was unequivocally refused. Van Rensselaer said: "Then there can be no armistice, our negotiation is at an end. General Van Rensselaer will take the responsibility upon himself of preventing your detaching troops from this district." The officers all rose to their feet: "Sir, you take high ground!" said Sheaffe, with his hand upon the hilt of his sword. "I do, sir, and will maintain it," replied Van Rensselaer, striking the same hostile attitude; "but," addressing himself decidedly to Sheaffe, "you dare not detach the troops!" Not another word was uttered. After walking the room for a few moments the general said, "Be seated, and excuse me." He withdrew with his officers, but presently returned, and politely remarked, "Sir, from amicable considerations I grant you the use of the waters." Thus the interview closed.

This successful effort at diplomacy was of vital importance to the Americans. The roads were impassable, especially for heavy cannon, and the much needed supplies for the army collected at Oswego could be obtained only by water, thus were not likely to reach their destination so long as the highway of the lake was beset by a triumphant enemy. An express was quickly on the wing, and Colonel Fenwick at Oswego ordered forward with all possible haste; the cannon and military stores were shipped to Fort Niagara, and thence, without the knowledge of the enemy, deposited safely at the camping-ground. General Van Rensselaer was also enabled to use this advantage for another purpose of great consequence to the country. He sent an express to Ogdensburg for the immediate removal of nine schooners to Sackett's Harbor. These had been imprisoned at that place, and were desired for gunboats, into which they could be changed for active service as the most expeditious method of preparing a fleet of war to obtain command of the waters of Lake Ontario.

The brief exhilaration of the army over Van Rensselaer's triumph swiftly turned into the deepest gloom. News came of the capitulation of Hull at Detroit, a disaster which seemed likely to produce a general mutiny among the New York forces. Erelong, on the 26th of the same month, General Sir Isaac Brock, governor of Lower Canada, at the head of his troops, was seen on the opposite shore of the Niagara River, less than one fourth of a mile distant, parading Hull and his American soldier-

Aug. 26.

pompously along the heights of Queenstown, in full view of the American camp at Lewiston. On the following morning the prisoners were embarked for Montreal and Quebec to be made a public spectacle. "Seated in an old ragged, open carriage, Hull was drawn through the streets of Montreal, and thus exhibited as a rare show to the natives assembled."

"Why did Hull surrender?" was the question upon every lip. The war party of the country, mortified at this speedy termination of an attempt to make a conquest of Canada, and thus humiliate Great Britain, made the unhappy Hull the scapegoat of everybody's blunders, accusing him, as did his officers under him, of cowardice or treachery. But the difficulties of his position were very great, and it is extremely doubtful whether under any officer much Canadian ground could have been gained. Brock's vigilance had secured Fort Mackinaw before its commander had been apprised of the declaration of war; and taking advantage of the impolitic armistice in contemplation, the same British officer had withdrawn a large body of troops from Niagara and hastened to Detroit. The Indians of the whole region flocked to his standard; and the cunning Tecumseh and his savage warriors guarded the road from Ohio to intercept reinforcements and supplies. A detachment sent by Hull to the aid of Captain Brush at the river Raisin with men, flour, and cattle from Ohio for the army, fell into an ambuscade and was totally routed. The mail-bag was captured, and Brock by the means came into possession of the knowledge needful to overwhelm Detroit. He crossed the river, and demanded the unconditional surrender of the post. Hull doubted his ability to sustain a siege with his meager force, and supplies fast diminishing. The British were already in the town, advancing toward the fort in solid column, twelve deep. A dark and fiendish war-cloud hung upon every side, and the British general had significantly remarked in his note, "The Indians who have attached themselves to my troops will be beyond my control the moment the contest begins."

Hull shuddered at the prospect of consigning the innocent inhabitants of the town and country, who thronged the fort for protection, to barbarities from which the stoutest heart would turn with sickening horror. His daughter and her children were there, and the wives and children of some of the leading citizens of Detroit; also clergymen and non-combatants. Believing resistance would be in vain, it seemed criminal rather than brave to sacrifice so much human life. He was pacing the parade backward and forward in acute mental agony, when a cannon-ball bounded into the fort, killing instantly Captain Hancks of Fort Mackinaw, Lieutenant Sibley, and Dr. Reynolds, who had accompanied

Hull's sick from Maumee to Detroit — besides wounding several others. Women were bespattered with blood and quickly carried to the bomb-proof vault for safety. A moment later the white flag was raised.

The capitulation included the detachments of Cass and McArthur, the command and convoy under Brush at the Raisin, and indeed the whole territory of Michigan. Cass and McArthur, with three hundred men, had been sent to endeavor by a circuitous route to open communication with Brush; but getting entangled in a swamp, with nothing to eat for two days but a few potatoes and green pumpkins, they returned to Detroit just as affairs had reached the crisis. Their wrath may be better imagined than described. They were brave and capable officers, and unwilling to consider themselves beaten. The whole army was in a fury of disappointment, and the surrender was particularly hard on the fresh troops who had not yet come in sight of the smoke of the enemy's guns.

Immediately upon Hull's exchange he was tried by a court-martial for treason, cowardice, and neglect of duty; acquitted of the first, he was sentenced to be shot for the last two. He was pardoned, however, by the President, but dismissed the service.

While Hull stood doubting whether he should err on the side of humanity or valor, hemmed in by a foe of unknown strength upon all sides, the site of what is now Michigan Avenue in the wonderful city of Chicago, was the scene of a shocking massacre. Fort Dearborn, built by the United States Government in 1804 near the junction of the Chicago River and Lake Michigan, was garrisoned by fifty-four men under Captain Nathan Heald. It was a solitary post in the vast wilderness, far from the frontiers, and Hull ordered its evacuation as soon as he heard of the fate of Fort Mackinaw; the message was conveyed from Fort Wayne by a Pottawatomie chief who was on amicable terms with John Kinzie, the first white settler of Chicago.[1] The garrison were directed to march

[1] The Indians said "the first white man who settled here was a negro" — referring to Jean Baptist Point au Sable, a mulatto from St. Domingo, who built a little house on the north side of the Chicago River, opposite the fort, in 1796; the same dwelling which Mr. Kinzie subsequently enlarged and occupied for many years with his young family, enjoying the friendship, trade, and confidence of the Indians. He planted some fine Lombardy poplars in front, and cultivated a garden and orchard in the rear. John Kinzie was born in Quebec in 1763. He was the only offspring of his mother's second marriage. His father died while he was an infant, and his mother married a third time, and with her husband, Mr. Forsythe, removed to New York City. At ten years of age young Kinzie was placed in a school at Williamsburg; but he ran away after a short period, and reached Quebec. He became a trader, and established numerous trading-houses. In 1800 he married the widow of Colonel McKillup, a British officer killed at Fort Miami, on the Maumee River, at the time of Wayne's appearance there in 1794. Her daughter was the young wife of Lieutenant Helm. Three children were with her in the boat on the day of the massacre, John H. Kinzie, Robert A. Kinzie, and a daughter who became the wife of General David Hunter. — *Lossing.*

through the woods to Fort Wayne, and thence to Detroit. The friendly Indian messenger warned Captain Heald against the perilous undertaking. The savages all through the Western country were restless, sullen, and blood-thirsty. Mr. Kinzie remonstrated. The younger officers in the fort, Lieutenant Helm, son-in-law of Mrs. Kinzie, and Ensign Ronan, urged their commander to remain, strengthen the fort, and defy the Indians until relief could reach them. But Heald said he must obey orders. Thus arrangements were made for departure.

At nine o'clock on the same bright morning that Detroit was surrendered, the gate of the Chicago fort was thrown open, and a little mournful procession emerged, and slowly moved in an easterly direction along the shore of Lake Michigan. The heroic Mrs. Heald rode a handsome horse by the side of her husband; Mrs. Helm and the other ladies were also mounted. Captain Wells, Mrs. Heald's uncle, who had married an Indian princess and been made a chief among the Miamis, galloped across the country with a few of his tribe to assist in defending the fort; but, finding himself too late, he could only place himself at the head of the doomed party to do all in his power to prevent slaughter. Mr. Kinzie was also present, hoping by his personal influence to soften, if he could not avert, the impending blow. His family were in a boat in charge of a friendly Indian. As the travelers neared the sand-hills between the prairie and the beach, their escort of treacherous Pottawatomies, under Blackbird, filed to the right and disappeared behind the little hillocks. In the next breath they commenced an assault. It was a hand-to-hand encounter, short and desperate, a life-and-death struggle — a battle in the open field — fifty-four soldiers, twelve civilians, and four or five women, fighting full five hundred Indian warriors. Captain Wells said to his niece, Mrs. Heald, as he saw the nature of the conflict, "We have not the slightest chance for life," and dashed forward to fight with the rest, while his cowardly Miamis fled over the prairies and away as if the evil spirit was at their heels. A fiendish young savage sprang into a wagon in which were twelve children, and tomahawked them all! Captain Wells saw the bloody deed, and was off towards the Indian encampment with the speed of a whirlwind, exclaiming, "If that is their game, butchering women and children, I'll kill too." Swift-footed warriors pursued and shot him.[1] Knowing the temper and practices of the savages well, he taunted them after he fell with the most insulting epithets in order to provoke them to kill him instantly, and thus to escape

Aug. 15.

[1] Mary, the daughter of Captain William Wells whose life was as romantic and heroic as its termination was tragic, married in 1821, Judge James Wolcott, a resident of Maumee City from 1826 until his death in 1873.

being reserved for the torture, in which he succeeded. A tomahawk was plunged into his head, his heart was cut out, and a portion of it eaten with exuberant delight. Mrs. Heald received seven bullet-wounds; but, although faint and bleeding, she managed to keep her saddle. The Indians wished to save her horse, and only aimed at the rider. Dr. Van Voorhees, a brilliant young New York surgeon from Fishkill, was among the slain; also the brave Ensign Ronan, who wielded his sword to the last. Mrs. Helm had a deadly strife with a stalwart savage who struck at her with a tomahawk. She sprang aside, receiving the blow in her shoulder; at the same instant she seized him about the neck and tried to grasp his scalping-knife, which hung in a sheath by his side. While thus struggling she was dragged from her antagonist by another savage, who bore her, despite her desperate resistance, to the margin of the lake and threw her in, but held her so that she could not drown. She presently perceived that she was supported by a friendly hand. It was a chief who had saved her. When the firing ceased he conducted her to the prairie, where she met her step-father, Mr. Kinzie, and heard that her husband was safe. The wife of one of the soldiers fought desperately, and supposing that all prisoners were reserved for torture, suffered herself to be literally cut in pieces. Mrs. Holt, whose husband was severely wounded in the beginning, received from him his sword, and used it so skillfully while a half-dozen warriors were all trying at once to dismount her and secure her high-spirited horse, that other Indians shouted, "Don't hurt her!" She suddenly wheeled her horse and rode furiously over the prairie, but was checked by the savages; and while three of them engaged her in front, a powerful fellow seized her by the neck and dragged her backward to the ground. She was carried into captivity, but afterwards ransomed. The wounded captives were nearly all scalped after Captain Heald went through the ceremony of a surrender. Mrs. Heald herself escaped scalping in this last horrible moment only through the intercession of Mrs. Kinzie, who sent a trusty Indian servant to offer a mule as a ransom, and the Indian increased the bribe with two bottles of whiskey. As this was more than her beautiful scalp would bring at Malden, she was released, and concealed in Mrs. Kinzie's boat from the avaricious eyes of other scalp-hunters. All the civilians were killed except Mr. Kinzie and his sons, all the officers except Captain Heald and Lieutenant Helm, two thirds or more of the soldiers, and twelve children. The prisoners were divided among their captors.[1]

[1] Dr. John Cooper of New York, a native of Fishkill, was the immediate predecessor of Van Voorhees at Fort Dearborn. They were classmates, and when Dr. Cooper resigned, Dr. Van Voorhees was appointed in his stead.

On the day after the massacre the fort was burned, and the site of Chicago left in desolation for the next four years. Blackbird and his savage horde pressed immediately towards Fort Wayne and Fort Harrison on the Wabash, encouraged by private emissaries from Tecumseh, who was strong in the hope of establishing a confederacy for the complete expulsion of the white inhabitants north and west of the Ohio River, the principal tribes of the region having already united. 1812.

It was a black day for New York when intelligence of these several disasters reached the city—Fort Mackinaw and Detroit surrendered, Chicago annihilated, and the remaining strongholds in Ohio beleaguered! The folly of the War Department in commencing hostile operations before obtaining control of the lakes was apparent. Regrets were of no use in the emergency. The mischief was to be remedied. New York must strain every nerve, or devastating war would cross her borders. The whole country was profoundly agitated. Sparsely settled Ohio heaved like a storm-smitten ocean in its wrath, and men of every class and condition in life flocked to the recruiting stations and offered their services. Before the 1st of October, Kentucky had more than seven thousand of her sons in the field. Gen. William Henry Harrison, governor of Indiana, was assigned to the chief command.



Captain Isaac Chauncey.

The great inland seas were of the first consequence. A navy must be created upon them. But how? Could ships be built in a newly settled country, where nothing could be supplied but timber? Everything else would have to be transported from Albany at vast expense, and much of the way through the original wilderness. And how could war-vessels be launched upon waters controlled by the enemy? Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer's masterly diplomacy enabled the government to begin the herculean enterprise. Captain Isaac Chauncey, at the head of the New York navy-yard, and one of the best

practical seamen of his time, was commissioned (August 31) to the chief command over the waters of the lakes, with directions to superintend the forming of a navy. He was admirably fitted for the post, energetic, fearless, industrious, and his experience as commander of the merchant-vessels of John Jacob Astor on several successful voyages to the East Indies, as well as his conspicuous gallantry in naval engagements off Tripoli, and elsewhere, inspired public confidence. Within a week he sent Henry Eckford, the famous New York ship-builder, with forty ship-carpenters to Lake Ontario. Others soon followed. Commander Woolsey was ordered to purchase for immediate use the merchant-schooners which had come from Ogdensburg, as before mentioned, and these were transformed into war-vessels with marvelous expedition and skill. On the 18th of September, one hundred officers and seamen, with guns and other munitions of war left New York for Sackett's Harbor. Chauncey arrived there in person on the 6th of October.[1]

To create a fleet upon Lake Erie, separated from Lake Ontario by the impassable cataract of Niagara, vessels must be constructed on its shores; and Chauncey sent Jesse Duncan Elliott, a young naval lieutenant of thirty, to choose a point for a dock-yard (with the advice of General Van Rensselaer) and to purchase any number of merchant-vessels or boats that might be converted into ships of war or gunboats, and build others. The work was going forward briskly at Black Rock, two miles below Buffalo, when, on the 8th of October, two British vessels, the *Detroit* and the *Caledonia*, appeared in front of Fort Erie, and Elliott resolved upon their capture. That very day a detachment of seamen for service under him had arrived from New York City. They were unarmed, but Lieutenant-colonel Winfield Scott, who was stationed with the artillery at Black Rock, borrowed pistols, swords, and sabres for their use, and an expedition consisting of one hundred men divided equally in two boats, embarked in strict silence at midnight and passed into the gloom, returning three hours later, having in the interim surprised and captured both vessels. "In less than ten minutes," wrote Elliott, "I had the prisoners all seized, the topsails sheeted home, and the vessels under weigh." The *Detroit* was a prize captured by the British at Detroit when Hull surrendered. She was retaken by the boat conducted by Elliott in person, assisted by Isaac Roach, lieutenant of artillery; but grounding, was burned to prevent recapture. The *Caledonia*, of two guns, with a cargo of furs valued at two hundred thousand dollars, was captured by

Oct. 6.

Oct. 9.

[1] *Lossing's Field Book of the War*, p. 371; *Hildreth's United States*, Vol. VI. p. 356; *'s State of New York*, p. 173; *Cooper's Naval History of the United States*; *Baines' ation*; *Thompson's History of the Second War*; *Eastman's New York*.

the second boat under Sailing-master Watts, assisted by Captain Nathan Towson, and was brought off in triumph. This vessel became the nucleus of the American naval force on Lake Erie. Several of the residents of Buffalo were engaged in the brilliant exploit. The display of lights to illuminate the return of the victors, together with the shouts of the citizens, called every British officer and soldier to his post.

Meanwhile the soldiers stationed along the St. Lawrence River were reinforced largely from the New York militia; and they were not idle, although no very important service was performed in that quarter during the remainder of 1812. Bloomfield guarded the approaches into New York through Lake Champlain, with a command of regulars. Smyth, also of the regular army, and at that time inspector-general, was in the vicinity of Buffalo. Van Rensselaer had been charged with the invasion of Canada; but he had not hitherto been provided with sufficient support to justify courting a battle. He endeavored in vain to counsel with Smyth, who, being an aspirant for the chief command, did not relish obedience to a militia general. Van Rensselaer thought Smyth's conduct engendered a spirit of insubordination fatal to the harmony and concert of military movements. But his army clamored to be led against the enemy, and he was, moreover, satisfied that the proper time for invading Canada had arrived. On the 10th of October he made arrangements to assail Queenstown at three o'clock the next morning. The command of the expedition was assigned to Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer, which gave umbrage to some of the officers of the regular army. During the evening thirteen large boats were brought down from Gill's Creek, two miles above Niagara Falls, and placed in the river at Lewiston landing, under cover of intense darkness. In the midst of a furious storm of wind and rain, six hundred troops stood at the place of embarkation with Solomon Van Rensselaer at their head. Lieutenant Sims, who had been selected to command the flotilla, entered the foremost boat and disappeared. He had taken nearly all the oars with him, thus the other boats could not follow! They waited for him to discover his mistake and return, but in vain. He moored his boat upon the other side, and fled.

Oct. 10.

The storm had no sooner ceased than preparations were made for the second attempt at invasion. The boats remained two days in full view of the British, who supposed their appearance a feint, and that they were intended to carry an armament down the river against Fort George.

Oct. 12.

To render success more certain, Smyth agreed to furnish an additional number of boats, and to cross the river himself with seven hundred regu-

lars, and attack Fort George at a preconcerted moment.[1] The embarkation took place just after midnight, but Smyth failed to perform either promise. The thirteen boats were not able to carry more than about one half of the troops, and three of the thirteen missed their destination. The watchful enemy discovered the approach of the Americans by the sound of their oars, and opened a fire upon them from the top of the bank. Lovett, Van Rensselaer's secretary, was in charge of the eighteen-gun battery on the heights of Lewiston, the balls of which were to pass over the heads of the assaulting party, and he promptly answered the first volley of musketry, which caused the enemy to turn. It being dark, he stooped close to the gun to observe his aim, and when it was suddenly discharged the concussion so injured his ears that he never recovered his hearing. Colonel Van Rensselaer was the first man to spring ashore, on a large rock at the foot of the rapids, and as soon as his troops had landed, the boats were sent back for the remainder of the six hundred and forty men detailed for the battle.

"Two hundred and twenty-five men," wrote General Wilkinson to the Secretary of War, "formed under a very warm fire, climbed the bank and routed the enemy at the point of the bayonet without firing a gun." Within a few moments after the landing, Colonel Van Rensselaer was riddled with balls and disabled, but with great presence of mind he ordered John Ellis Wool, then a young captain of twenty-four, already wounded and bleeding but eager for action, to pursue the enemy with all possible speed and storm the fort, explaining to him by what route he could avoid the fire of the British artillery. The daring object was gallantly accomplished, and the enemy driven down the hill in every direction; with the rising of the sun, the American flag was planted on the British works. In this remarkable combat not a single officer was engaged of higher rank than a captain. Chrystie, of the regular army, the second in command of the expedition, was in one of three boats that, missing their way on the river, were drifted by the eddies back to the New York shore and he had not yet arrived upon the field. Fenwick, commander of the flying artillery, was wounded on the passage. The valiant ntenants, Gansevoort and Randolph of the artillery, led the way up ountain, and Major Stephen Lush, Van Rensselaer's aid, brought up ith orders to shoot down the first man who offered to give way. rock, at Fort George, was wakened by the cannonading, and, vorite horse, rode to Queenstown at full speed, performing ven miles in little more than half an hour. He was just stars and stripes unfurled over his fallen fortress.

[1] *Benney's Legacy of Historical Gleanings*, p. 252.

He quickly rallied his demoralized troops and led them in person, six hundred strong, to retake what they had lost. The battle was long, obstinate, and one of the most thrilling on record. Deeds of heroism and valor were displayed by young officers and men never before exposed to fire, which would have done everlasting honor to veterans in military science. Had the little band of heroes on the heights been promptly supported, according to the programme mapped out with consummate generalship by Solomon Van Rensselaer, who had full knowledge of the position of the British through his several official visits to their headquarters during the summer and had provided for every contingency, the result would undoubtedly have been a decisive victory. Captain Wool sent forward one hundred and fifty men to check the approach of Brock. They were driven back, then reinforced and charged a second time, again pushed backward to the verge of the precipice which overlooked the deep chasm of the swift-flowing river, and in this critical position Captain Ogilvie raised a white handkerchief on the point of a bayonet in token of surrender; but Wool, springing forward, snatched it away indignantly with his own hand, then waving his sword led his comrades once more into the desperate and doubtful contest with a greatly superior force commanded by the ablest general in the British service; and with such impetuosity that the enemy broke and fled down the hill in dire dismay. Sir Isaac was amazed and chagrined. He shouted to his favorite grenadiers, "This is the first time I have seen the Forty-ninth turn their backs!" In attempting to rally them he received his death-wound, and fell from his horse at the foot of the slope. McDonnell, the brilliant and promising young attorney-general of Upper Canada, assumed command, and charged up the hill with fresh troops. He too was killed. After three distinct and bloody battles within the space of five hours, both parties fighting with marvelous bravery, the British fell back a mile in some confusion, leaving the intrepid Americans in possession of the heights.[1]

Meanwhile reinforcements and supplies were crossing the river slowly

[1] John Ellis Wool, born at Newburg, Orange County, New York, in 1788, was the son of one of the brave soldiers of the Revolution who went up the hill with Wayne at the storming of Stony Point in 1779. He had raised a company in Troy during the summer of 1812, and in September his regiment, under Lieutenant-colonel Chrystie, was ordered to the Niagara frontier. His gallant conduct at the storming of Queenstown led to his promotion; and he subsequently arose to great distinction. Among the noble young officers who participated in the morning battles, were Henry B. Armstrong, son of General John and Alida Livingston Armstrong, Richard M. Malcolm, Peter Ogilive, and Stephen Watts Kearny, grandson of Hon. John and Anne De Lancey Watts of New York City, afterwards conqueror and governor of California, to whom Chrystie presented his sword upon the field for coolness and gallantry. Lieutenant Rathbone, Ensign Robert Morris, and Lieutenant Valleau of New York were killed. Nearly all of the men led to the first assault were native New-Yorkers.

and with much difficulty — owing to the constant fire of the enemy upon the boats. General Wadsworth, and shortly after him Lieutenant-colonel Winfield Scott, appeared upon the scene, the latter having hurried from his post to offer himself as a volunteer — and received permission from General Van Rensselaer to assume chief command in place of Colonel Van Rensselaer, who had been carried bleeding to Lewiston. Meeting Wadsworth unexpectedly, Scott proposed to limit his own command to the regulars, but the high-minded brigadier objected; "You, sir, know professionally what ought to be done," he said; "I am here for the honor of my country and that of the New York militia."[1] Chrystie also arrived about the same time and ordered Wool across the river to have his wounds dressed. An effort was made to fortify the position under the direction of Lieutenant Totten of the engineers. But the time was flying, and before much could be done, a cloud of dusky warriors swept along the brow of the mountain with a furious war-whoop; Scott, with the form of a giant and the voice of a trumpet, inspired his men to raise a shout and fall upon them and with such fury that they fled in terror. Chief John Brant, a young, lithe, graceful son of the great Mohawk warrior, only eighteen, dressed, painted, and plumed in Indian style from head to foot, led the forest warriors, who were soon rallied and returned to the assault, but were again driven down the heights. All at once the roads as far as the eye could reach were aglow with scarlet. General Sheaffe, succeeding Brock in command, was coming from Fort George with extensive reinforcements. The patroon was himself upon Queenstown heights at this juncture, but hastened over the river accompanied by Major Lovett, to urge forward his own reinforcements. To his surprise and deep mortification the militia, who had been so brave in speech and clamorous to be led against the enemy, refused to embark. They quailed before the sight of the wounded brought across the river, the groans of the dying, the fewness of the boats (several of the original thirteen having been lost), together with the new danger approaching; and rather than be killed, or made cripples for life, they determined to forego their chances of military honors. They fell back upon their constitutional rights, denying Van Rensselaer's authority to march them out of their own State into Canada. He rode up and down among them in great excitement, alternately threatening and pleading; Lieutenant-colonel Henry Bloom who had returned wounded, mounted his horse and ex-

[1] General William Wadsworth was a large land-owner on the Genesee River, in joint ownership with his brother, James Wadsworth; the latter originated the first Normal School in New York in 1811. They were both natives of Durham, Connecticut, purchasing these wild lands in New York in 1790. James Wadsworth founded and endowed a library institution for scientific lectures at Genesee. His philanthropic gifts to the cause of New York exceeded ninety thousand dollars.

horted, swore and prayed — still the troops would not move; Judge Peck happening to be at Lewiston, "appeared," wrote Lovett, "from whence I know not, wearing a large cocked hat and long sword with a broad white belt, and preached and prayed, but all in vain." The men were positive in their refusal. At this moment many of the boatmen fled panic-stricken, and the remaining boats were dispersed. The battle opened at four o'clock and raged for half an hour with terrible effect. Scott was in full dress uniform, and being taller and more conspicuous than any officer present the Indians fired at him incessantly and wondered that they could not hit him. Without succor from any source, and ammunition failing, the Americans were finally compelled to surrender. Nearly a thousand prisoners were taken by the enemy, two thirds of whom were found concealed on British soil among the rocks and bushes below the banks, not having been in the action at all.

All Canada mourned for General Sir Isaac Brock. An armistice of three days enabled the belligerent commanders to exchange humane courtesies. At the conclusion of the ceremonies at the funeral of Canada's beloved governor and commander, minute guns were fired by order of General Van Rensselaer from the American batteries at Lewiston, as a mark of respect to a brave enemy.

Governor Tompkins, accompanied by Robert Macomb and John W. Livingston, arrived at headquarters just after the battle, and General Van Rensselaer, disgusted with the jealousies of some of the officers and the recent conduct of the militia, solicited and obtained permission to leave the service. He was succeeded in the command of the Niagara frontier by General Smyth, who promised so much and performed so little that he became the target for satire and ridicule by all parties. Little was heard along the frontier for the next month except the sonorous cadences of his proclamations. He was going to invade Canada and conquer the whole British empire. He prepared with much noise, but it all came to nothing. General Peter B. Porter of the New York militia accused him of cowardice and a duel ensued. These two officers exchanged shots at twelve paces distance and both escaped unhurt, after which they were reconciled by their seconds. Smyth was soon dismissed from the service. Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer's life was in extreme peril for five days after the battle; a cot was finally rigged with cross-bars and side-poles, upon which he was carried to Buffalo by a party of riflemen who, indeed, expressed their readiness to bear him on their shoulders from Buffalo to Albany. When late in November he reached his home near Albany, he was met in the suburbs by a cavalcade of citizens, and received with the honors of a victor.

In the month of September a convention of Federalists from all parts of the country assembled in New York City to decide upon the course the party should pursue in the coming Presidential election.

1812. They met privately with closed doors, and three days were consumed in spirited debates. It was agreed that New York, whose capital and frontiers were alike threatened by the enemy, deserved a President in whom she could trust, and one who would be able by his executive talents to make up for the want of forecast and capacity hitherto exhibited in the conduct of the war. Various speakers dwelt upon the impropriety of congressional nominations resulting, as they always did, in the selection of a Virginian for the highest office in the gift of the nation. De Witt Clinton, one of New York's most distinguished sons, was a candidate for the Presidency, and he was an advocate of peace, the door of which now stood open in the repeal of the British orders in council. It was finally resolved to adopt Clinton as the Federal candidate. Jared Ingersoll, attorney-general of Pennsylvania, son of Jared Ingersoll of Connecticut and Stamp Act fame, became the candidate for Vice-President. Thus the Presidential election, so disastrously utilized to bring on the war, promised an unusual amount of bitter wrangling.

The governors of Massachusetts and Connecticut, Caleb Strong and Roger Griswold,[1] positively refused to accede to the President's call (in

[1] Roger Griswold, governor of Connecticut in 1812 — born at Old Lyme in 1762 — was the son of Governor Matthew Griswold, grandson of Governor Roger Wolcott, nephew of the first Governor Oliver Wolcott, and first cousin of the second Oliver Wolcott, Secretary of the Treasury, and also governor of Connecticut. The mother of Roger Griswold was the famous Ursula Wolcott, mentioned in the Wolcott note on page 358 (see also Vol. I. p. 593); thus surrounded with a gubernatorial army, judicial luminatives, he was more literally by birth and breeding a statesman, than any other man of his time in the country. His ancestor, Matthew Griswold, the first magistrate of the Saybrook colony, descended from Sir Matthew Griswold of Malvern Hall, near Lyme Regis, England. Coming to this country in 1639, in the interests of the British noblemen who were scheming to found the great city of the New World at the mouth of the Connecticut, he married Anna daughter of the pioneer, Henry Lyman, and was one of the founders of Old Lyme in 1665, a feudal grant to the son, known as Black Hall, and was one of the founders of Old Lyme in 1665; one daughter married Edmund Dorr, and among her descend-



Griswold Arms.

June) for detachments of militia to do garrison duty along the seaboard, in place of those drawn off for the invasion of Canada. They denied the constitutional validity of the articles of war enacted by Congress; and complained of the irregularities attending the requisition of detached companies and battalions, without the regular quota of field officers. They denounced the punishment of a people three thousand miles away, over the innocent heads of our immediate neighbors in Canada of whom many were bound to us by ties of blood, but expressed entire willingness to adopt any measure which the safety of their own States might demand. Governor Strong had been one of the immortal number who framed the Constitution, and knew well the difficulties which arose about the partition between the States and the general government as to authority over the militia. He claimed to be a joint judge with the President whether the emergency existed which would justify him in making a call. Governor Griswold was no less decided in his views and even more influential. He was a leading Federalist; when called at the age of thirty-two from a valuable law practice into the national councils, he was pronounced one of the most finished scholars at the seat of government. He was in Congress ten years, and in 1801 declined the office of Secretary of State. Since 1807 he had been a judge of the Superior Court of Connecticut; also lieutenant-governor a part of that period. He was

ants was the famous Rev. Dr. Edward Dorr Griffin; of his sons, John, the father of Governor Matthew Griswold, was a judge of considerable renown; and George — who married Hannah Lynde — was the revered pastor of the church at East Lyme for thirty-six years. The two grandsons of Rev. George Griswold were the great New York merchants, George Griswold and Nathaniel Lynde Griswold, brothers, who founded a mercantile house in New York City prior to the beginning of the present century, sending their numerous and costly ships all over the world. They were among the most prominent and public-spirited citizens of the growing metropolis — worthy representatives of a race grandly developed, physically and morally as well as intellectually. George Griswold was made a director, in 1812, of the Bank of America, and his name appears among those of the founders and benefactors of scores of humane and other institutions in New York. The Griswolds of New York have intermarried with many of the leading families — the daughter of one of the great merchants married Peter Lorillard; and another daughter married Hon. Frederick Frelinghuysen of New Jersey. The mother of Robert H. McCurdy, the well-known New York importing merchant, was Ursula Wolcott Griswold, daughter of Judge John Griswold of Old Lyme, the brother of the governor. The children of Governor Roger Griswold were nine: 1. Harry, married in England: 2. Charles, married Ellen, daughter of Judge Elias Perkins of New London; 3. Frances, married her cousin, Chief Justice Ebenezer Lane of Ohio; 4. Matthew, married Phebe Ely, and resided in the mansion built by the governor at Black Hall; 5. Roger, married Juliette Griswold; 6. Elizabeth, married the philanthropist, Henry Boalt of Ohio, and among her children were Judge John Henry Boalt of California, and Mrs. J. O. Moss of Sandusky, Ohio; 7. Mary Anne, married Thomas S. Perkins, son of Judge Elias Perkins; 8. William, married Sarah Noyes; 9. Captain Robert, married Helen Powers, of the same family as the celebrated Hiram Powers.

personally one of the handsomest men of his time, with a bright, keen, flashing black eye; and his gifts and graces in conversation, and elegant manners were the delight of all who knew him. He was justly regarded as one of the first men in the nation for talents, political knowledge, force of eloquence, integrity, and profound legal ability. One of the earliest to propose that the Federalists should concentrate their strength upon the election of De Witt Clinton, in order effectually to defeat the spirit and policy of an administration which it was claimed had been under French influence and dictation for twelve years, Griswold exerted a singular power over the minds of those who naturally rebelled against voting for a Republican candidate. He said the leading object of the war advocates was to perpetuate power in the hands of a narrow Virginia clique, to the exclusion from office and influence of talented men of their own party not connected with that clique. Griswold's death occurred in October in the midst of the stormy scenes attending the re-election of Madison, and few men of America have been more deeply lamented.

New York City was electrified one morning in midsummer with the newspaper announcement of Aaron Burr's presence in the city, and that he was about to resume the practice of law. He had escaped from Europe, returning as he went, with an empty pocket and a borrowed name; and after concealment until assured that neither government nor creditors would molest him, he had finally nailed a small tin sign over a door in Nassau Street, and commenced business. The times were disjointed, so to speak, and nearly every member of the community was involved in some legal controversy; hence clients swarmed about the man who never lost a case. During the first twelve days he received for opinions and retaining fees the sum of two thousand dollars. He was politically dead, however, and took no part in trying to prevent the election to the Presidency of his triumphant rival, De Witt Clinton. Presently he was bowed down with the sharpest anguish his soul had ever known. A letter came from his son-in-law, Governor Allston, bringing tidings of the death of Theodosia's eleven-year-old son, of whom Burr was passionately fond. The bereaved Theodosia longed to see her father; and after drooping in her home at the South for some months, took passage for New York on the privateer *Patriot*, sailing from Charleston on the last day but one of December, 1812. Alas! the vessel was never seen nor heard of more! For days and weeks and months two grief-stricken men watched, agonized, conjectured, hoped and despaired. But the beautiful Theodosia had perished with all on board.

The pride of the war party was severely humbled by repeated failures and disasters, and its strength was fast diminishing under the stinging

ridicule of the Federal newspapers, when relief came through a series of unexpected naval achievements. Commodore Isaac Hull, of the frigate *Constitution*, encountered and chased the "tyrant of our coast," England's "famous *Guerriere*," one of the best frigates in the British navy, and in a close conflict of one half-hour's duration disabled and captured her. This thrilling event occurred August 19, off the mouth of the St. Lawrence River, just three days after the surrender of Detroit by the uncle of the heroic commodore. Within fifteen minutes after the fire was opened, the *Guerriere* had lost her mizzen-mast, her mainyard was in the slings, and her hull, rigging, and sails were torn in pieces — and then her foremast fell, leaving her wallowing in the trough of the sea a helpless wreck. A jack which had been kept flying on the stump of her mizzen-mast was suddenly lowered. Whereupon, Hull sent his third lieutenant, George Campbell Read, afterwards rear-admiral, to receive the sword of the captain of the prize. "Commodore Hull's compliments," said the young officer bowing, "and wishes to know if you have struck your flag?" Captain Dacres, looking up and down, dryly remarked, "Well, I don't know; our mizzen-mast is gone, and upon the whole, you may say we *have* struck our flag."



Commodore Isaac Hull.

Read then inquired if a surgeon or surgeon's mate was needed upon the captive frigate. "I should suppose you had on board your own ship, business enough for all your medical officers," replied Dacres. "Oh, no," said Read, "we have but seven killed and seven wounded." The killed and wounded on the *Guerriere* numbered seventy-nine; among the crew were ten impressed American seamen, who, declining to fight, were humanely sent below. It was discovered that the injured vessel was in danger of sinking, and as soon as the prisoners and their effects were transferred to the *Constitution*, the wreck was set on fire and blown up.

A breakfast-plate of unique design from the decorated dinner service of the *Guerriere* was preserved by Commodore Hull, and is now in the possession of Mrs. Professor Edward E. Salisbury of New Haven.

Six days before the capture of the *Guerriere*, the *Essex* under Commodore David Porter was attacked by the *Alert*, a British sloop of twenty guns, and an action of eight minutes terminated in the surrender of the *Alert* with seven feet of water in her hold. This was the first ship of war taken in the contest. The news reached Boston almost simultaneously with the return of the *Constitution*.

The whole country was in a wild tumult of delight. No such successes were supposed possible. For centuries the ocean had been the center of British triumph. Navy after navy had fallen before the disciplined valor of British seamen. The Americans had no confidence in their own little navy, and believed in the absolute omnipotence of that of the enemy. The newspapers teemed with tributes to British glory; indeed, England was credited with every species of superiority, whether physical or moral, which she claimed for herself. The administration at one time seriously contemplated an order for all the war-vessels to remain in New York harbor, and form a part of its defense — as a precautionary movement to secure them from destruction. Two naval officers, Bainbridge and Stewart, were at the seat of government when the subject was under discussion, and remonstrated with such vigor against the narrow scheme that the President convened the Cabinet, which was finally induced to change its policy, "on the ground that our ships would soon be taken, and that the country would thus be rid of the cost of maintaining them, and at more liberty to direct its energies to the army."[1]

The merchants of New York had studied the movements of their cruisers with observant eyes, and knew they were as well built, sailed as fast, and were worked as well, as those of England. The officers of the navy had enjoyed means of comparison denied the mass of their fellow-citizens, and were willing to contend with that superiority which the nation feared. In the short period of six months from the declaration of war, three hundred and nineteen British vessels, three of them frigates of the first class, others ships of war of a smaller size, were either destroyed at sea or brought into port by our public and private vessels; and it was estimated that the damage done to British commerce exceeded twelve million dollars.[2]

These facts were not yet known when the *Constitution* rode proudly into port a conqueror — the very frigate which had been held up to the derision of Europe as "a bunch of pine boards" — an occurrence of mo-

[1] *Cooper's Naval History*, II. pp. 168, 169.

[2] *Hardie's Description of New York City*, p. 131.

mentous bearing upon the future of the war.[1] It was found that Commodore Hull had evinced great skill and seamanship in one of the most remarkable naval retreats on record, only a short time prior to his conflict with the *Guerriere*. The *Constitution* was chased by a British squadron, and escaped in such a manner as to extort unqualified admiration from her pursuers. And the engagement with the *Guerriere* was characterized by features which became identified with nearly all the subsequent naval battles of the war, showing that they were intimately connected with the discipline and system of the American marine. There was nothing hap-hazard in the style in which the *Constitution* had been handled; she had been carried earnestly and deliberately into battle. Hull with admirable coolness received the enemy's fire without returning it until quite close. His crew, though burning with impatience, silently awaited his orders. His sailing-master seconded his views with admirable skill, bringing the vessel exactly to the station intended, within half pistol-shot of her adversary; the orders were to fire broadside after broadside, from guns double-shotted with round and grape, in rapid succession. The crew instantly comprehended the plan, and entered into it with spirit. For fifteen minutes the roar and the vivid lightning of the *Constitution's* guns were without intermission. The British commander fought gallantly, and submitted when further resistance would have been as culpable as it was impossible. The *Guerriere's* batteries were not equal to the mode of fighting introduced by her antagonist — and which, in fact, was the commencement of a new era in combats between single ships upon the ocean.

Men of all ranks and political creeds hastened to pay homage to Commodore Hull. Boston received him with a triumphal procession and a splendid banquet. The citizens of New York subscribed money to buy gifts of swords for him and his officers; the corporation ordered a richly embossed gold box, with a representation of the battle between the *Constitution* and the *Guerriere*, at the same time requesting the conqueror to sit for his portrait — which now graces the wall of the governor's room in the City Hall. Congress voted him a gold medal, and distributed fifty thousand dollars among his officers and men. From many other sources came beautiful and costly testimonials.

The public mind was greatly agitated in both hemispheres, and men competent to form intelligent opinions on such subjects, in Europe as well as America, predicted many future conquests of a similar character. And they came in swift succession. A squadron sailed from Boston on a cruise, October 8, consisting of the *President*, under Commodore Rodgers,

[1] *Cooper's Naval History*, II. p. 171; *Lossing; Dawson; Hildreth; Schaffner, Thompson.*

the *United States*, the *Congress*, and the *Argus*. Five days later they parted company in a gale of wind, soon after which the *President* and the *Congress* captured the British packet *Swallow*, with two hundred thousand dollars on board, and brought her proudly into Boston on the 30th of December. The *Argus* about the same time returned to New York with prizes valued at two hundred thousand dollars. The *United States*, under Commodore Decatur met the British war-frigate *Macedonian* on the 25th of October, and captured her after an action of two hours. The American gunnery in this affair, like that of the *Constitution* with the *Guerriere*, was remarkable for rapidity and effect. Its perpetual blaze led the enemy to suppose at one time the *United States* was on fire. The mizzen-mast and main and foretop-mast of the *Macedonian* were shot away, and her colors disappeared. She received no less than one hundred round shot in her hull alone, and all her boats were rendered useless but one. Her killed and wounded numbered one hundred and four, while the loss of Decatur was only five killed and seven wounded. Carden, the British commander, fought with consummate skill; when after the surrender he came upon the *United States* and offered his sword to Decatur, the latter generously exclaimed, "Sir, I cannot receive the sword of a man who has so bravely defended his ship, but I will receive your hand," and suiting the action



Stephen Decatur.
[From the painting by Sully.]

to the word grasped that of the gallant Carden and led him to the cabin where refreshments were bountifully served.

While these events were taking place the *Wasp*, under Commodore Jacob Jones, encountered the *Frolic*, a British war-vessel of superior force, and after a bloody conflict of forty-three minutes made the latter captive; thirty were killed and fifty wounded upon her decks, while upon the *Wasp* five only were killed and five wounded. But the victors were not able to take their prize into port, as a large man-of-war bore immediately down upon them necessitating their surrender. The officers of the *Wasp* were taken to Bermuda, paroled and sent home. In November the lakes began to assume a warlike aspect. Commodore Chauncey's preparation had progressed with such rapidity that he considered himself able to contend with the whole British fleet. Thus the waves of our inland waters were soon to be lighted with all the sublimity of naval combat. Oct. 18.

The year 1812 closed with still another brilliant affair upon the ocean. Commodore Hull, content with the glories already won, went to Saybrook, Connecticut, to be married,[1] and was succeeded in command of the *Constitution* by Commodore William Bainbridge, a real naval hero, who sailed from Boston October 26, accompanied by the *Hornet*, also under his command. Upon the South American coast the *Hornet* was left to blockade a British sloop-of-war which had a large amount of specie on board. The *Constitution*, cruising near the Brazils, encountered the *Java*, a large British frigate bound for the East Indies, and preparations were quickly made on both sides for battle. The fire of the *Constitution* was directed with so much precision that the *Java* was soon disabled in her spars and rigging; within two hours she surrendered, but was too badly injured to be preserved as a trophy, and was blown up. The loss of the *Java* was a severe blow to the British, and her brave commander, Lambert, was killed.

On the very same day of this victory of Bainbridge, and at the very same afternoon hour, a magnificent banquet in honor of Hull, Decatur, and Jones, was in progress in New York City. Five hundred gentlemen were seated at the tables. The banqueting hall, in the City Hotel just above Trinity Church in Broadway, had the effect of Dec. 26.

[1] Commodore Isaac Hull married Anna McCurdy Hart, one of seven sisters who were reputed the most beautiful and brilliant women in America. She was the daughter of Captain Elisha and Jennette McCurdy Hart of Saybrook, Connecticut; her father being the son of the old Saybrook minister, and her mother, the daughter of John McCurdy of Old Lyme, of Revolutionary renown (see Vol. I. 719; Vol. II. 70). One of Mrs. Hull's sisters married the Rev. Dr. Samuel Farmer Jarvis, another, Hon. Heman Allen of Vermont, U. S. Minister to Chili in 1823–8, and a third, Commodore Joseph Hull, nephew of Commodore Isaac Hull.

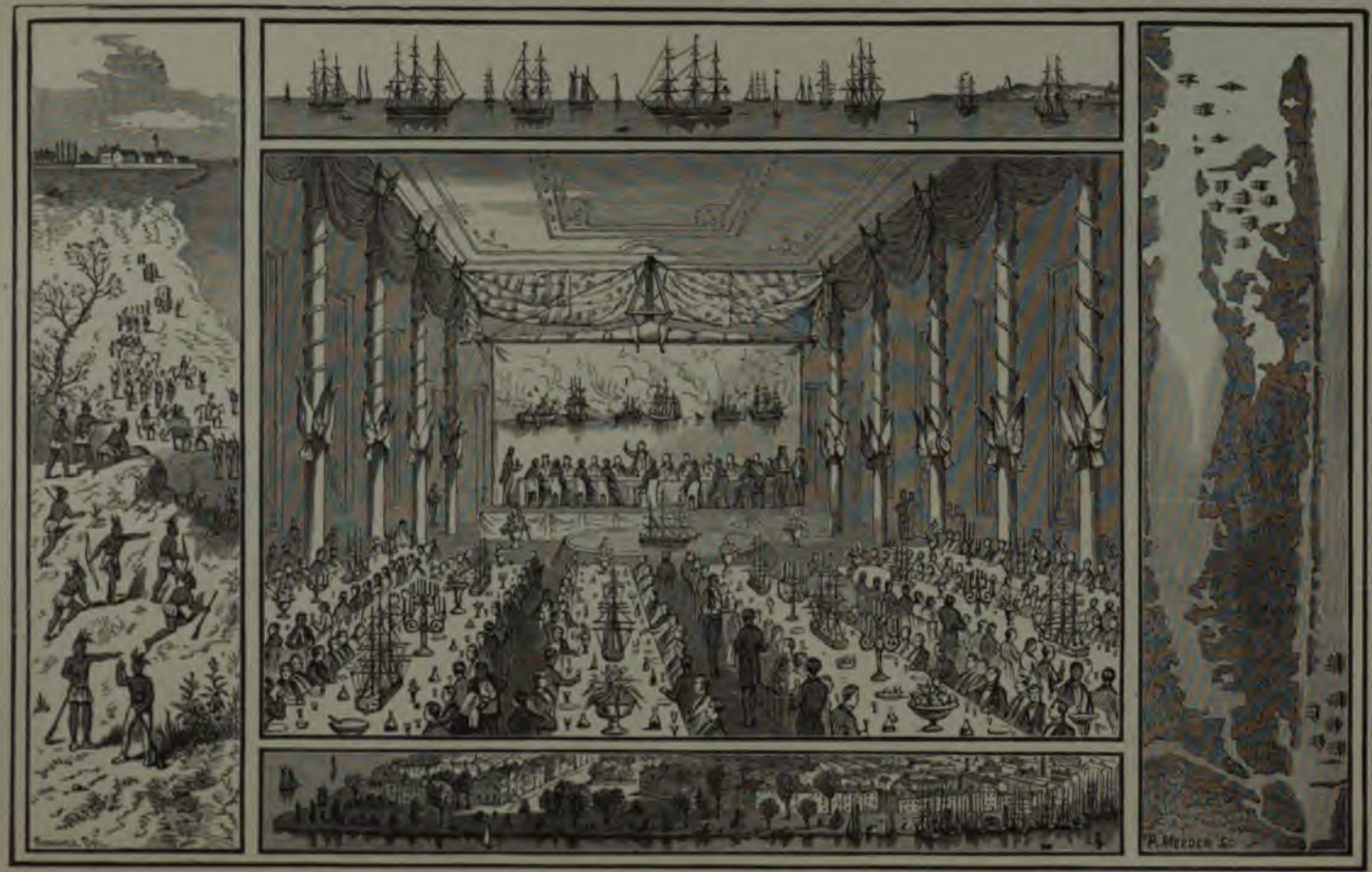
a great marine palace. The genius and taste as well as the money of New York had been lavishly expended upon its adornment. "It was colonnaded round with the masts of ships, entwined with laurels, and bearing the flags of all the world." Upon each individual table was a ship in miniature with the American flag displayed. At the head of the room, one long table, elevated some three feet above the others, was graced by Mayor De Witt Clinton, the president of the feast, with Decatur upon his right, and Hull upon his left hand. In front of this, appeared in the midst of a grassy area, a real lake of water upon which floated a miniature frigate. And back of all hung the mainsail of a ship, thirty-three by sixteen feet. At the moment of the utterance of the third toast, "Our Navy," this great mainsail was furled, revealing an immense transparent painting representing the three naval battles in which Hull, Decatur, and Jones had been respectively engaged.[1]

Other surprises of the most novel and charming character enraptured the assemblage. The poets of the land, catching inspiration from the shouts of triumph that filled the air, had written a score or more of stirring banquet-songs, several of which were rendered on this occasion with great effect, alternating with happy speeches, and deafening cheers.

Decatur's victory, following so closely upon that of Hull, produced a perfect delirium of ecstasy. He brought the victorious *United States* and the conquered *Macedonian* safely through the Sound and East River into New York harbor about the middle of December; and the noise and tumult of wild enthusiasm which greeted his arrival exceeded anything New York had ever before witnessed. An occasional blockade of what was to the enemy "the troublesome port of New York" had all along been maintained by the British cruisers, and at this juncture, astounded at the heavy and ominous blows dealt at her supremacy of the seas, Great Britain determined to cripple New York by compelling her to keep her private-armed cruisers at home. One or two large war-vessels could already be seen off Sandy Hook, precursors of a formidable British fleet which took possession of Gardiner's Bay and the surrounding waters early in the following April, and kept New York under strict blockade for a year and ten months. Decatur was overwhelmed with compliments and testimonials, banquets, and balls; and such honors were attended with genuine appreciation of his distinguished services. In New York, among other public gifts he received the freedom of the city in a gold box; and he was requested to sit for his portrait.

Decatur's gallant crew were complimented with a banquet at the City Hotel, January 7, 1813, the room being decorated as at the imposing en-

[1] *The War*, I. 119. Jones was not able to be present at this banquet.



"While celebrating victories that enveloped the little American navy upon the ocean in a blaze of glory, and with fleets in readiness to dispute the

tertainment given to the heroic commanders. At the table the sailors were addressed by Alderman John Vanderbilt. In the evening they were conducted to Park Theater by invitation of the manager. The whole pit was reserved for their accommodation. The drop-curtain in the form of a transparency, bore a representation of the fight between the *United States* and the *Macedonian*. Children danced on the stage, carrying large letters of the alphabet in their hands, which being joined in the course of the dance produced in transparency the names of Hull, Decatur, and Jones; and an Irish clown sang a comic song of seven stanzas, written for the occasion, beginning: —

"No more of your blathering nonsense
'Bout Nelsons of old Johnny Bull;
I 'll sing you a song, by my conscience,
'Bout Jones and Decatur and Hull."

It was on Christmas, 1812, the day before the banquet, that the ceremony of presentation to Hull occurred in the council chamber of City Hall. A committee, consisting of Colonel Nicholas Fish, General Jacob Morton, and Peter Mesier, introduced him to the common council, when Mayor De Witt Clinton arose and addressed him in the most felicitous manner, presenting a diploma superbly executed in vellum, and the exquisite gold box containing the freedom of the city, which had been prepared for his acceptance.

The situation of New York at this crisis was peculiar. The war menaced the great commercial capital of the continent on every side. Nobly had she sent forth her blood and treasure towards the several points of the compass to grapple with the enemy. Now the pride and the energy of Great Britain were thoroughly aroused. On one of the last days of the year 1812 it was determined in British council to send out a land and naval force sufficient to chastise the Americans; in short, to blockade and desolate the coasts of the United States, and destroy the centers of American commercial and naval power.

While celebrating victories that enveloped the little American navy upon the ocean in a blaze of glory, and with fleets in readiness to dispute the sovereignty of her lakes, New York shuddered at the war-cry of the savages in the wilds of Ohio as they made their easterly way in the bloody work of extermination begun at Chicago, and turned oceanward only to find egress from her harbor effectually closed by the great warships of the haughty foe.

The *Constitution* reached Boston on the 15th of February, 1813, and Commodore Bainbridge immediately despatched Lieutenant Ludlow with a letter to the Secretary of the Navy, giving an account 1813.

of the capture of the *Java*. The popular honors accorded to the hero of this fourth brilliant naval triumph, exceeded, if possible, all others. Processions, receptions, banquets, and testimonials attended him wherever he went. Men of all political parties united in giving proofs of their gratitude to one who had so signally benefited his country. The discipline and bravery of American seamen were not only rendered conspicuous, but also their generosity and humanity to their captives, of which the British officers bore strong testimony in their official letters. New York and Albany each presented Bainbridge with a gold box containing the freedom of the city, and Philadelphia gave him an elegant service of silver plate, the most remarkable piece of which was a massive and costly urn, eighteen inches in height, upon which was elegantly wrought the wrecked *Java* and the triumphant *Constitution*. The corporation of New York invited him to sit for his portrait, which was painted by John Wesley Jarvis.



Bainbridge Urn.

In the mean time, news reached the city of the defeat of a detachment of General Harrison's army in Ohio, sent forward through the midwinter snows to disperse a party of British and Indians quartered at Frenchtown, now Monroe, in Michigan, only eighteen miles across the river from Malden. They performed the service gallantly. The enemy was routed and driven two miles on the 18th of January; but on the cold night of the 22d returned three thousand strong in profound silence — the savages led by Roundhead and the British by Proctor — and at daylight attacked the Americans with such terrible vigor that the latter surrendered. Scarcely had they laid down their arms, under promise of protection from the British commander, when they found themselves deserted, left to the mercy of the Indians — in other words, reserved to be butchered in cold blood. Five hundred were slain. The scene was one of the most horrible on record. The tomahawk was employed to fell the strongest; and at the same time the knife was severing scalps from the heads of both the dead and the living. Men lay weltering in their blood, suffering most excruciating agonies, when the fiends in human shape, having secured their plunder and scalps, set fire to the houses and consumed the dying and the dead. The atrocious barbarities attending this massacre thrilled the American heart with unspeakable indignation.

Congress assembled in November, and legislation was speedily directed to increase of the army and navy. To provide for defraying the

augmented expense the President was authorized to borrow a sum of money not exceeding sixteen millions, and to issue treasury notes to the amount of five millions. In the heat of the exciting debates over these various bills, the results of the election were disclosed. New York, New Jersey, and all the New England States except Vermont, had voted for De Witt Clinton; but Madison was re-elected, and Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts became Vice-President. The election for members of Congress resulted in favor of the administration; but there was a powerful opposition to the war candidates in the New England, or ship-owning States, and the Federal side of the House was stronger and abler than it had been for many sessions. Quincy declining re-election, his place was well supplied by Artemas Ward, son of the Revolutionary General, and by the aged Pickering from the Salem district. Cyrus King of Massachusetts, a half-brother of Rufus King who had been chosen to the Senate, was also among the new members, and Daniel Webster of New Hampshire. Judge Egbert Benson and Thomas P. Grosvenor were the leading representatives from New York, and Grosvenor soon proved himself the readiest debater in the House. 1813.

In the State, contrary to general expectation, Tompkins was re-elected governor by a considerable majority over Stephen Van Rensselaer, the Federal candidate, and John Tayler became lieutenant-governor. De Witt Clinton was reappointed mayor of New York; and General Armstrong was made Secretary of War by the President.

On the 25th of March, the city was in proud, joyful commotion over the arrival of the *Hornet*, under Captain James Lawrence, who had added one more naval victory to those already recorded. He had attacked the British frigate *Peacock* off the South American coast on the 22d of February, and with such a blaze of fire that in fourteen minutes she not only struck her colors, but raised a signal of distress. Her commander was slain, a great portion of her crew had fallen, and with six feet of water in her hold she was verily in a sinking condition. Only one American was killed in the action and two wounded. So severely riddled was the *Peacock* that it was impossible to keep her afloat until all the prisoners were removed, although the most strenuous exertions were made. The vessel filled with water rapidly, and nine of her crew and three from the *Hornet* in the act of saving them, went down with her and perished.

Captain Lawrence was thirty-two, tall, splendidly developed, with much personal beauty and captivating manners — one of the chivalrous, fiery-souled heroes who went forth singly to do or die for the honor of his country. He was quick and impetuous in his feelings, greatly beloved, and inspired all about him with ardor; but in all critical situa-

tions his coolness was remarkable. Decatur said, "He always knew the best thing to be done, he knew the best way to execute it, and he had no more dodge in him than the mainmast."

Intelligence of the exploit of the *Hornet* produced a profound sensation in both countries. "The Americans are a dead nip," said a British newspaper. "It will never do for our vessels to fight theirs single-handed." The mortified Britons investigated causes, and exerted themselves to the utmost in the selection of crews and in their discipline and practice of manœuvres, to render them more fit to cope with the American vessels. President Madison, in his message to Congress at its special session in May, spoke of the brilliant achievement of Captain Lawrence and his brave companions, as one "gained with a celerity so unexampled, and with a slaughter so disproportionate to the loss in the *Hornet* as to claim for the conqueror the highest praise."



James Lawrence.
[From the painting by Stuart.]

The corporation of New York presented Lawrence with a gold box containing the freedom of the city, and with a piece of plate bearing unique devices and inscriptions; also tendered him a dinner, the invitations being headed with a wood cut by Anderson, representing a naval battle. The corporation committee, Augustus H. Lawrence, Elisha W. King, and Peter Mesier, made the arrangements for the banquet, which took place on the 4th of May at Washington Hall, then occupying the site of Stewart's wholesale store. In the evening the officers and seamen of the *Hornet* were treated to an entertainment at the Park Theater. When Lawrence entered, accompanied by General Van Rensselaer, General Jacob Morton, and other official characters, the house rang with the wildest huzzas. Everywhere throughout the land the name of Lawrence was honored.

Before the end of the month Lawrence was in Boston, assigned to the

augmented expense the President was authorized to borrow a sum of money not exceeding sixteen millions, and to issue treasury notes to the amount of five millions. In the heat of the exciting debates over these various bills, the results of the election were disclosed. New York, New Jersey, and all the New England States except Vermont, had voted for De Witt Clinton; but Madison was re-elected, and Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts became Vice-President. The election for members of Congress resulted in favor of the administration; but there was a powerful opposition to the war candidates in the New England, or ship-owning States, and the Federal side of the House was stronger and abler than it had been for many sessions. Quincy declining re-election, his place was well supplied by Artemas Ward, son of the Revolutionary General, and by the aged Pickering from the Salem district. Cyrus King of Massachusetts, a half-brother of Rufus King who had been chosen to the Senate, was also among the new members, and Daniel Webster of New Hampshire. Judge Egbert Benson and Thomas P. Grosvenor were the leading representatives from New York, and Grosvenor soon proved himself the readiest debater in the House. 1813.

In the State, contrary to general expectation, Tompkins was re-elected governor by a considerable majority over Stephen Van Rensselaer, the Federal candidate, and John Tayler became lieutenant-governor. De Witt Clinton was reappointed mayor of New York; and General Armstrong was made Secretary of War by the President.

On the 25th of March, the city was in proud, joyful commotion over the arrival of the *Hornet*, under Captain James Lawrence, who had added one more naval victory to those already recorded. He had attacked the British frigate *Peacock* off the South American coast on the 22d of February, and with such a blaze of fire that in fourteen minutes she not only struck her colors, but raised a signal of distress. Her commander was slain, a great portion of her crew had fallen, and with six feet of water in her hold she was verily in a sinking condition. Only one American was killed in the action and two wounded. So severely riddled was the *Peacock* that it was impossible to keep her afloat until all the prisoners were removed, although the most strenuous exertions were made. The vessel filled with water rapidly, and nine of her crew and three from the *Hornet* in the act of saving them, went down with her and perished.

Captain Lawrence was thirty-two, tall, splendidly developed, with much personal beauty and captivating manners — one of the chivalrous, fiery-souled heroes who went forth singly to do or die for the honor of his country. He was quick and impetuous in his feelings, greatly beloved, and inspired all about him with ardor; but in all critical situa-

was slain in the act by one of the *Shannon's* guns. The British victory was dearly purchased; their loss was twenty-three killed and fifty-six wounded. The battle lasted, altogether, not more than fifteen minutes, and yet "both ships were charnel-houses." Of the Americans forty-eight were killed and ninety-eight wounded.

Thus terminated one of the most extraordinary combats of the age. The capture of a single ship of war probably never produced a greater effect upon the contending parties. The joy in England was only equaled by the depression in America. Public speeches in and out of Parliament, the Tower guns, bonfires, illuminations, presentations, and compliments in showers from every quarter, greeted the conqueror, who was knighted by the Prince Regent. A gorgeous piece of silver plate, forty-four inches in diameter, and enriched with emblematical devices, was presented him by the inhabitants of Suffolk, his native county. Lawrence died on the 6th, and his body wrapped in the flag of the *Chesapeake* lay upon the quarter-deck, as the two ships entered the harbor of Halifax on the 7th. A whole nation mourned his loss, and the enemy contended with his countrymen as to who should most honor his remains. Funeral obsequies were performed at Halifax with every mark of respect for the hero. In August, by permission of the British authorities, the remains of both Lawrence and Ludlow were brought to New York, and received public funeral honors for the third time, and were interred in Trinity churchyard. Their resting-place is marked by a mausoleum of brown freestone, around which are placed eight trophy cannon, with chains attached, forming an appropriate enclosure.

June 6.

The manner in which Lawrence carried his vessel into action was eulogized by enemies as well as friends, and all agreed that the disaster was owing to a concurrence of circumstances not likely to happen again. His dying words, "*Don't give up the ship!*" became the battle-cry of the American navy during the whole war. It was the motto upon the banner borne by Perry's flag-ship into battle three months later, and is still a proverbial phrase to all who are struggling in life's various battles.

The year 1813 was one not soon to be forgotten by the inhabitants of New York. The war raged along her extensive borders with varied success. The St. Lawrence was a dividing line between small bodies of hostile troops who were constantly projecting forays, plundering and capturing private persons, and destroying public property wherever it could be found. On the cold night of February 6, Major Forsyth, in command at Ogdensburg, crossed the river upon the ice to Brockville with a party of two hundred, riflemen and volunteers, aided by Colonel Benedict of the

New York militia, his purpose being to rescue some American prisoners confined in the jail of that town. He surprised the post, captured the commander, five subordinate officers, forty-six men, and a large quantity of military stores, besides securing the key of the jail and releasing the prisoners. He returned to Ogdensburg before daylight, without the loss of a man. In retaliation, a large British force came over on the ice from Prescott, attacking Ogdensburg on the morning of the 22d, and after a sharp contest drove the troops off and sacked the town, entering every house but three, and destroyed a large amount of private property. They retired with their booty to Canada on the same day.

The invasion of Canada was the principal feature in the programme of the campaign of 1813. Dearborn joined Commodore Chauncey at Sackett's Harbor, and by the middle of April a joint land and naval expedition was matured against York, now Toronto, the capital of Upper Canada. The squadron under Chauncey conveyed the troops across Lake Ontario, and on the 27th of April, after a sharp engagement the post was captured, and the stars and stripes floated triumphantly over the fort. But the town had no natural defenses, and being of little value to the Americans, was abandoned.

Just one month later, May 27th, an expedition against Fort George, on the western shore of the Niagara River, resulted in the capture of that British stronghold. In this masterly achievement, Oliver Hazard Perry, Winfield Scott, and Alexander Macomb bore a prominent part. The specific duty of landing the troops was intrusted to Perry. Scott led the advance up a precipitous bank in the face of a formidable force of eight hundred men, well posted on its summit. The conduct of Perry was remarkable. Unmindful of personal danger he went from vessel to vessel in an open boat, giving directions concerning the landing, and, finally, leaped with Scott into the water and swam ashore through the surf. Scott, in his first attempt to ascend the bank, was hurled backward to the beach, but rallying instantly, he pushed forward with such destructive energy that in twenty minutes he had accomplished the undertaking, and the enemy were flying in confusion towards Queenstown. At noon Fort George and its dependencies, with the village of Newark, were in the quiet possession of the Americans; the attack and conquest having occupied only three hours.

The same evening a British squadron, which had been confined all winter in the harbor of Kingston through the audacious operations of Chauncey upon Lake Ontario, spread its sails, and at midday on the 28th appeared off Sackett's Harbor. It was commanded by Sir James Lucas Yeo, in person, who was accompanied by Sir George Prevost, the governor-

general of Canada. These two British officers thought to capture Sackett's Harbor, with all its valuable public property, during the absence of the expedition to Fort George. The assault was made on the 29th, but through the skill, courage, and nerve of General Jacob Brown,[1] assisted by the gallant Colonel Backus of New York, who fell in the engagement, and Lieutenant-colonel Aspinwall, Lieutenant Ketchum, Lieutenant Talman, Lieutenant Wolcott Chauncey, and others of equal spirit, the British and Indians were driven in disorder to their vessels. No event of the war was of more importance to the Republic. The loss of the post would have inflicted a terrible injury upon the American cause; and its intrepid defense under the most appalling difficulties and against a greatly superior force won universal praise and gratitude. No further attempts were made by the enemy to capture Sackett's Harbor, and it remained, as it had been from the beginning, the most important place of deposit for the army and navy stores of the Americans on the New York frontier.

Dearborn remained at Fort George; the discomfited enemy, gathering strength in the vicinity, abandoned Fort Erie, which the Americans immediately occupied; and, finally, a rumor came that Proctor was marching from the Detroit frontier to assist in recovering Fort George. Detachments were immediately sent to dislodge the British commander at Burlington Heights, but they were ensnared at Stony Creek on the 6th of June in a confused and disastrous night-battle, and Generals Chandler and Winder were both captured. In the mean time the British squadron hovered along the lake coast and interfered greatly with the supplies for the American camp; on the 12th of June it captured two American vessels laden with valuable hospital stores; on the 15th it made a descent upon the village of Charlotte, on the Genesee River, and carried off a large quantity of stores; and on the 18th, landed a party of one hundred fully armed men at Sodus Point for the purpose of destroying American stores known to be deposited there, and, when arrested and driven back, burned the public store-houses, five dwellings, and one hotel — destroying property to the amount of twenty-five thousand dollars.

[1] The public career of General Jacob Brown forms an important part of the history of the times. In 1798, at the age of twenty-three, he was a school-teacher in the city of New York, and commenced the study of law, but it was distasteful to him, and he purchased a large estate on the Black River and founded the settlement of Brownsville. He was commissioned a brigadier-general of militia by Tompkins in the beginning of the war, and having finished the term of service for which he was called, retired to his home at Brownsville, but a few miles distant from Sackett's Harbor. He had been requested by Dearborn, and urged by Macomb, to assume chief command in that region, and had signified his willingness to do so in case of an actual invasion. Colonel Electus Backus of New York, who was left in command of the post, sent an express to General Brown, as soon as the enemy were discovered off the harbor, May 28, 1813.

On the 23d Dearborn detached a party of six hundred under Colonel Bœrstler to disperse a body of the enemy at Beaver Dams, seventeen miles from Fort George, and was assailed on the route in the woods by a force of British and Indians who compelled his surrender. In addition to all this, several tragedies occurred in the immediate neighborhood of the fort. The continual tidings of misfortune irritated Congress, and Dearborn was superseded by Wilkinson in the early part of July.

Meanwhile Harrison — charged with the defense of the isolated posts in Ohio, the recovery of Detroit, and the invasion of Canada from that point — had fortified Fort Meigs opposite the present city of Maumee, immediately after the massacre at Frenchtown. The ice had no sooner passed from the rivers than Proctor and Tecumseh, with a large force of British and Indians, encamped on the left bank of the Maumee about two miles below, near old Fort Miami, and on the 28th of April commenced a vigorous bombardment of Fort Meigs. The siege was maintained until the 9th of May, during which period some of the most tragic scenes in human history were enacted. But brighter days were dawning. On the 4th Proctor sent an officer to demand the surrender of the post. "Tell General Proctor," responded Harrison promptly, "that if he shall take the fort it will be under circumstances that will do him more honor than a thousand surrenders." All efforts proving unsuccessful, the enemy finally retired in disgust. Tecumseh's emissaries at once hurried westward, for savage recruits, even to the Mississippi, making desolated Chicago the grand rendezvous, and three thousand warriors speedily tramped through the woods of Michigan and joined the British at Detroit. In the latter part of July they made a second attempt to capture "Fort Meigs," which ended as before in disappointment and exasperation. They proceeded thence to assault Fort Stephenson, at Sandusky, which was so gallantly defended by only one hundred and sixty men under George Croghan of Kentucky, a young major of twenty-one, that they were obliged to abandon the undertaking.

All eyes were now turned towards the movements on Lake Erie. Oliver Hazard Perry, twenty-seven years of age, was about to perform the most important naval service of the campaign and of the war. When the year commenced, he was in command of a flotilla of gunboats at Newport, but desired a wider field of action. In February, Chauncey wrote to him, "You are the very person I want for a particular service." Within twenty-four hours young Perry was seated in a sleigh on his way to New York, accompanied by Alexander, his little brother of thirteen. He proceeded at once to Erie to hasten the preparation of a squadron. Noah Brown, a shipwright from New York had already done

much of the preliminary work. Captain Henry Brevoort of New York, who, while with Hull's army at Detroit, was appointed commander of such government vessels as might be placed upon the lakes at that period, was detailed with two hundred seamen to accompany Perry from Fort George to Erie, after the abandonment of the entire line of the Niagara River by the British, in July. This party succeeded in taking five war-vessels from that stream to the harbor of Erie after six days of almost incredible labor. Brevoort performed another service of great moment; He communicated the exact size and character of each British vessel in the harbor at Malden. This he was enabled to do through the aid of his family, who had resided in Detroit ever since its surrender. Perry's fleet consisted of ten vessels, and each one was assigned to a special antagonist, which it was to engage in close action. A large square battle-flag of blue with words in white, "Don't give up the ship," had been privately prepared under his direction at Erie; when hoisted to the main-royal mast-head of the flag-ship *Lawrence*, it was to be the signal for going into battle.



Oliver Hazard Perry.

Perry sailed in quest of the enemy on the 1st of September, but the British commander was not quite ready to respond to the challenge. On the morning of the 10th a sail was descried in the direction of Malden, and the whole British squadron was presently in full view. The battle was commenced by the Americans, the gallant Stephen Champlin in command of the *Scorpion* firing the first shot. He was first cousin to Commodore Perry, and but twenty-four years of age. It was a terrible contest, and a complete victory. In the midst of the carnage Perry left his disabled flag-ship, and in a little open row-boat with four seamen passed to the unharmed *Niagara*. The perilous voyage occupied fifteen minutes, during which Perry stood erect, tall, graceful, a man of remarkable symmetry of figure, with the pennant banner half folded about him, unmindful of danger, while the enemy the bold movement hurled a steady shower of cannon-ball, grape, and musket-shot towards his frail bark. It was only when the neatened to cease labor if he remained standing, that he seated

Sept. 10.

himself. He was no sooner upon the *Niagara* than, with his pennant and banner flying, he bore down and broke the enemy's line, and made such havoc with his guns, that the entire squadron surrendered — not one vessel being left to bear the tidings of defeat.

It was a proud moment for Perry and his companions; it was a proud moment for America. Never before in history had a whole British fleet or squadron been captured! The conqueror, even before the blue vapor of battle was borne away by the breeze, wrote in pencil on the back of an old letter the remarkable despatch to General Harrison which has been so often quoted, "We have met the enemy and they are ours: two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop."

At that very hour two armies, one on the north and one on the south side of the warring ships, were waiting for the result most anxiously. Should the day be gained by the British, Proctor and Tecumseh were ready to rush into Ohio and lay waste the whole frontier. Should the day be gained by the Americans, Harrison was prepared to press forward for the recovery of Detroit, and the invasion of Canada.

This success upon Lake Erie destroyed the Indian confederacy. The British could no longer hope to hold Detroit and Malden, and therefore evacuated both places. Perry converted some of the captured vessels into transports and conveyed Harrison's troops to the Canada shore. Malden was garrisoned, Detroit was reoccupied, and Lewis Cass appointed governor of the recovered Territory of Michigan. Harrison soon started in pursuit of Proctor and Tecumseh, and, after traversing eighty miles, found their main army upon the Thames and fought the famous battle in which the great Tecumseh was killed. It was a complete and decisive victory for the Americans; the coast was cleared of the British, and the various tribes of Indians sued for peace. On the same day that Proctor was defeated at the Thames, Chauncey captured six British schooners on Lake Ontario. These repeated losses induced Sir George Prevost to withdraw his troops from the investment of Fort George. Harrison on the 20th embarked with his regulars for Buffalo to aid in carrying the war into the neighborhood of the St. Lawrence River.

Oct. 5.

Oct. 20.

As these events were following each other in rapid succession, the glad tidings of Perry's victory were being conveyed from town to town through the country by messengers on horseback, or on foot, as the case might be. "Oh, for a canal — the vehicle for the quick and safe transmission or important intelligence!" exclaimed one of the New York enthusiasts upon that subject. From Albany to New York the news came by steamboat. A riot of exultation took possession of the land; the popular joy expressed itself in shouts and bonfires, in artillery, bells, and orations.

New York was gorgeously illuminated, every building in Broadway, and in all the other principal streets, being lighted from foundation to roof. The City Hall was like a sea of fire. A fine band discoursed music in the gallery of the portico, and transparencies were displayed showing naval battles; also, the words of Lawrence, "Don't give up the ship," and those of Perry's despatch to Harrison, "We have met the enemy and they are ours." Similar transparencies were exhibited at the theater, and were carried by processions through the streets during the evening. The whole community participated in the demonstrations of delight.

Oct. 23.

But the storm was not yet spent for New York. The war-cloud settled darker and more portentous than ever over her northern frontier. Lake Champlain was erelong to become the scene of another terrible struggle for supremacy between the two nations. And in the interim a series of attempts and failures, of partial triumphs and disasters, of consolations and disappointments, were to keep New York in one continual ferment of agitation from center to circumference; while a fearful array of retaliatory barbarities were perpetrated upon defenseless and unoffending citizens dwelling near the borders of the State to the north and west.

Another portion of New York was sorely distressed by the blockade. The eastern end of Long Island, with its well-stocked, and rich, highly-cultivated farms was unprotected. The people were terror-stricken when Commodore Sir Thomas Hardy anchored his flag-ship *Ramillies* in Gardiner's Bay early in April. The frigate *Orpheus*, Captain Sir Hugh Pigott, with several ships of the line, and a number of smaller vessels, made this little retreat headquarters. As Admiral Cockburn was just then engaged in the pastime of plundering and desolating the coasts south of the Delaware, it was supposed Long Island would share the same fate. But Hardy was a gentleman, not a marauder. His troops, however, must be fed, and he immediately took measures to obtain fresh provisions.

Gardiner's Island, the oldest feudal estate in New York, had outgrown all traces of Revolutionary wastes, and was once more a garden of beauty. Its fields of oats, wheat, and other grains, prospered under the well-directed care of eighty or more dependents; some two thousand loads of hay were yearly stored in its barns; three hundred head of cattle grazed its green pastures; its dairy produced immense quantities of butter and an average of one hundred and twenty pounds of cheese per day; two thousand sheep yielded annually some sixteen thousand pounds of wool; one hundred or more hogs were raised; and the lord of the isle rarely stabled less than sixty or seventy horses, the finest in the country. Deer amed at will, and wild turkeys coming to the yards were daily fed with e tame fowls.

John Lyon Gardiner, the seventh manorial lord in the direct descent, reigned over the island. His wife was the granddaughter of Governor Matthew and Ursula Wolcott Griswold, and the niece of Governor Roger Griswold who had so recently died. Despite the democratic sentiment of America, the proprietor of this old manor-property retained his title of lord among his associates and neighbors. He was addressed as Lord Gardiner to the end of his life. He was educated at Princeton, New Jersey, and in 1803, a refined, scholarly bachelor of thirty-four, was residing in princely solitude on his water-bound estate. The even tenor of his life was suddenly changed by a freak of the elements. A sailing party from Old Lyme, Connecticut, was becalmed one afternoon on the Sound within sight of Gardiner's Island. As night approached, a breeze



Lord and Lady Gardiner.
[From an old painting in the manor-house.]

sprung up and so did a storm. They steered their little bark towards the nearest landing, and hurried to the manor-house for shelter. They were received by an old housekeeper; but presently the handsome young lord made his appearance and, learning who his visitors were, extended cordial hospitalities. An elaborate supper was served, and music and dancing followed. The next morning the delighted refugees bade their charming host adieu. But the island sovereign soon after entered his barge, and with numerous attendants and much stately ceremony proceeded to Black Hall, the seat of the Griswolds in Old Lyme, and ere many months elapsed bore the beautiful Sarah, a bride, to the manor-island whither she had been drifted in such a romantic manner by the breeze of destiny.

Commodore Hardy prefaced his requisitions for produce from the island with courteous words and promises of payment. And he endeavored to restrain his seamen from showing disrespect to the proprietor and his family. But they were perpetually coming ashore and taking whatever they pleased; oxen were often shot at the plough and carried to the vessels. The steward, or overseer of the island, Lewis Edwards, claimed and received the market price for what was taken with his knowledge. His hatred of the British was very great and he tried to outwit them, not infrequently by sorting out the poorest cattle and sheep and placing them where detachments coming ashore would see them first. Gardiner, discovering that the little garrison at Sag Harbor was about to be attacked, sent a trusty colored servant thither with a note of information, directing him to keep a stone tied to the missive while crossing the bay, and if overhauled by the British picket-boats to drop it into the water. The negro accomplished his mission in safety, and when over a hundred assaulters, in one launch and two barges from the squadron, approached that village at midnight they were met by the militia and driven to their vessels in disorder.

Charles Paget, a senior officer of the squadron, suspecting that all was not friendly, wrote to Gardiner, warning him that "the peaceable situation of the island was wholly through sufferance," and that the most trivial instance of hostility practised upon any boat or individual belonging to the British squadron would be visited with serious consequences upon himself, his people, and his property. This did not deter the resolute proprietor, however, from promptly refusing to accede to certain unreasonable demands made by Sir Hugh Pigott, when early one June morning that officer appeared with a number of subordinates before the manor-house. Threats of firing into the dwelling only resulted in Gardiner's sending his family and servants into the cellar, while he remained facing the intruders, firm as adamant. Pigott finally went away in a rage without doing any harm. When the party had nearly reached the shore one of the officers stepped back and intimated to Gardiner that Pigott would be reported to the Commodore. The next day Sir Thomas Hardy wrote a polite letter of apology and regret for the occurrence to the lord of the manor.[1]

[1] The purchase and settlement of the manor of Gardiner's Island in 1639, was one of the most romantic incidents in the history of New York, or of America. Lion Gardiner landed at Boston in the autumn of 1635, accompanied by his wife and one maid-servant, having crossed the ocean in a Norsey bark of twenty-five tons burden. *Mass. Hist. Coll.* Vol. III. Third Series, pp. 131 - 161; Vol. III., Third Series, p. 271; Vol. X. Third Series, pp. 173 - 185. He was expected and hospitably welcomed by the little Boston community, composed chiefly of governors — Dudley, Sir Henry Vane, Endicott, Bellingham, Ludlow, and the two Winthrops being already there. He was destined for Saybrook, but Boston had no fort, and

On the 1st of June Commodore Decatur, anxious to leave New York, resolved to run the blockade. The *Poictiers* and a number of other vessels were carefully guarding the passage beyond the Narrows, hence he passed through the Sound, accompanied by the *Macedonian* (which had been repaired at the New York navy-yard and placed under the command of the gallant Captain Jones) and the *Hornet* under Captain Biddle — hoping to slip out upon the ocean between Montauk Point and Block Island. They were discovered, however, by three or four of the large British vessels, and all chased into New London harbor and blockaded there for the next twenty months.

A boat's crew of Decatur's men managed soon after to elude the vigilance of the enemy and landed on Gardiner's Island. They concealed themselves in the woods until a party from one of the British ships, among whom were several officers, came ashore and strolled up to the manor-house, then coming suddenly into view made them all prisoners. The astonished captives were violently enraged, but helpless, and were quickly and quietly conveyed across the water into Connecticut. Barges were at once ordered by the enemy to patrol the waters about Gardiner's Island, and troops were sent for the arrest of the proprietor, who was supposed instrumental in betraying the British into the trap, but who was

as he was the first professional engineer who had landed in New England he remained long enough to design and build one (which continued in use until after the Revolution) before proceeding to Saybrook where he commanded in person throughout the Pequot War. His signature and seal as attached to a letter written from Saybrook to Governor Winthrop,





November 6, 1636, are given above. *Mass. Hist. Coll.* Vol. VII. Fourth Series, pp. 52-64; (see fac-similes of signatures and seals in Appendix). Becoming dissatisfied with the management of affairs on both sides of the Atlantic, he coveted an empire of his own and purchased the island which bears his name, nine miles long by one and a half wide, containing thirty-three hundred acres, four miles from the eastern extremity of Long Island and full thirty miles from the nearest European settlement at the time. (See Vol. I. pp. 93, 238, 262, 442, 570; Vol. II. pp. 40, 199, 243.) He built a house to which he took his wife and two children, the youngest, Mary, subsequently becoming the wife of Jeremiah Conckling, ancestor of the notable New York family of Concklings. The island was constituted "an entirely separate and independent plantation," in no wise depending upon either New England or New York, and was in reality an isolated miniature principality. Forty-four years afterward it was erected into a lordship and manor, with all the privileges accorded to such institutions in England. The influence of the founder of this domain over the Indians was remarkable; and it is an interesting fact worthy of preservation, that no conspiracy, even of a single tribe, was ever formed by the Long Island Indians against intruding civilization.

really as much surprised as themselves, and entirely ignorant of the presence of the Americans until the skirmish occurred in his own door-yard.

Gardiner escaped captivity through the presence of mind and ingenuity of his wife.[1] He went to bed in the "green room," feigning sickness, and being a delicate man the reflection of the green curtains of the bedstead and windows gave him a sickly look. A little round table was placed by his bedside with medicines, glasses, and spoons. When the officers appeared and insisted upon seeing their victim, Mrs. Gardiner came forward, tearfully and whisperingly asking them to make as little noise as possible, and admitted them to her husband's room. They were

[1] John Lyon Gardiner, eldest son of David, the sixth lord of the manor, (born November, 1770, died November 22, 1816) received Gardiner's Island by entail, and married March 4, 1803, Sarah, daughter of John Griswold, of Old Lyme, Connecticut, granddaughter of Governor Matthew Griswold and Ursula Wolcott. Mrs. Gardiner was the sister of John and Charles C. Griswold, New York merchants who owned the London line of packets, important rivals of their merchant cousins; George and Nathaniel Lynde Griswold. (See pp. 612, 613.) In this connection it is interesting to note the hereditary influence of old Italian genius and temperament. The mother of Lady Gardiner was Sarah Diodati, daughter of Rev. Stephen and Elizabeth Diodati Johnson, the descendant through a long line of nobility from Cornelio Diodati, who settled in Lucca in 1300. In possession of the Diodati family in Geneva is a superb folio bound in crimson velvet, of fourteen pages in vellum, with the imperial seal of Joseph II. (1765 1790) hanging from it in a gilt box, which recites the dignities of the Diodati family in magnificent terms, and confirms to it the title of Count of the Empire, of the family-arms, the shield cupied with a fine illumination eagle. A copy of this folio is being placed on the imperial descendants of the Diodatis. in possession of the New York gave his own name to one of In 1541, Emperor Charles V. the lordship of two counties, the Diodatis, together with quartering from the imperial an insignia of diamonds, and a European sovereigns author- arms. Royal grants from other double eagle by any branch of ized the use of the imperial datis was Præfectus Militum, the family. One of the Dio- or General, to Charles III. of Spain — who reigned from 1759 to 1788. Another was the Rev. John Diodati of Geneva, born in 1576, who produced before he had completed his twenty-seventh year an Italian version of the Bible, and whose fame and influence as a theologian and author extended all over Europe ; it was his father who built the Diodati villa a little way up Lake Leman from Geneva, occupied by Lord Byron, and which is still in the family. — *Family Archives. Professor Edward E. Salisbury's Discourse* — to which is appended a genealogical chart with all the ramifications of the Diodati family.



Diodati Arms.

The children of John and Sarah Diodati Griswold were : 1. Diodati J. a young divine of great promise who died at the age of twenty-eight ; 2. Ursula W. who married Richard McCurdy, and was the mother of Judge Charles Johnson McCurdy, lieutenant-governor of Connecticut, minister to Austria, etc., etc., and of Robert H. McCurdy the distinguished merchant of New York ; 3. Elizabeth, married Jacob B. Gurley ; 4. Sarah, married John Lyon Gardiner ; 5. John, married first, Elizabeth M. Huntington, second, Louisa Wilson of Newark, New Jersey ; 6. Mary Ann, married Levi H. Clark ; 7. Charles C. married his

completely deceived, and not wishing to be encumbered with a sick man on board ship, turned away, but demanded his oldest son, David, as hostage, a little boy of ten years — who was fortunately away at school.

It was soon after made clear to the mind of Commodore Hardy that Gardiner was in no way responsible for what had occurred. On the 31st of July he wrote to him, "As it is probable that the government of the United States may call you to account for permitting refreshments to be taken by the British squadron from your place, I think it necessary for your satisfaction, and to prevent your experiencing the censure of your govern-

cousin, Elizabeth Griswold. Of the two daughters of Charles C. and Elizabeth Griswold Griswold, Elizabeth Diodati married Judge William B. Lane, son of Chief Justice Lane of Ohio; and Sarah J., married Lorillard Spencer of New York, whose daughter, Eleonora, married Virginio Cenci, Prince of Vicovaro, the grand chamberlain to the king of Italy.

John Lyon and Sarah Griswold Gardiner's children were: 1. David Johnson, died unmarried in 1829; 2. Sarah Diodati, married David Thompson of New York City; 3. Mary Brainard, died unmarried in 1833: 4. John Griswold, died unmarried; 5. Samuel Buell, married Mary Gardiner Thompson, and their children were: 1. Mary, married William R. Sands; 2. David J.; 3. John Lyon, married Coralie Livingston Jones; 4. Sarah G. married her cousin John Alexander Tyler. The children of David and Sarah Diodati Gardiner Thompson, 1. Sarah G. married her cousin David Lion Gardiner; 2. Elizabeth; 3. Gardiner; 4. David G.; 5. Charles G.; 6. Mary G.; 7. Frederick Diodati.

The Thompsons, who have in several generations intermarried with the Gardiners, descended from Rev. William Thompson of Lancashire, England. John Thompson (born 1597, died 1666), one of the fifty-five original proprietors of the town of Brookhaven, was graduated from Oxford in 1619, and removed to Long Island in 1634. He married Hannah Brewster, sister of Rev. Nathaniel Brewster of Setauket · their youngest son, Samuel, married Hannah, daughter of Rev Nathaniel Brewster (whose wife was the daughter of the "Worshippful Roger Ludlow," deputy governor of Massachusetts), and settled upon the valuable estate of his father. One of his daughters married Thomas Strong, and was the mother of the notable Judge Selah Strong; the eldest son, Jonathan Thompson, married Mary Woodhull (first cousin of General Woodhull of the Revolution), and served as justice of the peace forty or more years; he was the father of Judge Isaac Thompson, born in 1743, who married in 1772, Mary, daughter of Colonel Abraham Gardiner of Easthampton. The two sons of the latter, Jonathan and Abraham, became prominent merchants and citizens of New York. Jonathan married Elizabeth Havens of Shelter Island, and with Nathaniel Gardiner conducted a heavy West India importing business; he was appointed Collector at New York by Madison in 1813, reappointed by Monroe, and again by John Quincy Adams. He had six children, of whom, Mary Gardiner married Hon. Samuel Buell Gardiner, as mentioned above, the present proprietor of Gardiner's Island: and David, cashier of the Custom House, and of the Fulton Bank and Bank of America, holding also other important trusts, married Sarah Diodati Gardiner, the sister of Hon. Samuel Buell Gardiner of Gardiner's Island.



Thompson Arms.

Of the numerous descendants of Colonel Abraham Gardiner of Easthampton, one granddaughter, Mary, became the wife of Philip G. Van Wyck (see p. 409, Vol. II.) and a great-granddaughter, Julia Gardiner, married John Tyler, President of the United States.

ment, for me to assure you, that had you not complied with my wishes as you have done, I should certainly have made use of force, and the consequences would have been the destruction of your property, yourself a prisoner-of-war, and whatever was in the possession of your dependents taken without payment. But it is not my wish to distress individuals on the coast of the United States who may be in the power of the British squadron."

Experiments with torpedoes in the New York waters induced the utmost caution on the part of the British. Several attempts were made to blow up the *Ramillies;* and Hardy was rendered so uncomfortable that he not only kept his ship in motion, but caused her bottom to be swept with cable every two hours night and day. Boats of every description were sharply watched. Those of Gardiner were always manned by negroes, that the British guards might know instantly to whom they belonged and allow them to pass and repass without question.

At this time the *Essex* was in far distant seas, making one of the most remarkable cruises on record. Commodore Porter's first prize was a British packet with fifty-five thousand dollars on board. Reach-
1813. ing the Pacific, he captured every British whale-ship known to be off the coasts of Peru and Chili, depriving the enemy of property to the amount of some two and a half millions, and found himself, eight months after, sailing from the Delaware, in command of a squadron of nine armed vessels ready for formidable action. The *President,* Commodore Rodgers, was cruising through the summer in the Northern Atlantic; he made the complete circuit of Ireland, kept more than twenty British vessels in search of him for weeks, and reached Newport late in the autumn, having captured eleven merchantmen and the British armed schooner *Highflyer.* His prisoners had been nearly all paroled and sent home in captured vessels. He sailed again, December 5, in the direction of the Barbadoes, captured four British merchantmen, and suddenly dashed through the vigilant squadron of blockaders off Sandy Hook, entering New York harbor triumphantly on the evening of February 18, 1814. A little more than a month later (March 28), the *Essex* was captured after a severe fight in the neutral waters of Valparaiso, by the two British vessels, *Phœbe* and *Cherub.*

The brig *Enterprise,* Captain Burrows, captured the British gun-brig *Boxer* off the coast of Maine, on the 5th of September, after a spirited combat in which both commanders were mortally wounded. But in
nection with the cheering news came that of the loss of the *Asp*
the Chesapeake, and of the *Argus* in St. George's Channel; hence
s prevailed rather than light. The *Argus,* commander Allen,

had managed to slip out of New York in June, with the Hon. William H. Crawford on board (Minister to France in place of Joel Barlow, deceased), and after landing him safely on French soil about the middle of July, spread consternation through commercial England by a series of audacious exploits in the British and Irish channels; destroying, within thirty days, twenty-one British merchant-ships valued at two million dollars. So many were burned off the Irish coast that the inhabitants said the water was on fire. But on the 13th of August the British sloop *Pelican* attacked and captured the *Argus*, and Allen was killed.

The new year dawned cheerlessly for New York in the midst of a blinding storm of snow and sleet. Rumors had reached the city of great disasters to Napoleon at Leipsic on the 18th of October. His downfall was unquestionably near at hand, an event that would 1814. give Great Britain opportunity to send immense forces against the United States. Russia's proffered mediation, which had induced the sending of Albert Gallatin and James A. Bayard to St. Petersburg to act with John Quincy Adams in treating for peace, was refused by Great Britain; she seemed less inclined than ever to recede from her assumptions concerning the right of search and impressment.

To add to the general gloom, a courier, thirty-one days on the road from the region of the Indian war in Georgia and Alabama, instigated the year before by Tecumseh, reported British fleets in the Gulf of Mexico, New Orleans menaced, and Mobile and St. Augustine in imminent danger. General Andrew Jackson had responded to the fearful cry for help in the South, when the Creek savages, like demons, fell at noon, August 20, 1813, upon Fort Mims, a frontier post in Alabama, massacring three hundred and thirty men, women, and children, in a manner so horrible that history recoils from the recital. Jackson had, in turn, fallen upon the Indian villages with destructive fury, and fought many bloody battles. But when the year went out he was in want of means and forces, and uncertain of the future. It was not until the 27th of March, 1814, that the last great struggle of the Creeks occurred at the bend of the Tallapoosa, where six hundred of their warriors were left slain upon the field; and the residue of the wasted nation sued for peace.

New York at the same moment was painfully agitated over the Embargo Act of Congress, which, in accordance with the confidential advice of Madison, passed into a law on the 17th of December. It was fiercely opposed everywhere by the Federalists. It was aimed at the New England people, who, it was alleged, sold supplies to the British vessels, and thereby saved their coast from devastation. The provisions of this act were excessively stringent; nothing whatever, in the way of goods, live-stock, or specie,

could be carried from one point to another upon water-craft of any description. Thus the sea-board towns were suddenly deprived, in the heart of winter, of fuel and other necessaries, which they had been in the habit of obtaining from the coasters.

And while men long out of employment were driven to madness by this oppressive enactment, New England threatened to negotiate peace with Great Britain for herself alone, and let the country beyond the Hudson fight until satisfied. In short, open defiance was hurled at the national government, and the cause, origin, conduct, and probable results of the war, discussed with rancorous bitterness. Madison seriously apprehended the secession of the New England States. Their doctors of divinity advocated a war for peace, so to speak, from the pulpit. One minister said: "If the rich men persist in furnishing money, war will continue till the mountains are melted with blood — till every field in America is white with the bones of the people;" while another exclaimed: "Let no man who wishes to continue the war by active means, by vote or lending money, dare to prostrate himself at the altar, for such are actually as much partakers in the war as the soldier who thrusts his bayonet, and the judgment of God will await them." Finally the clamor for the repeal of the Embargo Act became so general that the President on the 19th of January issued a recommendation to that effect, which was hailed with delight through the length and breadth of the country. The act of Congress for the repeal of the measure became a law April 14; the event was celebrated with bonfires and speeches, and all the rhymers rhymed; in the *New York Evening Post* appeared a cartoon, designed by John Wesley Jarvis, and engraved on wood by Anderson, representing the "Death of the Terrapin, or the Embargo," of which the sketch is a copy, accompanied with some humorous lines, beginning thus:

April 14.

"Reflect, my friend, as you pass by,
As you are now, so once was I;
As I am now, so you may be —
Laid on your back to die like me!"



"Death of the Terrapin, or the Embargo."

CHAPTER XLVI.

1814, 1815.

THE FINAL STRUGGLE.

PEACE COMMISSIONERS. — THE BATTLE OF CHIPPEWA. — BATTLE OF LUNDY'S LANE. — SORTIE FROM FORT ERIE. — HONORS TO THE HEROIC COMMANDERS. — THE CITY OF NEW YORK IN ALARM. — CITIZENS WORKING ON THE FORTIFICATIONS. — CADWALLADER DAVID COLDEN. — BURNING OF THE CITY OF WASHINGTON. — NEW YORK CITY CURRENCY. — FINANCIAL AFFAIRS. — THE SEPTEMBER OF BLOOD. — THE TEMPER OF NEW YORK. — BALTIMORE ASSAILED. — INVASION OF NEW YORK THROUGH LAKE CHAMPLAIN. — GREAT VICTORY OF MACDONOUGH AND MACOMB. — PRIVATEERS. — CAPTAIN SAMUEL CHESTER REID. — THRILLING DEFENSE OF THE GENERAL ARMSTRONG. — JACKSON'S DEFENSE OF NEW ORLEANS. — THE FORTIFICATIONS OF NEW YORK CITY. — NEW ENGLAND'S OPPOSITION TO THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT. — NAVAL AFFAIRS. — MILITARY PARADE IN NEW YORK CITY. — DARKNESS AND GLOOM. — THE TREATY OF PEACE. — THE SABBATH OF THANKSGIVING.

THE pulse of New York beat irregularly as the spring opened. Apprehension alternated with uncertainty, dread with a sense of insecurity, hope with despair. Every event of the war affected her affairs. Every calamity drew upon her resources. No other city stood in the same relation to the North and the South, and none other was so much the object of British enterprise and ambition. 1814.

Matters seemed approaching an awful crisis: the outlook from every point of view had been altered by the unexpected turn of the wheel of fortune in Europe. Napoleon had fallen. He abdicated the throne of France on the 11th of April, and a prince of the house of Bourbon reigned in his stead. Thus, large bodies of veteran troops were idle, and Great Britain proceeded without delay to ship them to America. The intimations, in early winter, that commissioners from the United States, to treat directly with Great Britain for peace, would receive respectful attention, resulted in the appointment of the three gentlemen already in Russia, and of Henry Clay, and Jonathan Russell, to form such a commission. Albert Gallatin and James A. Bayard spent two months in London endeavoring to pave the way for peace. Ghent, in Holland, was finally agreed upon as the place of negotiation. But the British government appeared in no hurry to appoint negotiators. April 11.

There was a war-party in England, furious and passionate, which had

suddenly become formidable. "Let us make Madison resign and follow Bonaparte to some transatlantic Elba," it cried, in prophetic arrogance. Prominent statesmen of the realm, who had never seen America except on the maps, thought it extremely easy to surround and conquer the nation whose insolence, encouraged by naval successes, was no longer to be tolerated. "Distress the coasts all the way from Maine to New Orleans, invade New York through Lake Champlain and Lake Ontario, and strike New York City by approaches from the sea," was the outline of their proposed plan of operations. The war, they said, must assume a new character — that of offense. In short, the British war-party, with the *London Times* at its head, demanded the signal punishment of a pusillanimous and unnatural nation of Democrats, who had seized the moment of her greatest pressure to force a war upon England.

Congress, meanwhile, labored to increase the army and raise money for its support. Wilkinson was relieved of his command, and the brigadiers, Jacob Brown and George Izard, commissioned major-generals. The latter was the son of Ralph and Alice De Lancey Izard, and the great-grandson of Lieutenant-governor Colden of New York memory. He possessed the military spirit which characterized his Van Cortlandt, Schuyler, and De Lancey ancestors, and, having received a military education in Europe, much was hoped when he was placed in command of the main column at Plattsburg. Alexander Macomb, Winfield Scott, Edmund Pendleton Gaines, Colonel Ripley, Daniel Bissell, and Thomas A. Smith were made brigadiers. Scott was sent to command in the vicinity of the desolated Niagara frontier. The naval commander, Thomas Macdonough, was employed at Otter Creek, superintending the construction of war-vessels with which to drive the British from Lake Champlain. Chauncey, at Sackett's Harbor, was confident of securing the mastery of Lake Ontario; he had four new ships on the stocks, two of which were heavy frigates; but the transportation of the guns and equipments from New York to Oswego, and thence by the lake shore to Sackett's Harbor, was a slow and hazardous matter, resulting in several sharp conflicts with the enemy. Oswego was attacked unexpectedly on the 6th of May, and the fort captured; after destroying the military stores, the British returned to Canada.

May.

The reader, for a just estimate of the situation, must bear constantly in mind that there was then no telegraph for the quick transmission of startling news, nor railways over which soldiers might be borne in a night to the relief of the distressed. The greater portion of the frontier was a wilderness, roads were little more than openings, toilsome marches through swamps and forests were chiefly on foot, and the troops were com-

pelled to lift horses and cannon out of the mire at any moment. The topography and geography of the country were almost as imperfectly known at Washington as in London, hence orders were often amusing enigmas to the officers by whom they were to be executed. General Brown marched from Sackett's Harbor to Geneva, and from Geneva to Sackett's Harbor, then again from Sackett's Harbor to Batavia, where he remained four weeks, before his ambiguous instructions were rendered sufficiently intelligible for him to venture to invade Canada — which he was impatient to do before the British should invade New York. An order received by Commodore Woolsey ran thus: "Take the *Lady of the Lake* and proceed to Onondaga, and take in at Nicholas Mickle's furnace a load of ball and shot, and proceed at once to Buffalo." The perplexed officer's interpretation was, "Go over Oswego Falls, and up the river to Onondaga Lake, thence ten miles into the country by land to the furnace, and returning to Oswego, proceed to the Niagara, and up and over Niagara Falls to Buffalo!"

Before the end of June Brown was in Buffalo, which was already rising again from its ashes, and, crossing the river in the night, appeared in sight of Fort Erie on the morning of the 3d of July. The post was so wanting in the means of defense that its British commander surrendered without firing a gun, and the garrison was marched into the interior of New York as prisoners of war. July 3.

The next day the Americans advanced into Canada, Scott taking the lead with his brigade. On the 5th, they met the British veterans on the plains of Chippewa, and a decisive battle was fought and gallantly won in the open field. The British were driven off in disorder. Brown wrote to the Secretary of War: "I am indebted to Scott more than to any other man for this victory; he is entitled to the highest praise our country can bestow. His brigade has covered itself with glory." Scott, in turn, spoke in the warmest terms of the essential services rendered by three young New York officers, members of his military family, who were conspicuous in the field — Gerard D. Smith, George Watts, and William Jenkins Worth — and they were each brevetted. Scott made special mention of Watts, not only in public correspondence, but in private conversation, saying, "he was bravery itself, and by remarkable coolness and courage saved my life at a moment in the beginning of the battle when the Indians were striving to obtain my scalp." Both Watts and Worth greatly distinguished themselves "at critical moments by aiding the commandants of corps in forming the troops, under circumstances which precluded the voice from being heard, and their conduct was handsomely acknowledged by all the officers of the line." George Watts was the son of Hon. John Watts, grandson of Counselor John July 5.

Watts of colonial memory, and doubly descended, through his mother and grandmother, from the New York De Lanceys. He was the first cousin of Major-general Izard, and also of Stephen Watts Kearny. Worth was then only twenty years of age. He was subsequently in the military service of the United States for a period covering some thirty-six years, including the war with the Florida Indians of 1840–1842, and the great Mexican struggle of 1846–1848. The city of New York erected a granite monument to his memory in the little triangle at the junction of Fifth Avenue and Broadway, fronting Madison Square; and the name of Anthony Street was changed to Worth Street in his honor.

Neither Ripley, nor General Peter B. Porter with his militia, participated in the action, but their gallantry in other directions elicited the warmest praise from Brown. The victory was important in its results, as it gave an impetus to enlistments throughout the country, and won genuine respect from the enemy. Not over three thousand men were believed to have been engaged — seventeen hundred British, and thirteen hundred Americans; the former lost six hundred and four, and the latter three hundred and thirty-eight.[1]

The British commander fell back to Fort George, with also a fortified post upon strong ground some twelve miles up Lake Ontario. Brown was confident of being able to cripple British power in Upper Canada if he could have the co-operation of the fleet, and sent a messenger to Chauncey in hot haste, who returned on the 23d with a letter from Gaines, in command of Sackett's Harbor, stating that Chauncey was sick with fever, and his fleet blockaded. Scott immediately sought permission to lead his brigade in search of the enemy, and was vexed when Brown, although anxious to draw on a conflict, declined to divide his forces. News came the next day that the British were reinforced and about to strike for the American supplies at Lewiston. Scott was ordered with some thirteen hundred men to hasten down the road towards the Falls and create a diversion. Late in the afternoon while passing a narrow strip of woods, he was suddenly confronted by the main body of the enemy, whom he supposed to be in quite another locality. Scott saw the situation at a glance; to advance was impossible, to retreat was extremely hazardous. He instantly decide to attack, and impress the enemy with the conviction that the whole American army was at hand. Then followed that sanguinary battle of Lundy's Lane, which has few parallels in history in its wealth of gallant deeds.[2] It was fought be-

July 25.

[1] *Niles Register*, VI. 389; *Lossing*, 810; *Holmes Annals*, II. 464.

[2] This battle, fought near the great Falls of Niagara, is sometimes called the battle of Niagara; the sharpest of the struggle occurred in Lundy's Lane, hence the name which has attained the widest celebrity. It is also called the battle of Bridgewater.

tween sunset and midnight, in the darkness — its smoke mingling with the spray of the cataract, and its musketry and artillery blending with the ceaseless roar of the mighty Niagara. Scott sent a messenger to Brown, that he was about to engage the whole British army, and reinforcements came swiftly. It was perceived that the key of the enemy's position was a battery upon an eminence, and Brown, turning to the gallant Colonel James Miller, ordered him to storm and capture it. The reply has passed into history "I'll try, sir." It was one of the most perilous charges ever attempted, but Miller and his brave band calmly marched up to the mouth of the blazing cannon, and took them. The exploit elicited universal admiration: "It was the most desperate thing we ever saw or heard of," said the British officers who were made prisoners. "You have immortalized yourself!" exclaimed Brown the moment he met Miller afterward. "My dear fellow, my heart ached for you when I gave you the order, but I knew that it was the only thing that would save us." Brown was twice severely wounded, but he kept his saddle until the victory was won; his gallant aid, Ambrose Spencer of New York, was killed. Scott was exposed to death in every part of the field, and had two horses shot under him. He was spared until the final struggle, when he received a severe wound. He was subsequently carried on the shoulders of gentlemen from town to town to the house of a friend in Geneva, where he remained until able to journey to his home in the east.

The Americans fell back on Fort Erie and strengthened the position. During the month of August the British prosecuted a siege with determined vigor. Gaines was ordered to the chief command, and with Ripley, Porter, Towson, and other brave officers, made a handsome defense. A shell falling through the roof finally disabled Gaines, and Brown hastened from Batavia, with shattered health and unhealed wounds, to resume command. He presently planned a sortie from the fort, which for boldness of conception, and the ability with which it was conducted, has never been excelled by any event on the same scale in military history. It accomplished its design; the British advanced works were captured and destroyed, and Fort Erie saved, with Buffalo and the public stores on the frontiers — and possibly all Western New York. The British loss, in killed and wounded and prisoners, was about one thousand; they finally fled in the utmost confusion. The heroes were all honored, individually and collectively, and medals with suitable devices were given to each of the general officers by Congress. Governor Tompkins, in the name of the State of New York presented General Brown with an elegant sword. Mayor De Witt Clinton, at the head of the corporation of the city, presented him the honorary privilege of the free-

Sept. 17.

dom of the city, in a gold box, requested his portrait for the gallery in the City Hall, and tendered the thanks of New York City to the officers and men under his command.

During those same hot August days while Fort Erie was besieged, New York City was in a fearful excitement on her own account. It was well known that her defenses were feeble; and her young and able-bodied men had gone to the frontiers in such large numbers that few were left for service at home. Secret intelligence suddenly came of a premeditated attack upon the city, and, as if to confirm the story, a powerful British force appeared in the Chesapeake. Mayor De Witt Clinton issued a stirring appeal to the citizens on the 2d of August, calling upon them to offer their personal services and means to aid in the completion of the unfinished fortifications. On the 9th, in response to a call signed by Henry Rutgers and Oliver Wolcott, an immense throng assembled in the City Hall Park, and chose from the Common Council, Colonel Nicholas Fish, Gideon Tucker, Peter Mesier, George Buckmaster, and John Nitchie, a Committee of Defense, clothed with ample power to direct the efforts of the inhabitants at this critical moment in the business of protection. The work commenced on the heights around Brooklyn the same day, under the direction of General Joseph G. Swift. Only four days after the meeting in the Park, the Committee of Defense reported three thousand persons laboring with pickaxes, shovels and spades. Masonic and other societies went in bodies to the task; the Washington Benevolent Society, an organization opposed to the war, went over with their banner bearing the portrait of Washington, each man with a handkerchief containing a supply of food for the day; on the 15th the city newspapers were suspended that all hands might work on the fortifications; two hundred journeymen printers went over together; two hundred weavers; a large procession of butchers bearing the flag used by them in the great Federal procession of 1789—on which was an ox prepared for slaughter; numerous manufacturing companies with all their men; and the colored people in crowds. On the 20th five hundred men went to Harlem Heights to work upon intrenchments there; and, at the same time, fifteen hundred Irish-



General Brown's Gold Box.

Aug. 2.

Aug. 9.

Aug. 13.

Aug. 15.

Aug. 20.

men crossed into Brooklyn for the same purpose; school-teachers and their pupils went together to give their aid; and little boys, too small to handle a spade or pickaxe, carried earth on shingles. It was a scene never to be forgotten. One morning the people of Bushwick, Long Island, appeared, accompanied by their pastor, Rev. John Bassett, who opened the operations with prayer, and remained all day distributing refreshments and encouraging the laborers. Citizens from neighboring towns and from New Jersey proffered their services.

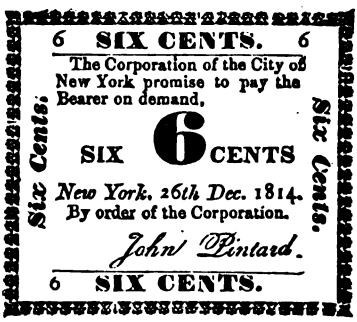
The air was thick with alarms. Every day brought fresh accounts of invasions, and depredations committed along the New England coasts. The eastern portion of Maine was taken by the British, and eight hundred troops left to hold the conquered region. Stonington, Connecticut, was the theater of a most distressing bombardment for three days. Massachusetts was menaced, and her authorities instituted active measures for defense. In Boston every class of citizens, as in New York, volunteered to work on the fortifications. "I remember," said an eyewitness, "the venerable Dr. Lathrop with the deacons and elders of his church each shouldering his shovel and doing yeomen's service in digging, shoveling, and carrying sods in wheelbarrows." So far from finding the New-Englanders attached to the British cause, the marauding parties were amazed at the spirit and execution of the militia who met and drove them from their borders.

Tidings of a portentous character reached the city on the 27th. Washington, the capital of the nation, had been captured by the British, and the torch applied to its public buildings, many of its private dwellings, the navy-yard, national shipping, and the great bridge over the Potomac. With the unfinished Capitol was destroyed the valuable private library of Congress; the walls of the edifice stood firm, however, and were used in rebuilding. The shell of the President's house likewise stood, like a monument of the Middle Ages, to mark the track of the barbarian. Mrs. Madison packed as many cabinet papers into trunks as would fill one carriage, and secured some silver plate. A message reached her to fly to a place of safety; but she insisted upon waiting to take down the large portrait of Washington, by Stuart, and when the process of unscrewing it from the wall was found too slow, she ordered the frame to be broken and the canvas taken out and rolled up. Two gentlemen from New York, Mr. De Peyster and Mr. Jacob Barber, entering at the moment, she consigned the picture to their care. The accumulated documents of the State Department were packed into carts by their custodian, and hastily conveyed across the Potomac some twenty or more miles into the woods of Virginia, where they were safely lodged under a farmer's

Aug. 27.

roof. Rome in the worst days of Europe had never experienced any such fate as our national capital, and the effect was instantaneous. Thousands upon thousands who had previously withheld their services henceforward gave the war their firm and steady support. The outrage upon taste and the arts and humanity, instead of crushing or dividing the American people, served to unite all parties against the common enemy. The blow aimed by the British government recoiled upon itself.

The city of New York and its suburbs became one vast camp, animated by indomitable determination to uphold the national honor, and preserve at all hazards the beautiful commercial metropolis. On the 29th Aug. 29. a requisition was made for twenty thousand militia from New York and New Jersey to be concentrated in and about the city, and the corporation raised the funds to meet the necessary expenses, under a pledge of reimbursement by the general government.



The above has the following cut on the back:



New York Paper Currency.

The scarcity of specie and the drains made on the banks caused a suspension of specie pay- Aug. 31. ments, which continued until the first Monday in July, 1817. The want of small change for a circulating medium induced the corporation to issue a substitute in small paper bills, signed by John Pintard, to the amount of one hundred thousand dollars, which passed current in all payments and facilitated business. There were further issues from time to time. The total amount of these small bills was two hundred and forty-five thousand three hundred and fifty-six dollars.

The derangement of financial affairs was such at this juncture that many thought it impossible for the government to maintain its army and navy. In March a twenty-five million loan had been authorized, in addition to former loans; but less than half that amount had been raised as yet, owing to the exorbitant terms demanded by the money-lenders. The pressure for funds was so great that the Secretary of the Treasury issued stock as well as treasury notes with which to borrow currency, but the banks of New York refused to loan their bills without additional

security. It was understood, however, that if treasury notes endorsed by Governor Tompkins were deposited, the money would be forthcoming. Rufus King immediately waited upon the governor and acquainted him with the fact. "I should be obliged to act on my own responsibility, and should be ruined," replied Tompkins. "Then ruin yourself, if it become necessary to save the country, and I pledge you my honor that I will support you in whatever you do," exclaimed King. Oliver Wolcott, president of the Bank of America, and other prominent Federalists, uttered similar sentiments. Tompkins endorsed the notes on his own personal and official security, and a half million was promptly loaned.

Nor was this all. In the bankrupt condition of the treasury, Tompkins was obliged to advance money to keep the cadets at West Point from starving, to sustain the recruiting service in Connecticut, and to pay workmen employed in the manufactory of arms at Springfield.[1] He also issued a stirring call to the inhabitants of New York to send arms of every description to the State arsenal, for which they should receive cash. And through his active exertions forty thousand militia were in the field in an incredibly short space of time, not for the defense of New York City only, but of Plattsburg, Sackett's Harbor, and Buffalo. Between six and ten thousand were mustered into actual service in New York City September 2, under Major-generals Morgan Lewis, and Ebenezer Stevens of Revolutionary distinction. Cadwallader David Colden was appointed to the command of all the uniformed militia companies of the city and county. He was the grandson of Lieutenant-governor Colden, a man of exceptional learning, and a commercial lawyer, who stood at the head of his profession. He was born in 1769, and his education, begun in Jamaica, Long Island, during the stormy scenes of the Revolution, was completed in London, in 1785. He was as remarkable for energy and strength of character as his illustrious grandfather — alert in every fiber and alive in every sense; and he also possessed that rare combination of the scholar and the man of affairs which distinguished the Lieutenant-governor through the whole of his long and chequered career. Sept. 2.

Each company had its parade-ground, where the citizens who quartered at home were drilled for three and four hours each morning and afternoon. Men of all ages and callings filled the ranks — the old merchant and the young boot-black, the gentleman of leisure and his butcher and baker, the white-haired doctor and the college student, the man of wealth and the industrious mechanic. Nobody stopped to argue about the right or wrong of the "wicked war." A mighty community of soldiers seemed suddenly to have sprung into existence.

[1] *Hildreth*, VI. 519; *Hammond*, I. 378; *Lossing*, 10, 19; *Randall*, 195.

Washington Irving offered his services, and was made the aid and secretary of Governor Tompkins, with the rank of colonel. His name first appears attached to a general order on the 2d, the day of the muster. An incident on a Hudson River steamboat, in which he figured, illustrates the spirit of the hour. A passenger came on board at Poughkeepsie about midnight, and in the darkness of the cabin proclaimed the news of the fall of Washington City, with a detailed account of the distressing scenes. Some one lifted his head from a pillow, and in a tone of complacent disdain, wondered what Jimmy Madison would say now? Irving responded with emphasis: "Let me tell you, sir, it is not a question about 'Jimmy Madison,' or 'Johnny Armstrong.' The pride and honor of the nation are wounded; the country is insulted and disgraced by this barbarous success, and every loyal citizen should feel the ignominy, and be earnest to avenge it." In relating the circumstance, Irving said, "I could not see the fellow, but I let fly at him in the dark."



Cadwallader David Colden.
[Elected Mayor of New York City in 1818.]

Two of the sons of Rufus King were in the army — James Gore King serving as adjutant-general, and John Alsop King, afterwards governor of the State, as lieutenant of a troop of horse. The latter is described in his military capacity as a remarkable disciplinarian. He commanded as fine a troop as ever paraded the streets of New York, composed almost exclusively of young men from the leading families. Robert Watts, reputed by his contemporaries as the handsomest man in the city, was a major under King; he was the son of Hon. John Watts, and brother of George Watts, who so recently distinguished himself at Niagara — another representative of that soldierly Huguenot race, the De Lanceys. While riding in Park Place one morning the horse of Major Watts ran away, and to prevent accident, he reined him in the direction of the high fence

around City Hall Park, carried him over, subdued him, and returned to his duty — a feat of horsemanship which his superior officer always recalled in after years with wonder and admiration.

The work on the fortifications was prosecuted with redoubled vigor. Hundreds of men worked at night by the light of the moon. The number of days' labor performed by the citizens of New York alone was computed at one hundred thousand. Commodore Decatur was placed in command of the harbor with a force of picked men ready for action by sea or land. 1814.

There was no mistaking the temper of New York. While amid the blackened ruins of the city of Washington the heads of the general government railed at each other, and the country was beleaguered upon every side by an enemy of overpowering strength, with the avowed purpose of trampling upon the usages of civilized warfare, New York calmly and cheerfully bore every burden of every kind demanded for the honor and safety of the nation. Of peace there seemed no prospect. The American commissioners were at Ghent, but nobody came, at latest accounts, from Great Britain to treat with them. The destruction of the Capitol being accredited to the mismanagement of Secretary Armstrong, he retired from the War Department in disgust. The President invited Governor Tompkins to accept the office of Secretary of State in the emergency, which he declined on the ground that he could serve the nation better as governor of New York; therefore Monroe remained in that office, and also officiated as Secretary of War until the next March. Postmaster-general Gideon Granger, who had during his twelve years in the cabinet greatly improved the postal affairs of America, was superseded by Return Jonathan Meigs, governor of Ohio. Granger took up his abode in New York, and soon gave one thousand acres of land for the benefit of the Erie Canal.

It will be observed that the British government had distributed its enormous wealth of men and money, on land and water, in such a manner as to invade the United States at points far distant from each other simultaneously. September was marked with blood. Between the 12th and 15th of the month the British attempted to seize Mobile, but, through the sleepless sagacity of Jackson, met with a mortifying repulse. Sept. 15. On these very same September days Baltimore was assailed, and Fort McHenry bombarded by Ross and Cockburn; it was during this exciting cannonade, between midnight and dawn of the morning of the 14th, that "The Star Spangled Banner," our national lyric, was written by Francis Scott Key, while anxiously pacing the deck of one of the British vessels, whither he had gone under a flag of truce to solicit the release of certain prisoners, and where he was detained pending Sept. 14.

the attack. Baltimore was successfully defended, which was another humiliating blow to the enemy.

Preparations to invade New York by the way of Lake Champlain were in the mean time conducted with great secrecy and address; it was believed in London that Sir George Prevost would presently shake hands with Ross and Cockburn in the valley of the Hudson, and that the besiegers of Fort Erie would be present at the meeting. A powerful army of fourteen thousand men, commanded by the most experienced officers in the British service, made gradual approaches towards Plattsburg, from Montreal, between the 1st and 5th of September. On the 6th these veterans
Sept. 6. marched upon Plattsburg and were severely checked in their plans, after fighting desperately all day; from the 7th to the 11th they were employed in bringing up batteries, trains, and supplies. The final battles, by land and by water, occurred on the 11th. General Alexander
Sept. 11. Macomb commanded the American land forces, General Izard having been ordered, much against his wishes and his judgment, to Sackett's Harbor, and thence to the relief of General Brown at Fort Erie. Commodore Macdonough's squadron lay at anchor in Plattsburg Bay, well prepared for battle; it carried eighty-six guns, and about eight hundred men. At an early hour on the 11th the British squadron, mounting ninety-five guns, with one thousand men, was seen advancing. As the deck of Macdonough's flag-ship *Saratoga* was cleared for action, her commander fell upon his knees, with officers and men around him, and offered an earnest and solemn prayer. It was a few minutes past nine when the enemy's flag-ship *Confiance* anchored abreast of the *Saratoga* at a distance of three hundred yards; and the other vessels took their stations opposite those of the Americans. The engagement then commenced. For two hours the thunder of cannon, the hiss of rockets, the scream of bombs, and the rattle of musketry echoed from shore to shore. Both flag-ships were crippled; but Macdonough displayed a masterpiece of seamanship by winding the *Saratoga* round and opening a fresh fire from her larboard quarter guns. The *Confiance*, being unable to effect the same operation, soon surrendered. The British brig and two sloops struck their colors within fifteen minutes. The British galleys, seeing the colors of the larger vessels go down, dropped their ensigns. At a little past noon not one of the sixteen British flags, so proudly floating over Lake Champlain when the sun rose, could be seen.

It was a glorious and substantial victory. The loss of the Americans was one hundred and ten, of whom fifty-two were killed. The total British loss was upwards of two hundred. Macdonough, with a more than royal courtesy, declined the swords of the commanders of his prizes.

The land-battle was commenced at the same moment with that upon the water, and was conducted by Sir George Prevost in person. Repeated efforts under cover of shot and shell to force a passage of the Saranac River were repulsed by the heroic New-Yorkers under Macomb. Suddenly joyful shouts pierced the air and iterated and reiterated along the American lines. Thus was announced to Sir George Prevost the surrender of the squadron; and he withdrew his troops at once from the contest. At two o'clock the next morning the whole British army took its flight towards Canada, leaving its sick and wounded with munitions of war and army stores worth nearly a thousand pounds sterling. Sir George Prevost had lost twenty-five hundred men since entering the territory of New York, including deserters and prisoners. Three days after the battle, when it was ascertained that the British were making their way to the St. Lawrence, Macomb disbanded the New York and Vermont militia, who had nobly hurried to his aid. The expedition so boastfully projected cost Great Britain some two and a half million dollars: and its complete failure influenced the British government to think seriously of making peace. Sept. 2.

Macomb and Macdonough had won unfading laurels, and they received the plaudits and the homage of all America. In the intense joy with which the news of their success was received, the recent disaster at Washington was for the moment forgotten. Congress voted them the thanks of the nation and gold medals. Their officers of all ranks were individually honored; every man in the naval conflict, and in the battle upon land, distinguished himself by daring intrepidity so far as he had opportunity. Governor Tompkins, in the name of the State of New York, presented Macomb with a superb sword; and Mayor De Witt Clinton, in the name of the corporation, presented him with the freedom of the city in a gold box similar in character to that given to General Brown. Macomb's portrait was painted by Sully at the request of the city, and placed in the gallery of distinguished men. New York gave Macdonough two thousand acres of land; Vermont presented him two hundred acres on the borders of Plattsburg Bay; and the cities of New York and Albany each gave him a valuable lot. His portrait was painted for the city by John Wesley Jarvis.

As before recorded, the sortie from Fort Erie was on the 17th; General Izard, with his troops from Plattsburg, reached that post soon afterwards, but no further military movements of importance occurred on the Niagara frontier. Commodore Chauncey had remained blockaded at Sackett's Harbor until his flag-ship *Superior* was completed—about the middle of June—when Sir James Yeo prudently withdrew his blockading Sept. 17.

vessels. In July Chauncey's squadron crossed Lake Ontario, and from the 9th of August for six weeks blockaded Sir James Yeo in Kingston Harbor, vainly manœuvering to draw him out for combat. Finally a British frigate, pierced for one hundred and twelve guns, was completed at Kingston, and Chauncey retired to Sackett's Harbor to prepare for an attack, which the enemy never attempted.

Simultaneously with these important events in New York, a powerful expedition was preparing to move upon New Orleans. It was only a few years since the vast territory of the Lower Mississippi had been purchased from France, and its chief city was assailable from so many points that it seemed impossible to secure it by ordinary fortifications against a hostile attack. While General Jackson was defending Mobile, Edward Livingston of New York was stirring New Orleans into action. His knowledge of the people and of the situation was complete, his judgment cool, and his influence electrical. At a meeting of the citizens on the 15th his polished oratory excited the mixed, indolent population of the city to a high pitch of loyalty to America, and a series of resolutions which he offered were adopted by acclamation. There was no other man upon the spot at all qualified for the comprehensive work to be performed; he furnished Jackson with information and maps during the interval until he could come from Mobile with troops, and, henceforward, was his interpreter of the French language, his military secretary, and his confidential adviser upon all subjects.

Sept. 15.

Information that Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane was approaching with thirteen ships of the line and transports bearing ten thousand troops hastened Jackson's march to defenseless New Orleans. His journey, however, was not a feat to be performed with celerity, and the enemy would have arrived and entered the city without opposition before him, but for a singular and unexpected detention of ten days at Fayal.

It has been observed, that naval operations upon the ocean were by no means confined to national vessels. Privateers harassed the commerce of Great Britain and carried into every quarter of the globe proofs of American skill and seamanship. The terror they inspired was intense. Their achievements were marvelous. They were swift-sailing vessels, rarely captured by the adversary; and, being authorized and encouraged by government, their services were conspicuous. Their owners secured large fortunes, and the contest terminated much sooner because of their exploits. The New-Yorkers sent out one splendid privateer of seventeen guns and one hundred and fifty men, which, during a single cruise, was chased by no less than seventeen armed British ships and escaped them all; and she brought into port goods valued at three hundred thousand dollars, with a

large amount of specie. Another successful private-armed cruiser was the *General Armstrong*, of only seven guns, built by Rensselaer Havens, Thomas Farmer, Thomas Jenkins, and other New York merchants; she sustained a fierce battle off the coast of South America in the spring of 1813 with the British sloop of war *Coquette*, mounting twenty-seven guns, and her commander, Guy R. Champlin, was voted a handsome sword by the stockholders for his gallantry. The romantic career of the *General Armstrong* would form a chapter of itself. But the thrilling event with which her history closed was of great moment to two nations, as it saved the city of New Orleans from capture. This vessel was commanded, in 1814, by Captain Samuel Chester Reid, then only thirty years of age—a young naval officer of merit who served as midshipman under Commodore Thomas Truxton. He was the idol of his men, generous to a fault, but vigorous as a ruler; and in all emergencies preserved their confidence through his quickness of perception, maturity of judgment, and coolness in action. He was tall, remarkably well formed, with much personal beauty, and manners captivating and courtly. He had recently married in New York City the accomplished daughter of Nathan Jennings, of Fairfield, Connecticut, who shared the hardships and glory of Trenton under Washington. He parted from his bride on the 9th of September, little dreaming of the brilliant part he was within three weeks to perform in the great drama of war.



Captain Samuel Chester Reid.
[From a miniature in possession of the Countess Di Cesnola.]

The *General Armstrong* prepared for sea in the early part of that exciting month—September—when the city of New York was like a vast beehive, with its workmen on the fortifications, and was manned by ninety men including officers. The first lieutenant of Captain Reid was Frederick A. Worth, brother of the famous General Worth; the second lieutenant was Alexander O. Williams, also of New York, and a most promising young officer; the third lieutenant was Robert Johnson, and the quartermaster was Bazilla Hammond. At nine o'clock on the evening of the 9th the vessel spread her sails and glided from Sandy Hook, effectually running the blockade. Nothing of moment occurred

Sept. 9.

until she reached Fayal, one of the Azores, belonging to Portugal, where about noon of the 26th she anchored for the purpose of obtaining water.

Sept. 26. Captain Reid dined with John B. Dabney, the American consul, who politely ordered the water sent to the vessel at once, as she was to proceed on her voyage in the morning. Just before sunset Reid, accompanied by the consul and some other gentlemen, returned to the *General Armstrong*, and, as they stood talking upon the deck, a British sail appeared; before dark six war-vessels, the squadron of Commodore Lloyd, anchored in the roads. The flag-ship *Plantagenet*, the frigate *Rota*, and the brig *Carnation* together mounted one hundred and thirty-six guns. Not much chance apparently for the little New York brigantine of seven guns. The British force numbered over two thousand men, who, it would seem, might easily overpower ninety. The British vessels were so placed that Reid could not escape from the port; but the consul told him there was not the slightest danger of his being molested as long as he remained at anchor in neutral waters. Commodore Lloyd, however, in defiance of neutrality laws and the usages of civilized nations, no sooner discovered the saucy *General Armstrong* than he resolved upon her capture; as he was on his way with reinforcements for the conquest of New Orleans, to join Admiral Cochrane awaiting him at Jamaica, he very naturally thought the swift-sailing privateer would be extremely useful to the expedition.

The light of the full moon enabled Reid to see the movements of the fleet distinctly, and when boats were launched and arms passed into them, he suspected the truth and advised his visitors to go on shore. He then gave secret orders to clear his deck for action, without noise or commotion, while he moved his vessel a little nearer to the castle. About eight o'clock four boats containing one hundred and sixty men were seen approaching rapidly, as if sure of their game. Reid hailed them three or four times, receiving no answer. As they came alongside and attempted to board the *General Armstrong* he gave the word to his marines to fire, and a fierce and desperate struggle ensued, followed by the shrieks and groans of the wounded and dying; in a few moments the enemy staggered back appalled, and cried for quarter, and the boats pulled off in a sinking condition, with great loss.

It was presently apparent that the squadron was preparing for a more formidable attack. The governor of Fayal sent a message to Commodore Lloyd forbidding any further hostilities, as the *General Armstrong* was under the guns of the castle, and entitled to Portuguese protection. But the answer came, that if any attempt was made to shield the vessel the guns of the fleet would be turned upon the town. The inhabitants were

intensely excited, and crowded the shore in breathless anxiety. Three hours passed. There lay the little privateer, with her tall tapering spars, resting on the moonlit waters as quiet and as peaceful as an over-wearied child. Not a movement was to be seen, nor a sound heard upon her decks. She seemed deserted. And yet she was entirely ready to receive the enemy, and her men were lying concealed. At midnight fourteen boats, with about five hundred men, took their stations under covert of a small reef of rocks from which they approached in solid column in a direct line. Captain Reid hailed the boats as before, and receiving no answer, opened a destructive fire from which they recoiled for the moment, then rallied and with cheers returned the fire, and quickly reached the *General Armstrong;* the attempt to board her was made upon every side at the same instant, the men led on by the officers with a shout of "No quarters!" which could be distinctly heard above the oaths and cries and the din of musketry by the people of Fayal, who were spectators of the frightful midnight scene. The defense was without parallel for gallantry in ancient or modern history. With the skill and might of knights of old, Reid and his well-disciplined men drove back England's best and bravest troops with terrible slaughter. The action lasted forty minutes. The enemy made frequent and repeated attempts to gain the decks, but were repulsed every time at every point. Reid lost the services of all his lieutenants about the middle of the action; Williams was killed and Worth and Johnson wounded; but by his own cool and intrepid conduct a most remarkable victory was secured. He was left-handed, and fought with both hands — using his right to fire pistols which the powder-boys handed him, and his left in keeping off assaulters with a cutlass. The termination was a total defeat of the British. Three of their boats were sunk. But one poor, solitary officer escaped death, in a boat that contained fifty souls. Some of the boats were left without a single man to row them; others with only three or four. The most that any one returned with was ten. Four boats floated ashore full of dead bodies. The water of the bay was crimsoned with blood; and the deck of the *General Armstrong* was slippery with human gore. The British had lost over three hundred in killed and wounded. "But to the surprise of mankind," wrote an English officer, "the Americans had but two killed and seven wounded!"

The statement seems almost incredible, but such was the fact. "God deliver us from our enemies, if this is the way they fight," continued the same writer, who was an eyewitness of the battle. At daybreak the *Carnation* opened a heavy fire upon the *General Armstrong,* which was promptly returned, and with such severity that the British

Sept. 27.

brig retired for repairs. The town of Fayal was in peril, several of the inhabitants having been wounded by the guns of the *Carnation*, and a number of houses damaged. Captain Reid, seeing no hope of saving his vessel, scuttled her and went ashore. The British completed her destruction by setting her on fire. Commodore Lloyd then ordered the governor of Fayal to deliver up the Americans as prisoners, and met with an unqualified refusal. He threatened to land five hundred troops and take them by force. Reid and his men retired to an old Gothic convent, knocked away the adjoining drawbridge, and determined to defend themselves to the last.

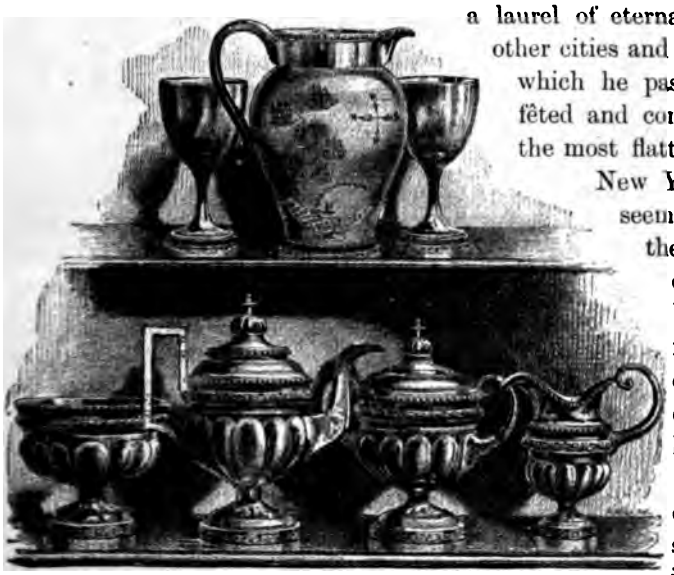
But the British commander wisely abstained from an attempt to carry his threat into execution. He had lost the flower of his officers and men, and numbers of the injured were dying from hour to hour. "For three days after the action we were employed in burying the dead that washed on shore in the surf," wrote an Englishman. Two British sloops of war, the *Thais* and *Calypso*, coming into port, were sent to convey fifty of the wounded to England, but were not permitted to take a single letter from any person. The fleet was detained for burials and repairs ten days, and, upon reaching Jamaica, Lloyd was severely censured for his folly by the Admiral. Nothing had been gained, and the extent of the injury to the British cause was incalculable.

The spirited defense of the *General Armstrong* produced a great sensation throughout America, and was mentioned in England with wonder and admiration, as the "essence of heroism." Probably no one conflict of the war placed the American character in so proud a view. In addition to the glory won by the skill and bravery of the resistance, Reid and his gallant associates were properly accredited with the salvation of New Orleans.[1] When the powerful and well-appointed British fleet completed its preparation at Jamaica, it sailed for the great emporium of the wealth and treasure of the Southwest. An easy conquest of Louisiana was expected. Sixty sail appeared near the mouth of the Mississippi early in December. But Jackson had already reached and fortified New Orleans, to the great disappointment of the British, and his clanging proclamations were bringing together all classes of the mixed population to repel the invaders. A short and decisive campaign followed. The host of veteran soldiers, fresh from the battle-fields of Europe, struggled an entire month in vain to fulfill their errand. The 8th of January, 1815, will

[1] *Schaffner's History of America*, Div. IV., Chap. XXIII., p. 378; *Coggeshall's History of American Privateers*, p. 370; *American State Papers, XIV.*; *Naval Affairs*, p. 493; *Letter from Consul Dabney to Secretary of State*, October 5, 1814; *Letter to William Cobbett, Esq.*, containing an English account of the battle; *Cobbett's Weekly Register*, December 10, 1814; *Lossing's Field Book of the War of 1812*, p. 1004.

long be memorable in the annals of America. It was the day of Jackson's great victory over the immense British army; and with a loss of only seven killed and six wounded.[1] The British suffered in every way. They were obliged to fight upon an open level plain, while the Americans were thoroughly protected by breastworks. Seven hundred perished, including their commander in-chief, and the most experienced and bravest of their officers. Their loss altogether was upwards of three thousand.

Captain Reid returned to New York in December, traveling by land from Savannah, and was everywhere greeted with enthusiasm and showered with flattering honors. At Richmond he was tendered a public dinner by the most brilliant men of Virginia; the Speaker of the House of Burgesses presided, and William Wirt was vice-president. The governor graced the festive scene with his presence; and the toast and song passed from lip to lip like an electric fire. When the hero retired the president gave the sentiment — "Captain Reid — his valor has shed a blaze of renown upon the character of our seamen, and won for himself a laurel of eternal bloom." In other cities and towns through which he passed Reid was fêted and complimented in the most flattering manner. New York especially seemed touched to the heart, his officers and men being nearly all from among her own people, and on his return home he was welcomed with every demonstration of gratitude and affection. The legislature voted him the thanks of the State and an elegant sword, which Governor Tompkins presented with an appropriate address, in which he said: "Such heroic conduct confounds the mind with admiration, and the fame of it has resounded to every country. The whole civilized



Silverware presented to Captain Reid by the Citizens of New York.
[In possession of the Countess Di Cesnola.]

[1] *Hunt's Life of Edward Livingston*, pp. 201 – 205; *Baines' History of the French Revolution*, Vol. II. p. 409; *Thompson's Second War*, p. 484.

world has awarded to it the meed of praise." The citizens of New York City gave him a handsome service of plate with suitable inscriptions, consisting of a large solid silver pitcher bearing an emblematical engraving of the action at Fayal, two silver tumblers, a teapot, sugar-bowl, milk-ewer, and bowl.[1]

As the autumn waned New York City bristled with fortifications. The heights around Brooklyn were covered with military works, completely isolating the town. The heights overlooking Harlem were fortified at all points. Fort Richmond was built at the Narrows with other strongholds, and guarded by a brigade of two thousand militia from August to December. The works on Governor's and Bedloe's Islands

[1] Samuel Chester Reid was born at Norwich, Connecticut, August 25, 1783, died in New York City, January 28, 1861. He was the only surviving son of a British officer of the Revolution, who married Rebecca Chester, only daughter of John Chester, of Groton, Connecticut, a direct descendant of the Earl of Chester. Reid was married in New York City in 1813 to the daughter of Captain Nathan Jennings, of Fairfield, Connecticut, a lady distinguished for beauty and talent. Their children were : 1. John Chester Reid, a graduate at West Point, and aid to General Gaines, died unmarried in 1845 ; 2. Anna Johnson Reid, married George N. Sanders ; 3. Washington Reid, an officer of the U. S. Navy, died in Brazil in 1850 ; 4. Samuel C. Reid, a lawyer of distinction, married Josephine, daughter of the Hon. Mr. Rowan, minister to Naples under President Polk, and granddaughter of the celebrated Judge John Rowan, Senator from Kentucky and commissioner to Mexico ; 5. Franklin Reid, died young ; 6. Aaron Bertrand Reid, married Emma, daughter of S. D. Gardner, of Haverstraw ; 7. Mary Isabel Reid, married General Count Louis Palma Di Cesnola ; 8. Louisa Gouverneur Reid, married the editor and poet, Dr. John Savage ; 9. William J. Reid, married Lillie, daughter of the poet, William Henry Burleigh ; 10. George Henry, died young. Captain Reid was subsequently offered a post-captaincy in the navy, which he declined. He was many years port-warden of New York, and he invented and erected the signal-telegraph at the Battery and the Narrows, communicating with Sandy Hook. He was president of the Marine Society, and rendered a great service to our harbor and shipping by the regulation of marine laws. He was also distinguished as the designer of the present arrangement of our national flag. He was the chosen social companion of most of the great men of the period. At his death his remains were escorted to Greenwood Cemetery with every mark of respect and homage which the public could bestow. One of the journals of the day describing the funeral obsequies, and dwelling upon the details of Reid's long and eventful career, said : "They are, aside from the romantic personal interest which hangs about them, among the most important events in the history of our nation. Reid was, indeed, a man of rare combinations, — the courage of a lion, the venturous spirit of a crusader, the taste of a poet, and the tenderness of a woman ; he belonged to that old school of patriots of whom Paul Jones was the first and himself the last. In the lives of these men are found the most dauntless intrepidity, the most manly generosity, and the purest chivalry. The sea, not as we see it, calm and beautiful, but as it is seen dashing against the clouds rent by thunder and pierced by lightning, the sea, not the blue, the ever free, but the bellowing, bold, bounding ocean, is pictured in such men as Reid. And as the vast procession followed his remains to their final repose in Greenwood, the scenes of our country's triumph passed before each vision. The flags, waving at half-mast, told of the victories on sea and land, and the guns which boomed from the battery recited over again the terrific fight of the *General Armstrong* against the midnight attack, in a neutral port, of the British assassin."

were enlarged and strengthened. Castle Garden was erected at the foot of Broadway; Fort Gansevoort was built at the bend of the Hudson, foot of Gansevoort Street; Fort Stevens at Hallet's Point near Hell Gate, with a stone tower on Lawrence Hill in its rear — the Long Island shore opposite was at the same time defended by fortifications at Benson's Point—and in the middle of the East River, Mill Rock was crowned with a block-house and battery; Forts Clinton and Fish were erected to protect McGowan's Pass on the road to Harlem, and Fort Laight on the eminence overlooking Manhattanville. On the bank of the Hudson, near the residence of Viscount Courtenay, afterward Earl of Devon, was a strong stone tower, connected by a line of intrenchments with Fort Laight. Although the city could be approached from several directions, its attitude was so defiant that the prospect was not at all encouraging to the enemy.

October brought no relief. Congress quarreled over a project for the removal of the seat of government, and talked about amending the Constitution; while various proposals to raise the prostrate credit of the United States engaged attention. George W. Campbell, Secretary of the Treasury since Gallatin's departure for Europe in February, resigned immediately after reporting the deplorable condition of the national finances; he was succeeded on the 6th by Alexander James Dallas, who entered upon the uncertain duties of the important office with courage and vigor. Monroe, as Secretary of War, proposed a conscription system to increase the regular army. This was denounced by Connecticut as unconstitutional, intolerably barbarous and oppressive, and the governor of the State was authorized to call a special session of the legislature to provide for the protection of the citizens should such a bill pass into a law. Discontent all through New England occasioned great alarm at Washington. News came that Massachusetts had appropriated a million of dollars toward the support of a State army of ten thousand men, to relieve the militia in service, and to be under the exclusive State control. Next followed a mysterious communication to the State Department from a pretended representative of the royal family of the Stuarts, having certain claims to the soil of New York, which revealed the existence of a treasonable committee in Boston preparing to establish the kingdom of New England, with the Duke of Kent, the British Prince Regent's brother, at its head!

1814.

Oct. 6.

Oct. 14.

Madison lived in terror. William Wirt, who called upon him on the 16th, wrote: "He looks miserably shattered and woe-begone. In short, he looks heart-broken. His mind is full of the New England sedition. I denied its probability, or even its possibility." Re-

Oct. 16.

searches in Boston failed to exhume any such committee or plot. But the maturing plan of a convention at Hartford was supposed to be a sign that New England seriously contemplated withdrawal from the Union. Intelligence from Ghent came also of a disheartening character. On the 6th of August Lord Gambier, Henry Goulburn, and William Adams had finally appeared for Great Britain; but their propositions were such that the American diplomatists promptly declined to consider them. It seemed for a time as if all efforts to negotiate a treaty would be fruitless.

Oct. 22. The legislature of New York resolved unanimously that the terms proposed by Great Britain were "extravagant and disgraceful," and voted to furnish a local force of twelve thousand men.

At the expiration of the three months' term of service of the New

Nov. 30. York militia, a grand muster and review of all the troops that could be spared from duty took place in the city, and was described as the finest military spectacle witnessed since the Revolution. The line was formed in Broadway, the right in Franklin Street, and reached out beyond the junction of the Bowery. The column marched through the principal streets headed by Governor Tompkins and a numerous staff.[1] One of the young officers in the company of riflemen who paraded in the procession was Samuel Hanson Cox, afterwards the celebrated pulpit orator and theologian. The statesman and scholar, Theodore Frelinghuysen, was the captain of a company. Almost every New York family was represented in the army. George Wyllys Benedict, son of Rev. Joel Tyler Benedict, and elder brother of the present Chancellor of the University of the State of New York, was among the soldiers. He was subsequently professor in the University of Vermont, and distinguished as a naturalist and a jurist.[2]

[1] *Goodrich's Chronological History of New York*, p. 105. On the 6th of November the Committee of defense made out a report to the Corporation giving a detailed account of the work accomplished. They made special mention of the valuable services of General Swift, who received the thanks of the city, with a request for his portrait. Goodrich says: "As a final close to the transaction, soon after, the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States remitted to the comptroller of the city, in full for the *one million of dollars* advanced during the war by the Corporation for the defense of this port, stock of the six per cents at the market value, $1,100,009.87; which, after adding other claims, in all $1,204,326.25, of the city to the principal loan, which the government did not immediately allow, still left a gain to the city treasury of about *one hundred and fifty thousand dollars*, in the advanced price of the stock afterwards. Several years subsequently the debt was fully liquidated."

[2] Prof. George Wyllys Benedict was descended from Thomas Benedict, mentioned in note, page 202, Vol. I.; his four sons all became men of eminence. 1. Charles Linnæus Benedict, LL.D., appointed by President Lincoln United States Judge of the Eastern District of New York, and who has been called upon to decide many interesting, novel, and important; 2. George Greenville Benedict, A. M., editor of the Burlington *Free Press*; 3. Stanley Benedict, A. M., a prominent lawyer of New York City; 4. Benjamin Lincoln Benedict, A. M., well known as a journalist.

Monroe's scheme for a standing army of conscripts fell to the ground. Dallas made little progress in trying to establish a non-specie-paying government bank. The recruiting service came to a complete standstill as winter opened for want of funds. Every department of the government was behindhand in its payments. Tompkins sustained the garrison at New York by his own private credit, but it was an exceptional instance among the States. The treasury, to meet the pressure upon its resources, could only issue new treasury notes, reluctantly accepted by the most necessitous of the government creditors, and passing, in private transactions, at a discount of twenty-two per cent. New tax-bills were introduced into Congress, and opposed with angry vehemence; several passed into laws about the middle of December. The year was drawing to a close with nineteen millions of unpaid debts, and only about four and one half millions of uncollected dues as a treasury balance. And to add to the darkness of the hour, the dreaded New England Convention of twenty-six wise and eminent men assembled at Hartford on the 16th, and proceeded to deliberate with closed doors. For three weeks the curiosity and suspicion of the war-party centered about that little body. And when it finally adjourned, the seal of secrecy was not removed because of the possibility of being obliged to reassemble; thus the widest scope was given to conjecture as to its real designs, and it was made the target of all manner of bitter denunciations.

Dec. 15.

Dec. 16.

With the opening year the helpless and almost hopeless administration was without money or credit. The formidable armament of Admiral Cochrane was known to be on its way to New Orleans, a veteran army in Canada menaced an early invasion of New York in the spring, and, at latest accounts, Great Britain refused to treat for peace unless permitted to retain all American territory which might be held by British troops when the treaty was signed. Even the navy, which the accomplished officers who composed the germ of the service had demonstrated, from fact to fact, the ability of the American character to maintain with honor, was languishing for want of ships and means. Decatur was ordered to sea in the *President* as soon as the danger of an immediate attack upon New York City had subsided. He dashed past the blockaders at Sandy Hook on the dark night of January 14th, in the midst of a severe gale of wind and snow, but was chased by the whole British squadron, and, after maintaining a running fight along the south shore of Long Island for nearly three hours, was obliged to surrender. The *Hornet*, Captain Biddle, having successfully run the blockade at New London to join Decatur's squadron, sailed unmolested from Sandy Hook at daybreak on the 22d, accompanied by the *Peacock* and

1815.

Jan. 14.

Tom Bowline, all under Decatur's command and in ignorance of the fate of the *President*. The *Constitution*, Captain Charles Stewart, cruising in the vicinity of Lisbon about a month later, fell in with two British ships of war, the *Cyane* and the *Levant*, and captured them after a sharp conflict of forty minutes. The *Wasp*, which had performed many gallant exploits during 1814, mysteriously disappeared, and all her people perished in some unknown way in the solitudes of the sea.

It was the gloomiest moment America had known since the beginning of the war. But suddenly a gleam of light illuminated the horizon. News, first from New Orleans, then from Ghent, created boundless exultation. The tone of the British government had changed as its troops were defeated in one place after another; and as its demands were relinquished, no further obstacles in the way of an accommodation remained. A treaty of peace was signed by the commissioners of the two nations on the 24th of December, 1814, and immediately transmitted to London. It was ratified on the 28th of the same month by the Prince Regent. The ship *Favorite* arrived in New York under a flag of truce February 11, bringing two messengers, one British, the other American, with the unexpected treaty. It was late Saturday evening. If the city had been struck by lightning, the news could not have spread with more rapidity than the word PEACE. People rushed into the streets in an ecstasy of delight. Cannon bellowed and thundered, bells of every description rang in one triumphant peal, bonfires were lighted at the corners of the streets, rows of candles were placed in the windows, flags were unfurled from steeples and domes, and night was literally turned into day. Strong men wept as they grasped each other by the hand in silent gratitude; others fell on their knees and offered touching prayers. Amid shouts and huzzas, expresses were sent out in every direction. No one stopped to inquire about the terms of the treaty. It was enough to know that peace was proclaimed. The Sabbath that followed was a day of thanksgiving. The churches were crowded, and every heart seemed melting. There was joy all over the land, and especially along the maritime frontier. Schools were given a holiday in every town as the news came; the whole people, quitting their employments, hastened to congratulate each other at the relief, not only from foreign war, but from the terrible impending cloud of internal and civil struggle.

Feb. 11.

CHAPTER XLVII.

1815-1825.

PEACE AND PROSPERITY.

NEW YORK CITY AND HARBOR. — EFFECTS OF THE WAR. — GRAND BALL IN NEW YORK. — THE TREATY OF GHENT. — NAPOLEON'S RETURN FROM ELBA. — THE COMMERCIAL CONVENTION. — DIPLOMATIC AFFAIRS. — PHILANTHROPY. — IMPORTANCE OF NEW YORK IN HISTORY. — THE ERIE CANAL PROJECT. — DE WITT CLINTON. — THE CANAL MEETING. — CLINTON'S CELEBRATED MEMORIAL. — ACTION OF THE LEGISLATURE. — THE CANAL COMMISSIONERS. — IMPORTATIONS. — FINANCES. — SLAVERY. — THE NEW CANAL BILL OF 1817. — INCREDULITY. — OPPOSITION. — THE BATTLE OF THE BILL. — BREAKING GROUND. — CHARITIES. — THE DEAF AND DUMB ASYLUM. — SOCIETIES. — SABBATH SCHOOLS. — THE COMMON-SCHOOL SYSTEM. — EMIGRATION. — PAUPERISM IN THE CITY. — DESIGNING THE NATIONAL FLAG. — THE FIRST SAVINGS BANK. — THE YELLOW FEVER. — CHARLES MATTHEWS. — EDMUND KEAN. — INTERIOR OF THE PARK THEATER. — SOCIAL LIFE OF NEW YORK. — PRESIDENT MONROE. — THE GOUVERNEURS OF NEW YORK. — GREAT POLITICAL BLUNDER OF 1824. — RE-ELECTION OF GOVERNOR CLINTON. — LAFAYETTE'S ARRIVAL IN NEW YORK CITY. — BREAKING GROUND FOR THE OHIO CANAL. — LAFAYETTE'S TOUR THROUGH THE COUNTRY. — THE VAN CORTLANDT MANOR-HOUSE.

WITH the restoration of tranquillity the whole aspect of New York City was transformed as if by magic. Stores and warehouses long closed were freshly furbished and thrown open, newspapers were filled with advertisements, government stocks advanced, streets became clogged with vehicles once more, the hum of industry was heard on every side, and men with starving families found ready employment. The ship-yards were literally alive, and commerce plumed her white wings in preparation for flight to all quarters of the globe. The harbor was a peculiarly animated picture as the ice disappeared; and its beauty and its magnitude were appreciated as never before. "Neither Naples nor Constantinople unites the various advantages of sea and river communication for which New York is distinguished," wrote an English annalist of the period; while another writer described the "capacious bay formed by the conflux of the two great rivers and surrounded by protecting headlands," as sufficiently extensive to "float in perfect safety all the combined navies of the world." 1815.

The population of New York City, according to the census taken in 1814, was a fraction over ninety-two thousand, inclusive of nearly one thousand negro slaves. The war had interrupted public improvements of every description, as well as the general business of the metropolis. But the city was still wealthy with the fruits of her wonderful progress since the Revolution, and her leading citizens had lost none of their broad intelligence, liberal views, and energetic activity. The talent, enterprise, and genius of all America poured in; and those who were fortunate enough to obtain a foothold, quickly imbibed the spirit of the New York people. Capital was not confined exclusively to business, nor to the city limits; it began, almost simultaneously with the marvelous leap of the city forward on her grand career of prosperity, to flow into works of internal improvement all over the country in never-ceasing streams.

The treaty of peace was ratified by the President on the 17th of February. The corporation of New York appointed the 19th as a
Feb. 17. day of prayer and thanksgiving to be observed by the various churches of the city — and the religious observances were of peculiar solemnity and interest. By order of the corporation, also, a grand illumination of the "City Hall and all inhabited dwellings" took place on
Feb. 22. the evening of the 22d, attended by a most brilliant and costly display of fireworks. As soon as preparations could be perfected, a "superb ball" was given in honor of the joyful peace. Washington Hall, in Broadway, contained a great dancing-room, sixty by eighty feet, which
March 16. was arranged for this occasion to present the appearance of a magnificent pavilion or temple, with eighteen pillars, on each of which was the name of a State; it was styled the "Temple of Concord." At the end of the room, under a canopy of flags, and surrounded with orange and lemon trees filled with fruit, was the "Bower of Peace." The guests numbered six hundred, and the newspapers of the day pronounced the scene "a picture of feminine loveliness, beauty, fashion, and elegance not to be surpassed in America."[1]

The glad tidings of peace was received in Canada with transports of delight; and there was great rejoicing in England. The treaty had not secured all that was desired. Neither country was exactly satisfied with the particular details of the agreement, but it guaranteed the positive and permanent independence of the United States, and the perpetuation

[1] Among the New York ladies present at this elegant entertainment were the managers of the Association for the Relief of the Soldiers in the Field, formed in 1814 — Mrs. General Lewis, Mrs. Marinus Willett, Mrs. William Few, Mrs. David Gelston, Mrs. Philip Livingston, Mrs. Colonel Laight, Mrs. Thomas Morris, Mrs. William Ross, Mrs. Nathan Sanford, Mrs. Daniel Smith, Mrs. Luther Bradish, Miss M. Bleecker, Miss H. Lewis, Miss H. E. G. Bleecker.

and growth of free institutions. It was, moreover, an acknowledgment on the part of Great Britain of the existence of a formidable rival for the supremacy of the seas. Its first article provided for the termination of hostilities by land and by sea. The second related to the period after which the capture of prizes should be deemed invalid. By the third article all prisoners of war taken on either side were to be restored as soon as practicable after the ratifications of the treaty. By the fourth, the conflicting claims of the two nations in reference to islands in the bay of Passamaquoddy were referred to two commissioners who should be appointed, one from each government. The fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth articles, related to questions of boundary. By the ninth, it was agreed that both parties should put an end to hostilities with the Indians. The tenth related to the traffic in negro slaves, to promote the entire abolition of which both parties agreed to use their best endeavors. Singular as it may seem, no mention was made in the treaty of the causes which led to the quarrel. Great Britain quietly abandoned her encroachments upon American commerce, and the right of search and impressment was heard of no more.

The American diplomatists at Ghent gave a public dinner to the ministers from Great Britain prior to leaving the continent; the Intendant of Ghent, and numerous distinguished gentlemen were present. Everything indicated that the most perfect reconciliation had taken place between the two nations. Lord Gambier arose to give the first toast, "The United States of North America," but was prevented by the courtesy of John Quincy Adams, who gave, "His Majesty, the King of England" — upon which the music struck up "God save the King." Lord Gambier then gave as a second toast, "The United States, etc.," and the music played "Hail Columbia." A supplement to the treaty for the regulation of commercial intercourse was to be negotiated in London, and Gallatin and Clay proceeded at once to that city. Adams waited for his family, then on a long and perilous journey from St. Petersburg to Paris, and thereby witnessed the meteoric return of Napoleon from Elba, who, without firing a gun, drove Louis XVIII. from the throne to which he had just been restored by the combined armies of the world. Ere long a commercial convention was signed, copied substantially from Jay's treaty, but with an additional proviso for absolute reciprocity in the direct trade, by the abolition on both sides of all discrimination. This convention was ratified by the President on the 22d of December, and has ever since formed the basis of commerce and trade between the two countries.

March 20.

July 3.

Dec. 22.

Prior to the adjournment of Congress measures were taken for the

adjustment of national affairs in accordance with the new order of things. An appropriation was made for rebuilding the public edifices lately burned by the British in Washington. Systems of finance were discussed for the maintenance of the public credit and the extinction of the national debt — amounting to one hundred and twenty millions; and diplomatic relations were re-established with the nations of Europe. John Quincy Adams was appointed minister to the Court of St. James, and was regarded in England as a statesman of unsurpassed general information, with a critical knowledge of the politics of the world. Albert Gallatin, whose gifts in diplomacy had been of signal value when the scales were trembling in the balance, was sent to France — William Harris Crawford having asked permission to return; and James A. Bayard was appointed to succeed Adams at St. Petersburg, but was seized with an alarming illness and hastened home to die.

The devastating effects of the war were severely felt in New York. And yet the interruption to foreign trade had given birth to many branches of domestic manufacture. The people on the borders of the State were in serious distress, and appealed to the city for relief. It was only a few months since upwards of seven thousand dollars had been sent to the sufferers on the Niagara frontier alone, of which three thousand was voted by the corporation, three thousand raised by private subscription, and the balance contributed by the Episcopal churches. Steps were taken to meet the fresh demand, and philanthropists and philosophers consoled themselves, at first with the glaring ostentation of brilliant and heroic achievements — destined to reflect the highest luster upon the American name, and rank the United States among the first nations of the earth — and then in the study of their lasting significance.

It was impossible for the actors in the great struggle to foresee the prodigious consequences of their devotion to cause and country. But it is none the less apparent to the intelligence of the present generation. The war had not only settled the question of the right of the United States to remain at peace irrespective of quarrels between other nations — the principle upon which Washington started, on which the Jay treaty was founded, and which since the treaty of Ghent has been universally recognized by the most ruthless belligerents — but it enlarged immensely the boundaries of self-knowledge in America. The passage of troops through the western wilds opened to the national vision boundless resources of wealth. The enormous expense and trouble attending internal transportation of stores for the army, awakened public attention throughout the country to the necessity of an increase of traveling facilities.

New York, with as much territory as England, and promising to be-

come as important in the future history of the world as England has been in the past, was not slow in making ready to execute the greatest work of internal improvement the world had ever known. The Erie Canal project was reagitated on a less doubtful basis than before the war, even while jubilant cannon were waking the forest echoes. There had been nothing vague or unreal in the fatigue, tribulation, and cost of conveying war materials from Albany to the Lakes. In one instance the expense of moving cannon was double what the pieces cost. The breaking down of wagons, the wearing out of horses, the human discomfort, and the disastrous delays, were strong arguments in favor of the enterprise. But it appeared impracticable. Many denounced it as wholly visionary. It was too vast in its conception for the common intellect. The national government declined to furnish any material aid. The idea of raising sufficient money in the State of New York alone was laughed at as the delusion of a fanatic. And it was supposed America had no engineers of sufficient scientific ability and experience to accomplish an undertaking of such magnitude.



De Witt Clinton.
[From the painting in the City Hall.]

De Witt Clinton's belief in the practicability of constructing a water highway from the Atlantic Ocean to the Lakes was like an inspiration. He was not the originator nor the projector of the Erie Canal. But when the crude scheme first took possession of his active brain, his judgment of its practical value, through his knowledge of the topography of the inte-

rior of the State, was instantaneous. He entered heart and soul into the enterprise from which he rightly predicted incalculable benefits were to flow, and gave to it shape and substance, life and animation; he became emphatically the master-spirit to carry it successfully forward. He was void of timidity, earnest even to asperity, prompt, energetic, and never disheartened by opposition, or hesitant where results depended upon the assumption of extraordinary responsibilities. He was arbitrary although kind-hearted, a safe counselor, a self-sacrificing friend, a discriminating judge, and generous to a fault, but one who never could forgive any political friend who interfered with his canal policy. As mayor of the city he was conspicuous for his faithful attention to its general prosperity. His genius found scope in planning important institutions, and in crowding forward the work of opening streets.

He was exceptionally dignified in personal appearance, tall, exceeding six feet in height, with a large, well-proportioned figure. His movements were deliberate, and in general society constrained, as if not perfectly at ease, which his opponents ascribed to arrogance and a sense of superiority. His head, finely shaped and admirably poised, was distinguished for the great height and breadth of his forehead; he had beautiful curly chestnut hair, clear hazel eyes, a Grecian nose, and complexion as fair as a woman's. His tastes were literary; he had collected a large library, and was perfectly familiar with the contents of every volume, from Homer, Virgil, and Dryden, down to the *Salmagundi* of his own generation. He was well-read in theology, and he was captivated by science. He was, indeed, a man so wedded to the pursuit of knowledge that the wonder is that he ever embarked upon the stormy sea of politics, unless it was through his perception of the need of power to give effect to his efforts for the recognition of religion, and the advancement of education, art, science, and morals. He lacked many of the requisites for a successful politician. His doctrines, objects, and public policy were open. He had no gifts for strategy, no disposition to drill men into mere machines or employ unusual weapons, ambushes, or surprises, to crush an adversary. The severer the scrutiny into his character, conduct, and career, the brighter becomes his fame. Even his bitterest foes never denied that his intellectual attainments were balanced with unsullied morals.

Late in the autumn of 1815 Judge Jonas Platt was in New York City holding court. Mayor Clinton had just returned from his country-
1815. seat on Long Island, and was residing in the Roosevelt house in Pearl Street. Judge Platt dined with him, and the canal subject formed the staple of conversation. Thomas Eddy a few days later invited the mayor and the judge to dinner; John Pintard was also a guest. It was

determined on this occasion to issue some one hundred cards of invitation to influential gentlemen of the city, to meet at the City Hotel in consultation concerning the much-desired canal. At the time appointed the assemblage gathered. William Bayard was chairman of the meeting, and John Pintard secretary; and, after addresses by Judge Platt, Mayor Clinton, and one or two others who objected to the proposed measure, a committee was chosen to prepare and circulate a memorial to the legislature in favor of the Erie Canal, consisting of Mayor Clinton, Thomas Eddy, Cadwallader D. Colden, and John Swartwout.

This celebrated production was from the pen of De Witt Clinton, and attracted general notice. Its style of expression, sagacious reasoning, and immense amount of condensed information concerning the State of New York, was particularly effective. It was read with avidity. It appealed directly to the interests of the city. The whole commercial intercourse of the western country north of the Ohio would be secured by the contemplated canal — more than sufficient to render New York the greatest commercial city in the world. Clinton wrote, "The whole line of canal will exhibit boats laden with flour, pork, beef, pot and pearl ashes, flax-seed, wheat, barley, corn, hemp, wool, flax, iron, lead, copper, salt, gypsum, coal, tar, fur, peltry, ginseng, beeswax, cheese, butter, lard, staves, lumber, and other valuable productions of our country; and, also, with merchandise from all parts of the world. Great manufacturing establishments will spring up; agriculture will establish its granaries, and commerce its warehouses in all directions. Villages, towns, and cities will line the banks of the canal and the shores of the Hudson." The document comprehended accurate knowledge of the subject in every feature. It contained plans and estimates, and suggested how means could be procured. The money would not be all wanted at once; and stock could be created and sold at an advanced price. In Clinton's opinion the augmented revenue from the public salt-works, together with the increased price of the State lands because of the undertaking, would more than extinguish the interest, at six per cent, of the debt thus contracted. Land had already been subscribed, and donations might be confidently anticipated, exceeding in value a million dollars.

Hitherto the New York mind had been flooded with an immense amount of loose material concerning the utility of inland navigation. But knowledge is not enlightenment. It required this able memorial to give definite direction to thought as well as action. Hundreds were converted from rank skepticism as to its practicability. Others were led to a more just conception of its propriety. While it was known that a collection of inland lakes in the heart of America exceeded in extent some of the

most celebrated seas in the Old World, multitudes saw for the first time, in the geographical view presented by Clinton, that the cost of transporting a barrel of flour to Albany from Cayuga Lake, for instance, was nearly double that of conveying it to Montreal by the way of Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence; and that merchandise from Montreal was selling on the New York borders full fifteen per cent below the New York prices. In concluding his masterly argument, Clinton said: "If the project of a canal was intended to advance the views of individuals, or to foment the divisions of party; if it promoted the interests of a few at the expense of the prosperity of the many; if its benefits were limited as to place, or fugitive as to duration; then, indeed, it might be received with cold indifference, or treated with stern neglect; but the overflowing blessings from this great fountain of public good and national abundance will be as extensive as our country, and as durable as time. It may be confidently asserted, that this canal, as to the extent of its route, as to the countries which it connects, and as to the consequences which it will produce, is without a parallel in the history of mankind. It remains for a free State to create a new era in history, and to erect a work more stupendous, more magnificent, and more beneficial than has hitherto been achieved by the human race."

Numerous prominent men of the city signed the memorial. Meetings were held in Albany, Utica, Buffalo, and many intermediate towns, and resolutions passed to support the gigantic undertaking so nobly heralded. On the other hand appalling difficulties arose in the fears of the prudent, who thought New York too young to commence single-handed a work of such magnitude, as well as in rival and hostile local interests, in the satire of the incredulous, and in political cabals. The legislature assembled in January. The memorial was soon presented. Intense feeling, for and against, was awakened from the start. On the 21st,
March 21. Jacob Rutsen Van Rensselaer, one of the most accomplished and skillful legislators in the country, introduced a bill, which, notwithstanding the modifications to which it was subjected, was the germ of enactments that crowned the enterprise with success. He said New York was capable of sustaining as dense a population as any section of the globe, and if enabled to pour its productions and its wealth into its chief city, blessings of every kind would follow. He spoke like the guardian of the State, and with the forecast of a statesman; and his words carried weight, as he could have no private interests at stake. He represented a county
April 3. lying on a great navigable river, having direct intercourse with the city of New York at a very cheap rate. The debate on the bill was opened with animation on the 3d of April, William Alexander Duer in the

chair, a grandson of Lord Stirling, and an active friend of the canal. Duer had acquired great influence, through his critical erudition, and to his superiority of intellect was added the charm of a graceful and imposing parliamentary manner. The fate of the bill hung for many days in the balance. Among those who courageously and vigorously espoused its cause was Peter Augustus Jay. On the 13th it passed the Assembly, with a variety of amendments, and with commissioners named — De Witt Clinton, Stephen Van Rensselaer, Henry Seymour, Samuel Young, Joseph Ellicott, William Bayard, Jacob Rutsen Van Rensselaer, George Huntington, Townsend McCoun, Melancthon Wheeler, Philip J. Schuyler, Myron Holley, John Nicholas, and Nathan Smith. It was taken up in the senate on the 16th, and on motion of Martin Van Buren amended by striking out all that went to authorize the beginning of the work. The names of nine of the commissioners were also stricken from the list. In this shape it became a law on the 17th, and twenty thousand dollars were appropriated for the necessary expenses of explorations and models. April 13. April 17.

The five commissioners retained were Stephen Van Rensselaer, De Witt Clinton, Samuel Young, Joseph Ellicott, and Myron Holley. They met in New York City in May, and organized with De Witt Clinton, president, Samuel Young, secretary, and Myron Holley, treasurer. They spent the summer in examining physical obstacles, in trying to conciliate public opinion, and in devising a system of finance to meet the vast expenditures which a canal would involve. 1816.

This year was rendered memorable among commercial men for the enormous importation of merchandise from Europe of every description. A new impulse was given to business. The financial condition of the country was improving under the influence of a national bank — which Secretary Dallas had at last succeeded in establishing. His plan, modeled after Hamilton's, except in a few particulars, was carried into effect on the 10th of April, 1816. During the same month James Monroe received the nomination for President, and Governor Tompkins of New York for Vice-President of the United States.

Before the canal commissioners reported the results of their investigations to the legislature, in the winter of 1817, the Presidential election had taken place. Thus the office of governor of New York would be vacant on the 4th of March. Measures were in agitation to place De Witt Clinton in the gubernatorial chair, which awoke all the slumbering animosities and prejudices of a decade. The contest was no longer between the great national parties. The Erie Canal was the spinal column of New York politics. 1817.

The month of April, 1817, opened with preparations for an obstinate struggle. The Fortieth session of the New York Legislature had already distinguished itself by adopting the immortal recommendation of Governor Tompkins in January — that slavery should cease forever in the State of New York on the 4th of July, 1827. This great measure in behalf of human rights was due chiefly to the exertions of Peter A. Jay and William Jay, sons of the chief justice, Cadwallader D. Colden, and other distinguished philanthropists of the city of New York, several of whom belonged to the Society of Friends. The new canal bill, shaped by De Witt Clinton, and embracing a careful estimate of the cost of the proposed work, occupied attention in the Assembly from the 1st to the 10th of April, when it passed by a very small majority. During the debate Stephen Van Rensselaer sent in a proposition for undertaking the whole Erie Canal himself, so confident was he of the vast profits and advantages in prospect. Judge Nathaniel Pendleton, who had been supposed hostile to the bill, came out strongly in its favor on the 8th. He was a perfect gentleman of the old school, conscientious and high-minded, and it was only after patient study of the surveys and calculations that his sober judgment helped to turn the scale. He made an important speech on the subject, provoked by the determined opposition of Judge James Emott, whose talents were of the first order, and in whose opinion New York should not embark in the enterprise for a long time to come — a man able to cool ardor most effectually with an appalling table of figures. William B. Rochester, a young member of great promise, made his first parliamentary efforts in a succession of brilliant speeches. Wheeler Barnes and John I. Ostrander were both conspicuous for eloquence and force of argument in favor of the canal. But several delegations had come armed with the most formidable weapons of antagonism. On the 9th William A. Duer recommenced the debate in his ablest manner. He said he should sustain the cause and persevere to the end. His words did not seem greatly to affect his hearers. At this critical moment Elisha Williams came to the rescue. He was one of the strong men of his time, polished and commanding as a public speaker, and as remarkable for versatility as for elegance of diction. He sustained Duer manfully, defended the bill section by section, answered all the questions of its leading opponents, tore the mask from those pretended friends who were secretly aiming at the destruction of the bill — a torrent of invective flowing in one continuous stream from his lips like burning lava — and by happy strokes of humor extinguished petty objections, thickly interspersed by legislators without the mind to conceive or judgment to appreciate great enterprises for the public good. He turned towards the delegation from

April 1.

New York City, who, unlike their predecessors of 1816, were, almost to a man, hostile to the canal, and drew an animated picture of the future grandeur of the metropolis when the great channels of inland navigation should be completed, exclaiming with magnetic warmth, "If the canal is to be a shower of gold, it will fall upon New York City; if a river of gold, it will flow into her lap."

Thus far the battle was won. The bill went to the senate, where, on motion of George Tibbitts, it was made the special order for the following day. On the 12th and on the 14th it was discussed with spirit. The opponents, among whom were Walter Bowne, Peter R. Livingston, Lucas Elmendorf, Isaac Ogden, and Moses Cantine, spoke successively against any precipitate measures. George Tibbitts made a sound and judicious speech, followed by Martin Van Buren in favor of the bill. This last was the great argument of the session. Van Buren was known to be adroitly working to defeat Clinton's election as governor, on the ground that he had a secret understanding with the Federalists, and such a masterly effort in favor of Clinton's project surprised many. Van Buren said the canal was to promote the interest and character of the State in a thousand ways; he should vote for it, and should consider it the most important vote he ever gave in his life. When he resumed his seat, Clinton, who had been an attentive listener in the Senate Chamber, breaking through the extreme reserve created by political collisions, approached and congratulated him in the most flattering terms. April 10.

The bill passed the Senate on the 15th, but it was subjected to another severe ordeal in the council of revision, of which Lieutenant-governor Tayler was president, one of the most distinguished as well as formidable opponents of the measure. Chancellor James Kent, Chief Justice Smith Thompson, Judge Jonas Platt, and Judge Joseph C. Yates — afterwards governor of the State — were present. Platt and Yates were decidedly in the affirmative. The chancellor said it seemed like a gigantic project which would require the wealth of the United States to accomplish, and he thought it inexpedient to commit the State until public opinion could be better united. The chief justice said the bill gave arbitrary powers to the commissioners over private rights without sufficient provisos and guards; he was, therefore, opposed. The crisis was alarming. Tayler held the casting vote. Near the close of the discussion Vice-President Tompkins entered the council-chamber, and took his seat familiarly; he expressed a decided opinion against the ; that the late peace with Great Britain was a mere truce, edit and resources of the State ought to be employed in . "Do you think so?" asked Chancellor Kent. "Yes," April 15.

was the reply, "England will never forgive us for our victories; and, my word for it, we shall have another war within two years." The chancellor sprang to his feet, and with great animation declared: "Then if we must have war or have a canal, I am in favor of the canal, and I vote for this bill." His voice gave the majority, and the bill became a law.[1]

The first meeting of the commissioners was held in Utica on the 3d of June to receive proposals and make contracts. It was determined to break ground in the vicinity of Rome, and an arrangement was made for appropriate ceremonies. The 4th of July was the day chosen. At sunrise the commissioners and a large concourse of citizens assembled at the place appointed. In behalf of the community of the region a few pertinent remarks were made by Hon. Joshua Hathaway, who presented the spade to De Witt Clinton, president of the commissioners, and also governor of the State — having been duly elected in April despite all efforts to the contrary. Clinton placed it in the hands of Judge James Richardson, the first contractor engaged in the work. Samuel Young then made a short address, in which he said with striking emphasis, "By this great highway unborn millions will transport their surplus productions to the shores of the Atlantic, and hold a useful and profitable intercourse with all the maritime nations of the earth. Let us proceed to the work animated by the prospect of its speedy accomplishment, and cheered with the anticipated benedictions of a grateful posterity"; after which the spade was thrust into the earth by Richardson, citizens and laborers, ambitious of the honor, following his example amid the firing of cannon and the acclamations of thousands of spectators.

June 3. 1817. July 4.

Though the beginning was thus auspicious, the canal in its progress met with obstacles of every kind and character. To expect to accomplish such a work without other means than what New York could provide seemed to the mass of the people like a prodigious dream. The venerable Jefferson, a zealous advocate of internal improvements, said it had been undertaken a century too soon. Madison thought its cost would exceed the whole resources of the nation. Rufus King declined to sanction a project involving the ruin and bankruptcy of the State. Sensible and sagacious men all over the country questioned the soundness of Clinton's views. Appropriations from year to year were obtained from the legislature with the utmost difficulty, and Clinton's repeated assurances that the resources of the State were ample to meet the whole expenditure were ridiculed as the vagaries of a monomaniac. It seemed many times as if between the madness of politicians and the skepticism of the public

[1] *Letter from Judge Jonas Platt to Dr. Hosack.*

the enterprise would be effectually crippled. No man in the development of a grand idea for the common good was more abused than Clinton. His inflexible perseverance was quoted in derision, the canal was styled "a big ditch," in which, it was said, "would be buried the treasure of the State, to be watered by the tears of posterity." His powerful speeches were garbled by writers of every grade, and his eloquence over the "national glory connected with the enterprise" was turned into shafts of wit and satire to be used as weapons for his overthrow. He was hissed on one occasion while addressing a crowd in the Park, from the steps of the New York City Hall, for predicting that the city would within a century stretch continuously to the shore of the Harlem River!

"Don't thee think friend Clinton has a bee in his bonnet?" asked a worthy Quaker of the gentleman who stood next him.

Persistent opposition to Clinton's administration soon developed itself, giving origin to the formation of two new and distinctly marked parties, known as the Bucktails and the Clintonians. It was after a long and fierce struggle between the Bucktails on the one side and the Clintonians and Federalists on the other, that a new State constitution was framed and adopted in the autumn of 1821. Clinton was four times elected governor; he occupied the position nine years, the whole period, indeed, from the date of his first election until his death in 1828, with the exception of one term, 1822–1824, when Joseph C. Yates was the successful candidate. The five canal commissioners continued in office, as named in the act of 1816. Vacancies were to be filled by the legislature, as in the national senate. In 1819 Ellicott resigned, and Henry Seymour was appointed in his stead, holding the office some twelve years.[1] In 1821 William C. Bouck, afterwards governor of the State, was appointed an additional commissioner.[2] Under authority conferred by the act of 1817, the Supreme Court of New York appointed Richard Varick, William Walton Woolsey, Nathaniel W. Howell, Obadiah German, and Elisha Jenkins to appraise the property of the former canal company, about to be purchased.

[1] Henry Seymour, born May 30, 1780, was the son of Major Moses Seymour of Litchfield, Connecticut, who participated in the capture of Burgoyne, and was one of the officers present at the memorable dinner to which Burgoyne was invited on the day following the capitulation. His wife was Molly, daughter of Colonel Ebenezer Marsh. They had one daughter, who married her cousin, Rev. Truman Marsh, and five sons, of whom one settled in Vermont, and was United States Senator for a dozen years, another became distinguished as a financier and bank president, two were high sheriffs of the county, and Henry, the canal commissioner, settled early in Onondaga County, New York, where he became a wealthy landholder, and subsequently mayor of Utica. He was a gentleman of the old school, highly cultivated by study, and of polished manners.

[2] By an act of the legislature, May 6, 1844, the number of canal commissioners was reduced to four, and they were made elective every four years. By the constitution of 1846 three commissioners were to be elected, on a term of three years, so classified that one would be elected every year.

Notwithstanding the political clamor against Clinton, it must by no means be supposed that the cultivated intelligence of New York City was insensible to the greatness of the man who for ten years had not only performed the duties of mayor with scrupulous fidelity, but had been the liberal patron of every important scheme of learning and benevolence. It was the period for founding and testing the value of institutions. Clinton, by the force of circumstances not less than his own commanding power, stood like a giant ready to solve grave problems and push into successful operation all manner of worthy enterprises. Whatever charity or society was in contemplation, his favor was considered of the first moment. He was identified with the growth of the city in a greater variety of directions than any other individual of his time; and his services were known and generously appreciated.

He was one of the founders, in connection with Dr. Hosack, Dr. Mitchill, Dr. Macneven, Dr. John W. Francis, and John Griscom, of the Literary and Philosophical Society, and was chosen its first president when it was incorporated in 1814. He was elected president of the New
1817. York Historical Society a few months prior to his election as governor of the State — succeeding Gouverneur Morris, deceased, who had been president of this renowned institution about a year. Dr. Hosack was then its corresponding secretary; and the accomplished Dr. Francis, just returned from Europe where he had enjoyed the instruction, society, and in several instances the warm friendship of the prominent scientific men of the Old World, was its librarian. Clinton had ever been an active friend to the New York Hospital, and was chiefly instrumental in the passage of the act, in 1816, establishing the Bloomingdale Asylum for the Insane, which, located in the midst of forty well-cultivated acres, was first opened for the reception of patients in 1821.

Nor was he less influential in the establishment of the Deaf and Dumb Asylum, incorporated by the legislature, April 15, 1817, the same day that Mr. Gallaudet's school was opened in Hartford. Up to that time not a single institution of the kind had existed in America, and only about twenty-five in Europe. Clinton was the first president of the
[illegible] of directors, and Richard Varick and John Ferguson were vice-
. For some years the school was kept in a public building;
[illegible]kerly was from 1821 to 1831 superintendent, secretary, and
was succeeded by Dr. Harvey P. Peet. The corporation
the site for an edifice in Fiftieth Street (now occupied
ge) and the corner-stone was laid in 1829. The insti-
[illegible]y the increase of population to its present beautiful
[illegible]eights in 1856, and buildings and grounds were
[illegible] a million of dollars.

The American Bible Society, formed at New York in 1816, received substantial encouragement from Clinton; Elias Boudinot, the venerable philanthropist who had long devoted himself to the study of biblical literature, and donated ten thousand dollars to the cause, was its first president. Some two years later was founded the 1818. Presbyterian Education Society, to aid impecunious young men in studying for the ministry, of which Boudinot was also president until his death in 1821; of this institution Clinton was vice-president from the beginning, and president during the later years of his life. When Mrs. Divie Bethune agitated the subject of Sabbath schools in New York City in 1812, many excellent people expressed doubts as to the propriety of devoting any portion of the Sabbath to such purposes, and she went to Clinton for his opinion, who was at once interested and advised her to make the experiment quietly. She did so, opening a little school on Sunday afternoons in the vicinity of her city residence, and another in the basement of her country-seat at Greenwich. The war, however, brought such distress to the poor, that Mrs. Bethune's energies were absorbed in a society organized by a few charitable ladies to provide employment for helpless women whose husbands were in the army. A wooden building was rented, and some five or six hundred families thus sustained until the return of peace. In 1816 Mrs. Bethune called a meeting of ladies in the Wall Street Church to organize a Sabbath School Society, which established schools and conducted them successfully until absorbed by the New York branch of the American Sunday School Union, in 1827. Clinton, who loved education as a science as well as a charity, facilitated this work in innumerable ways; and when it ceased he suggested to Mrs. Bethune that many children of laboring parents, too young for common schools, needed



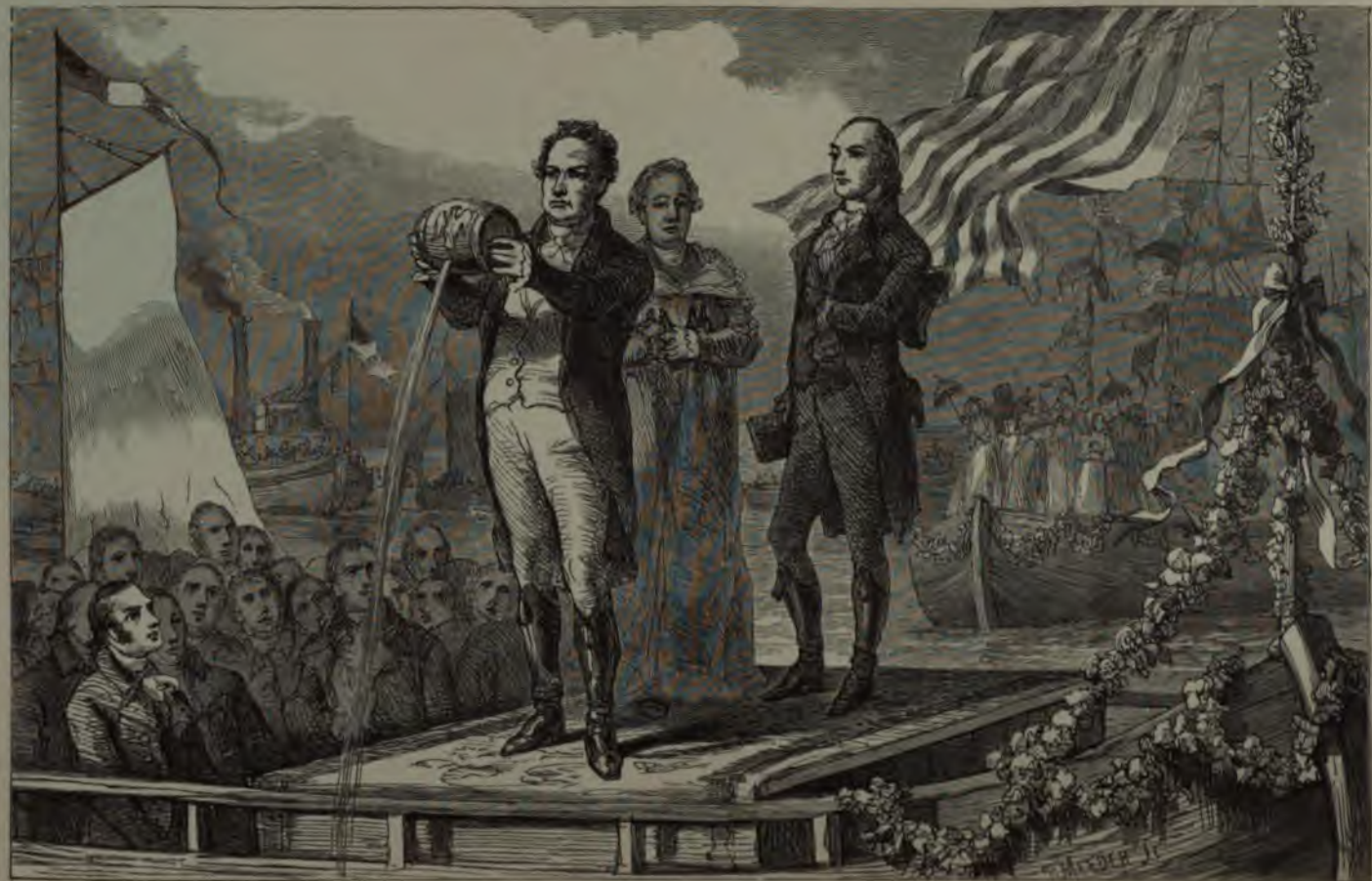
The Deaf and Dumb Asylum.
[Washington Heights.]

fostering instruction — which resulted, through her efforts, in the Infant School Society, organized in May, 1827. Clinton, in his last message to the legislature, mentioned this charity as one deserving "the most liberal benefactions from individuals, and the most ample endowments from the public." Meanwhile the common-school system of New York, which his far-seeing statesmanship had instituted, was growing into magnificent pro-
1818 portions. The fifth annual report, transmitted to the legislature in March by the superintendent, Gideon Hawley, informed the public that five thousand schools were in successful operation in the State, in which more than two hundred thousand children were annually taught during an average period of from four to six months.

The scholarly Cadwallader D. Colden was appointed mayor in 1818.[1] He, like Clinton, was industriously active in the interests of humanity, and viewed men and things from a philosophical standpoint. One of his earliest duties was to aid in the establishment of the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism. Emigration was pouring into New York shiploads of the lowest and most ignorant classes in Europe, who found shelter as best they could in sheds, cellars, or rookeries of any description, and, choosing rather to steal than beg, were scarcely less dangerous to society than so many wild animals. The patience and the pockets of the citizens were severely taxed. Colden stated in November, 1819, that during the preceding twenty months eighteen thousand nine hundred and thirty foreign emigrants had arrived in the city and been reported at his office.

Meanwhile national affairs were in a promising condition. Monroe was prudent, and his administration was harmonious and prosperous. The fierce strife of parties ceased through his tranquillizing influence. He made a tour inspecting the frontier defenses of the country from Portland to Detroit in the first summer of his rule. Mrs. Monroe was Eliza, daughter of Lawrence Kortwright, of New York, whom Monroe met, courted, and married during the gay winter following Washington's first inauguration; she had been one of the belles of the city during the Revolution, and was ridiculed for having rejected so many dashing adorers and chosen a plain member of Congress. The chief events of Monroe's first term of office were the admission of Mississippi, Illinois, and Alabama into the Union, and the important cession of Florida by Spain, in 1819, completing the work of annexation commenced in the purchase of Louisiana. Indiana was admitted into the Union in 1816. The Hon.

[1] John Ferguson was appointed mayor of New York in 1815, but resigned, and Jacob Radcliff succeeded to the office. Richard Riker was appointed recorder in 1815, succeeding Josiah Oden Hoffman, and filled the office until the appointment of Peter Augustus Jay in 1819.



"Clinton lifted one of these kegs high in the air and, in full view of the assembled multitude poured its contents into the briny ocean, saying: 'This solemnity, at this place, on the first arrival of vessels from Lake Erie, is intended to indicate and commemorate the wonderful communication which has been accomplished between our Mediterranean seas and the Atlantic ocean.'" (Page 202)

Peter H. Wendover of New York called attention to the flag of the United States, which did not represent all the States, and offered a motion for its alteration. While the question was pending Wendover called upon Captain Samuel C. Reid, the hero of Fayal, who happened to be in Washington, and requested him to design something which would represent the increase of the States without destroying the distinctive character of the flag. As originally instituted by Congress, June 14, 1777, the flag bore thirteen stars and thirteen stripes. When new States came in, the number of stars and stripes were to be correspondingly increased, pursuant to an act of Congress passed in 1794. But with the addition of new stars and stripes, the width of the stripes must necessarily be lessened. Thus it was losing its historical significance. To return to the original device would be inappropriate, because the flag would then give no hint of the growth of the republic. Captain Reid soon hit upon the happy medium, by which the glory of the past could be combined with the progress of the present — the thirteen stripes retained as a memento of the original Union, alternate red and white, and a new star, white on a blue field, added whenever a new State was admitted, to indicate the growth of the nation. The design was unique, beautiful, and satisfactory. Wendover accepted Reid's idea, and succeeded in obtaining its adoption by Congress. On the 26th of March, Wendover wrote to Reid: "Please inform me as soon as convenient what a flag (of the size of the one floating over the Capitol at Washington) would cost in New York, made for the purpose, with thirteen stripes and twenty stars, forming one great luminary, as per pasteboard plan you handed me?" 1818.

The bill providing for the alteration of the flag from and after the 4th of July, 1818, became a law on the 4th of April.

Captain Reid purchased the materials, and Mrs. Reid made the flag in the drawing-room of her house in New York City, 27 Cherry Street, near Franklin Square, assisted by a number of young ladies, whose names were worked upon the flag. It was immediately forwarded to Wendover, who wrote to Reid on the 13th of April: "I have just time to inform you that the new flag arrived here per mail this day, and was hoisted to replace the old one at two o'clock, and has given much satisfaction to all who have seen it, as far as I have heard. I am pleased with its form and proportions, and have no doubt it will satisfy the public mind. Mr. Clay [then Speaker of the House] says it is wrong that there should be no charge in your bill for making the flag. If pay for that will be acceptable, on being informed I will procure it. Do not understand me as intending to wound Mrs. Reid, or others who may have given aid, and please present my thanks to her and them, and accept the same for yourself."

Through the long-continued efforts of Thomas Eddy and John Pintard, the first Savings Bank in New York went into operation in July, 1819.

1819. The subject had been in agitation from time to time since 1803. A meeting was called in the autumn of 1816 at the City Hotel, and a constitution adopted with twenty-eight directors chosen — the list headed by De Witt Clinton and ending with John Pintard; but so many projects of benevolence were before the public that there was delay in raising the necessary capital. William Bayard was its first president; John Pintard was chosen president in 1828, and filled the office until the year 1842.

The yellow fever appeared in the city in 1819, creating universal alarm; but it disappeared without having raged with as much fury as on several former occasions. In the summer of 1822 it broke out in Rector Street,

1822. a part of the city hitherto esteemed secure from its ravages. The first case occurred on the 17th of June. By the middle of July it was spreading with fearful rapidity. Business was entirely suspended in August and a part of September, and the only sounds to break the terrible stillness were the rumbling of hearses and the footsteps of nurses and physicians. High board-fences shut off each infected street or district below City Hall. "It has utterly desolated the lower portions of the city," wrote Robert M. Hartley under date of September 1, 1822, to his father. "Thousands have left, and other thousands, panic-stricken, are daily leaving. Stores and dwellings are closed and deserted. The custom-house, post-office, all the banks, insurance offices, and other public places of business have been removed to the upper part of Broadway and to Greenwich village, the region round about being mostly occupied by merchants in buildings temporarily erected for their convenience. Such a motley scene as is exhibited defies description. There are carts, cartmen, carpenters, carriages, dust, and dry goods — to the end of the alphabet." There was no relief until November.

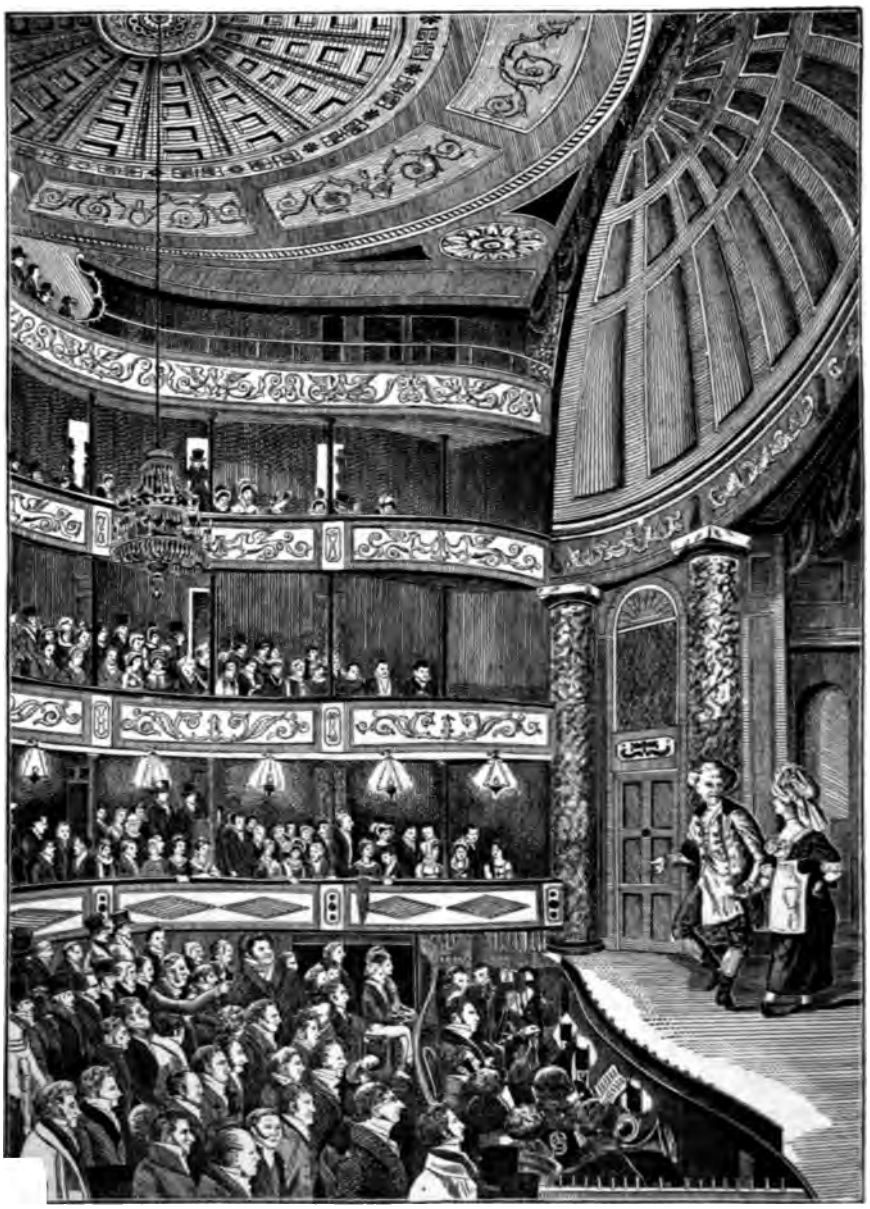
While the pestilence was at its height a ship entered the harbor upon which Charles Matthews was a passenger from Europe. Hearing that

Sept. one hundred and forty deaths had occurred in the city that very day, he was in great consternation, and unwilling to land. Stephen Price and Edmund Simpson were the managers of the Park Theater; the latter at once addressed a note to Dr. Francis, asking him to visit Matthews for the purpose of calming his excitement. Repairing to the ssel, they found Matthews walking the deck, tottering, and in extremest tation. He said he felt the pestilential air, every cloud was surcharged h mortality, every wave in its tossing imparted poison. He insisted finding shelter in some remote spot. Hoboken was suggested, and

thither he proceeded, attended by Simpson and Dr. Francis. They found a gardener's cottage some two miles from the Jersey shore on the road to Hackensack, and the great comedian spent the entire night pacing his diminutive apartment, overwhelmed with terror and despair. The situation became tolerable after a few days, and he turned for useful diversion to the poultry-yard and the pastures, practising among their inhabitants the art of mimicry for which he was renowned. His age was about forty, his figure was tall and thin, one leg was shorter than the other, and his features were extremely irregular from the effects of an injury in being thrown from a gig, but vivified with intelligence. He was a remarkable specimen of what early training and protracted and intense study may accomplish. And yet he was a dyspeptic and morbidly nervous, never paying any attention to physical improvement in his incessant strife for intellectual progress. He was always complaining and never well.

The sensation created by Edmund Kean, on his first visit to New York, had hardly died away when Matthews came. Kean arrived in 1820 and departed June 4, 1821. He was thirty-three, small of stature, but graceful, and when under the influence of passion effective and even grand. His little, well-wrought, strong frame seemed capable of any amount of endurance; he was an admirable fencer, a finished gentleman, a most insidious lover, and a terrific tragedian. His face was expressive, his eye brilliant, his action free, and his voice flexible and strong. He was, like Matthews, a close student, and a master of mimic power. Both secured the glories of success. But Kean was irregular in life, capricious in temper, and eccentric in habit, while Matthews was the apostle of temperance and circumspection. Kean mixed with all sorts of people, and when attacked by the press, ordered the papers carried from his presence with a pair of tongs. Matthews was fond of literary characters, was acquainted with Sir Walter Scott, moved in a social circle among the most eminent authors and actors, and was singularly gifted with worldly prudence.

The Old Park Theater was burned on the morning of the 25th of May, 1820, and such was the rapidity of the conflagration that not an article of wardrobe or scenery was saved. A new edifice arose upon its site, eighty feet wide by one hundred and sixty-five feet deep, running through to Theater Alley, where a large wing was attached containing the green-room and dressing-rooms. The audience entered by seven arched doorways, all opening outward. The interior was fashioned to seat twenty-five hundred persons. It had three circles of boxes, forty-two in all, two side tiers, a spacious gallery, and a pleasant pit. It was first opened in September, 1821, and the builders, John Jacob Astor and John K. Beekman,



Interior of Park Theater, November 7, 1822.
[Charles Matthews and Miss Ellen A. Johnson in the farce of "Monsieur Tonson."]

greatly applauded for their public spirit and good taste. It was d until late in the autumn of 1822, on account of the prevalence of ellow fever; but with the coming of the frosts, and the general

return of the citizens to their homes, it became the scene of the introduction of Matthews to a New York audience. The *Commercial Advertiser* of November 8, 1822, says: "We last night paid our dollar to witness this gentleman's far-famed exhibitions, and confess that 1822.
we do not regret the time or the money spent. The house was so crowded that it was with great difficulty we could procure a seat, and amidst so large an audience we could not discover even a whisper of disapprobation. Mr. Matthews played Goldfinch in the 'Road to Ruin.' The popular farce of 'Monsieur Tonson' was performed Nov. 7.
for the first time, and Mr. Matthews supported the principal character with great éclat. His comic songs and imitations were the best we ever heard; and in consequence of his *variations*, on being encored, the audience seemed disposed to sit all night and enjoy this species of entertainment."

The original water-color painting from which the accompanying illustration has been copied is of exceptional historic interest, because of its approved portraiture.[1] The wife of Governor De Witt Clinton occupies the box in the first tier, nearest the stage. In the third box, beyond, are seated the Mayor and Mrs. Cadwallader D. Colden, daughter of Bishop Provost, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Lenox, Mr. Kennedy, Miss Wilkes, and John K. Beekman. In the boxes between the two are said to be recognized Mrs. Daniel Webster, Mrs. Ogden, Dr. and Mrs. Mitchill, Mrs. Major Fairlie, Dr. Hosack, Jacob H. Le Roy, William Bayard, James Watson, Dr. McLane, and Mrs. Newbold; while Henry Brevoort, James Kirke Paulding, James W. Gerard, Henry Carey, and Swift Livingston are seated just beyond. One of the second tier of boxes is occupied by Judge and Mrs. Nathaniel Pendleton and Judge and Mrs. Samuel Jones.

[1] The history of the water-color painting, now in possession of the New York Historical Society, is scarcely less interesting than the picture itself. The original drawing was made for William Bayard by John Searle, a clever amateur artist, and the picture when completed was hung upon the wall of Mr. Bayard's country residence. Some years since Thomas W. Channing Moore became much interested in it while visiting Mr. Bayard, and with the instinct of a genuine antiquarian resolved that such a treasure should not be entirely lost to New York. He accordingly obtained permission to bring it to the city for the purpose of showing it to Mr. Elias Dexter. Six of the gentlemen whose portraits appear in the painting were then living — Francis Barretto, Robert G. L. De Peyster, Gouverneur S. Bibby, William Bayard, Jr., William Maxwell, and James W. Gerard — and were invited to an interview for its examination. Mr. Barretto and Mr. Bibby remembered and were able to recognize nearly every person represented upon the canvas. All the gentlemen pronounced the portraits striking; and many reminiscences were related in connection with those supposed to be present on that memorable evening when Matthews first appeared in the farce of *Monsieur Tonson*. A key was made to the painting, and it was photographed by Dexter; it was then returned to its owner. Upon the death of Mr. Bayard it descended to his daughter, Mrs. Harriet Bayard Van Rensselaer, and was subsequently presented by her heirs to the

The social life of New York at this period was invested with a peculiar charm. Wealth and refinement, money-making and good-breeding, were blended as never before. The flavor of courts clung to the numerous representatives of the old colonial aristocracy, who still formed the metal in the cup. But intellectual achievement was held in severe respect, and benevolence was the fashion of the day. The man of means was measured according to his intelligent promotion of art, science, literature, religion, and internal improvements. Pride of family existed, as was natural in such a community, but a birthright commanded little consideration unless divested of all suspicion of ignorance and vulgarity. The tone of society was elevated without being pretentious. Progress was the all-absorbing idea. The development of the industries, schemes of charity, and the education of the laboring classes were drawing-room topics. A fund had been appropriated by the State, in 1820, for the support of common schools, amounting to a million and a half of dollars. Enormous sums were expended yearly in the city from private sources. Beauty and fashion were none the less admired; amusements were patronized, and the higher obligations of polite life scrupulously fulfilled. Intercourse with the leading men and women of both the New England and Southern States secured to New York greater catholicity of spirit than elsewhere; and the shining lights of foreign statesmanship, diplomacy, and letters, who were from time to time visitors or dwellers in the city, influenced more or less the public taste.

President Monroe was much in New York during his eight years' administration. Mrs. Monroe was not only a New-Yorker herself, but was nearly related to several of the prominent families; her sister married Nicholas Gouverneur, of the great commercial house doing business with

New York Historical Society. The key furnishes the names, in addition to those already mentioned, of Herman Le Roy, William Le Roy, Alexander Hosack, Stephen Price, Edward Price, Captain J. Richardson, Mrs. Eliza Talbot, Robert Dyson, Herman Le Roy, Jr., D. P. Campbell, Mrs. Clinton, Maltby Geltson, and Mr. Charaud, in the first and second tier of boxes; and in the pit, Nicholas C. Rutgers, Dr. John W. Francis, Walter Livingston, Henry W. Cruger, Dr. John Watts, Pierre C. Van Wyck, Edmund Wilkes, Hamilton Wilkes, John Searle, the artist, Thomas F. Livingston, Dr. John Neilson, Thomas Bibby, the ancestor of the Bibby family in New York, whose descendants now represent the Van Cortlandts of Yonkers, Gouverneur S. Bibby, Robert G. L. De Peyster, Hugh Maxwell, William Maxwell, James Seaton, Andrew Drew, William Wilkes, Charles Farquhar, John Berry, Robert Gillespie, Mordecai M. Noah, William Bell, John Lang, editor of the *New York Gazette*, James McKay, James Alport, James Farquhar, Thomas W. Moore, Francis Barretto, Joseph Fowler, John J. Boyd, William H. Robinson, and Robert Watts. The last named, sitting in the immediate foreground, close by the orchestra, may be recognized by his light coat. He was the one mentioned on page 650 as the handsomest man in New York. Many of the gentlemen wore their hats for protection against the draughts of cold wind sweeping through the house.

all parts of the world — descended from the Gouverneurs so familiar to the reader in the first volume of this work;[1] and their son, Samuel L. Gouverneur, the New York postmaster for nine years, married Maria, the youngest daughter of President and Mrs. Monroe, the ceremony being performed at the White House. Mrs. Gouverneur was a beautiful bride, and very warmly received in New York society. She dispensed hospitalities at her elegant home in the metropolis with as much ease and dignity as her accomplished mother at the capital. Mrs. Monroe will be remembered as the mistress of the Executive Mansion who carried into execution the custom of never returning calls, which nearly produced a social revolution. The question of propriety as to indiscriminate visiting on the part of the wife of the President was hotly debated, and involved diplomatic and State correspondence. Mrs. Monroe remained firm. The difficulty was finally adjusted by John Quincy Adams, who drew up the formula which has since regulated the etiquette of the social superstructure at the capital. Mrs. Monroe was extremely exacting in the matter of appropriate dress to be worn at her receptions. On one occasion the President refused admission to a near relative who was not prepared with a suit of small-clothes and silk hose. Nearly ten years of Mrs. Monroe's life had been spent at the European capitals, while accompanying her husband on his various missions to foreign courts, and her daughters were at school in France. The elder, Eliza, who married Judge George Hay, was in the same class and on terms of intimacy with Hortense Eugénie Beauharnais, afterwards Queen of Holland.

Monroe had been re-elected President with but one dissenting vote, that of New Hampshire — given to John Quincy Adams. Tompkins was again Vice-President, and chairman of the Senate, in which Rufus King and Martin Van Buren represented New York. The chief controversy that marked Monroe's first term concerned negro slavery. The question

[1] See Vol. I. 388, 440. The Gouverneurs have been ranked among the best families of New York for nearly two centuries; few names are better known than those of Gouverneur Morris, Gouverneur Kemble, Gouverneur Ogden, and Gouverneur Kortwright. Isaac Gouverneur, son of Nicholas and Eliza Kortwright Gouverneur, was killed in a duel with William H. Maxwell, brother of Hugh Maxwell. His brother, Samuel L. Gouverneur, married Maria, daughter of President Monroe. Their son, Samuel Lawrence Gouverneur, born in New York City, 1828, recently died in Washington; he served in the Mexican War with distinction, and was for some years United States consul at Foo-Choo, China; his wife was Marion, daughter of Judge Campbell, surrogate of New York City for many years. Lawrence Kortwright, the father of Mrs. Monroe, was the son of Cornelius Kortwright, an old merchant of New York in the time of Governor Cosby, who married Miss Aspinwall. The Kortwright family intermarried with the Verplancks, the Tillotsons, the Lawrences, the Livingstons, and other eminent families. The town of Kortwright was named for Lawrence Kortwright, where he had purchased large tracts of land intending to found a manor.

arose in connection with a petition for the admission of Missouri into the Union. A bill, with an amendment prohibiting slavery in the new State, was defeated. After much discussion a compromise was effected, by which the subject was dismissed for the time; and Missouri took her place among the sovereign States.

Meanwhile the progress of the Erie Canal was a distinguished success. It stimulated the ambition of the whole country. Enterprises of internal improvement — of lesser magnitude — were taking shape in many directions. The fame of De Witt Clinton had gone to the ends of the earth. The completion of each section of the great work was attended with public ceremonials. Thousands of people made long journeys to see the deep cutting through mountain ridges, the wonderful embankments and aqueducts, and the combined locks. Clinton's "big ditch" was the curiosity of the age.

The ancient enemies of Clinton appear to have taken alarm at his increasing notoriety. Having been displaced from the governorship in 1822 by the election of Joseph C. Yates, he was no longer in the political field.

1824. Nor was he a candidate for any office. He was simply attending to his duties as president of the board of canal commissioners, and devoting toilsome days and sleepless nights to the practical realization of his stupendous views. He had for years been traversing the State to watch over the progress of the canal, without salary, or a dollar of reward for his services. His ceaseless exertions had animated industry and enterprise, facilitated the rapid circulation of capital, and given the New York public a sweet foretaste of unfolding riches — in ten thousand separate ways. He was becoming an object of popular interest and applause. His wings must be clipped, or he might soar into some high seat — to the great disadvantage of his opponents and persecutors.

Thus reasoned a few uneasy legislators in April, 1824. On the last

April 12. day of the session, the Senate, on motion of John Bowman, passed a resolution for the removal of De Witt Clinton from the office of canal commissioner! It was sent for concurrence to the Assembly, where it was acted upon almost instantaneously in the hurry and confusion prior to adjournment for the season. Unutterable amazement was created in the mind of every member not in the secret. The high-handed measure had been concocted the evening before in a select but rather informal caucus; and few instances exist in history where political cunning when held to the light, revealed so little of human nobility and so much of perverse folly. When the announcement was made gentlemen engaged in packing up their papers paused and stared at each other, as if wondering if they had heard aright. Henry Cunningham was in the act of putting

on his overcoat, and without a moment for reflection threw it over his arm and turned to the speaker with flashing eyes and face glowing with indignation. He spoke for twenty minutes in a strain of manly eloquence that would have done credit to a Roman orator. "For what good and honorable purpose has this resolution been sent here for concurrence at the very last moment of the session?" he asked. "Sir, I challenge inquiry. We have spent rising of three months in legislation, and not one word has been dropped intimating a desire or intention to expel that honorable gentleman from the board of canal commissioners! What nefarious and secret design, I ask, is to be effected at the expense of the honor and integrity of this legislature?"

Clinton bore the insult like a Christian martyr. Not so New York. Clinton simply invited the most rigid scrutiny into his official conduct. His native State did more. Meetings were called in every town, village, and city, to denounce in the most public manner an act which, without the assignment of a single reason or the faintest color of necessity, had hurled from an exalted eminence, as if he were some great State culprit, the man above all others to whom New York was indebted. The feeling in New York City was intense. Ten thousand people assembled in the park in front of the City Hall on the afternoon of the 20th, embracing all classes and all political cliques and parties. Such a meeting, taking it all in all, had never been witnessed in the metropolis. Its object was to stigmatize the unjustifiable procedure of the legislature. General Robert Bogardus nominated the venerable William Few to the chair, who was greeted with unbounded applause. Stirring addresses were made. "The benefactors of states and empires cannot be hidden from the world," said Charles G. Haines. "The spirit of the age and the light of truth are with them. Combinations may arise to obscure the luster of their deeds, and diminish the magnitude and utility of their efforts; but the calm conviction of after times will do them justice." Resolutions were submitted by Isaac S. Hone, declaring the removal of Clinton a disgrace to the State, a violation of justice, and an outrage on public opinion, and adopted by acclamation. Thousands of voices proclaimed the unanimity with which they were received, and when the chairman called for the noes, a dead silence — a deep pause ensued. April 20.

A committee of thirty gentlemen was appointed to communicate the resolutions to Clinton, and to give them publicity throughout the State and nation; while a vote of thanks was returned to General James Benedict, John Morss, and David Seaman from the city delegation who had voted against the measure. Thus New York taught narrow politicians a lesson not likely to be forgotten; and paid a just 1824.

and becoming tribute of respect to a statesman whose extensive agency in the grandest public work of the age was beyond dispute.[1]

Clinton welcomed the committee warmly, and in reply said: "From the extinguishment of open hostility to the present period I have not been without serious apprehensions that events might occur to prevent the consummation of this work; and I have rejoiced at the termination of each year of its progress, and watched over it with indescribable anxiety." He thanked the gentlemen with much emotion for their "condescending kindness" in presenting the resolutions in person. They had but just departed when another committee, representing the scientists and scholars of the city, was ushered into his presence, with a similar series of resolutions adopted at a private meeting in the evening, of which the distinguished Dr. Mitchill was chairman: he had figured conspicuously in the celebration at Albany of the completion of the Champlain Canal and the Eastern section of the Erie Canal, in October, 1823, making a brilliant address on the festive occasion. In the unjustifiable movement, which, contrary to the wishes of a million and a half of



Dr. Samuel Mitchill.
[From the painting by John Wesley Jarvis.]

[1] The committee consisted of General Matthew Clarkson, Thomas Addis Emmet, Colonel Nicholas Fish, William Bayard, Thomas Eddy, Stephen Whitney, Philip Hone, Cadwallader D. Colden, Charles Wright, Thomas Hazard, Jr., James Lovett, General Joseph G. Swift, Robert H. Bowne, Abraham Ogden, John Rathbone, Jr., Lockwood De Forrest, Preserved Fish, General Robert Bogardus, Thomas Freeborn, Peter Crary, Lynde Catlin, James Oakley, Mansel Bradhurst, Benjamin Stagg, Eli Hart, Thomas Gibbons, Noah Brown, Thomas Herttell, and Campbell P. White. General James Benedict was the only member of the legislature in 1824 who was returned by his constituents when the revolution of public sentiment made De Witt Clinton governor in 1825. He was a descendant of Thomas Benedict — see Vol. I. p. 204 — and married in 1812, at the age of twenty-eight, Deborah, daughter of James Coles of New York City. He was in the War of 1812, and continued in the State military service, after the peace, as a brigadier; in 1826 he was made a major-general.

people, deprived Clinton of a post in which there was no emolument, Dr. Mitchill failed to see one extenuating circumstance.

Nor was there anything spasmodic in the expression of public sentiment. The more the subject was agitated the greater appeared the enormity of the wrong committed. As a direct result, Clinton was nominated for governor by a State convention at Utica, and re-elected by a majority of nearly seventeen thousand votes. The Whig party chose six of the eight senators, and secured a majority of three fourths of the Assembly. The tide was overwhelming. Nearly every man was swept out of office the State through who had directly or remotely, audibly or silently, contributed to the injury inflicted upon Clinton.

It is worthy of remembrance that during the eight years in which the State of New York was expending between nine and ten millions of dollars in constructing canals, the amount collected in the New York City custom-house and paid into the treasury of the United States, for duties of impost and tonnage, was upwards of sixty-four millions; and within the same period the State raised and applied to the support of common schools over nine millions, together with very large sums bestowed upon colleges, and for the advancement of science and literature.

It was during the summer of 1824 that Lafayette visited the United States by invitation of the government, arriving in New York City on the 15th of August. He had no suspicion of the warm welcome that awaited him. As the French packet upon which he was a passenger neared the Narrows, two gentlemen came on board from a row-boat, and after holding a private conference with the captain departed. No one except the commander himself knew the object of their mission. But to the surprise of all on board, the vessel anchored alongside Staten Island. Presently a long line of vessels appeared in sight, coming down the bay with flags flying. They approached and encircled the French ship. The mayor of New York, General Jacob Morton, and other eminent personages, presently reached the deck of the *Cadmus* and paid their respects to America's illustrious visitor — whose tears fell like rain as he received their unexpected congratulations, and learned of the plan for his public reception in the city next morning. It being the Sabbath, he was conducted to the seat of Vice-President Tompkins on Staten Island, where he spent the remainder of the day. Aug. 15.

On Monday the bells rang in one merry din from twelve to one o'clock, business was suspended, and no carriages or horses were permitted below Chambers Street except those attached to the military or procession. The corporation of the city, the Chamber of Commerce, the society of the Cincinnati, and the officers of the army and Aug. 16.

navy proceeded at nine o'clock to Staten Island to meet and escort Lafayette into New York. The naval procession was one of exceptional beauty and interest. When it moved from Staten Island the guns from shore were answered from Fort Lafayette, from the steamship *Robert Fulton*, and from the forts in the harbor. The escorting vessels, adorned in the most fanciful manner, were alive with ladies and gentlemen. At Castle Garden Lafayette landed upon a carpeted stairway arranged for the occasion, under an arch richly decorated with flags and wreaths of laurel. He was greeted with a prolonged shout from the assembled thousands, and the roar of artillery echoed far away over the blue waters. The troops were drawn into line by General James Benedict, and, after the review, Lafayette entered a barouche drawn by four horses and was driven up Broadway to the City Hall; he was welcomed to the common council chamber by Mayor William Paulding in an appropriate speech. In reply, Lafayette said: "It is the pride of my life to have been one of the earliest adopted sons of America. I am proud, also, to add that upwards of forty years ago I was particularly honored with the freedom of this city." After further ceremonies upon a platform in front of the City Hall he was conducted to the City Hotel, where elegant rooms had been arranged for his occupancy, and where a sumptuous dinner was prepared. At evening the City Hotel, City Hall, and other public buildings were gorgeously illuminated, the theaters and public gardens displayed transparencies, and fire-works of every description blazed from one end of the city to the other. An immense balloon arose from Castle Garden representing the famous horse Eclipse mounted by an ancient knight in armor.

On Wednesday Lafayette visited the navy-yard, dining with the commandant and a few invited guests. In the evening he was tendered a reception by the New York Historical Society. He was escorted by the president of the Society, Dr. Hosack, and General Philip Van Cortlandt to the chair that had once belonged to the unfortunate Louis XVI. — presented by Gouverneur Morris. Dr. Hosack in a graceful address announced to Lafayette his election as an honorary member of the Society; he responded with the warmest expressions of gratitude, adding, "The United States, sir, are the first nation in the records of history who have founded their constitution upon an honest investigation, and clear definition of their national and social rights." His stay in New York was one perpetual ovation. He saw nothing but prosperity and good order. The growth of the city and its ripening institutions filled his mind with wonder and admiration. "Do you expect Broadway will reach Albany?" he asked, facetiously, when the prospective street improvements above Madison Square were pointed out to him.

Aug. 18.

He departed from the city on his famous tour through the country, Friday, the 20th. He was accompanied by his son, George Washington Lafayette, a fine-looking, graceful man, approaching middle life, and by General Philip Van Cortlandt. Seated in a coach drawn by four white horses, he was escorted as far as Harlem by the mayor, aldermen, celebrities, and citizens in carriages, and an imposing cavalcade commanded by General Prosper M. Wetmore, then brigade-major. The streets on the route were thronged with people; Lafayette rode with his head uncovered, acknowledging their perpetual huzzas with bows.

The year 1825 dawned upon a nation in anxiety. It had long been foreseen that a choice of President would not be effected by the people. The campaign had been more spirited and exciting than any which had taken place since the first election of Jefferson. Strictly speaking it could not be called a party contest. Monroe's prudence had obliterated party lines, and left a general unanimity of sentiment on political principles and measures throughout the Union. The candidates, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, Andrew Jackson, and William H. Crawford, all subscribed, substantially, to the same political creed. The struggle was a personal and sectional one, more than of a party nature. The result was as predicted. Neither of the candidates received a majority in the electoral colleges, and the election devolved on the House of Representatives. 1825. Feb. 9.

On the morning of the 9th of February the members assembled at an earlier hour than usual; the galleries, the lobbies, and all the adjacent apartments were filled to overflowing with spectators from every part of the country to witness the unusual scene. The Senate entered at noon precisely, and retired after the votes had been counted, and the announcement made that no person had received a majority. The three candidates with the highest vote were then balloted for by the House. The Speaker directed the roll to be called by States, the delegations taking their seats accordingly, each provided with a ballot-box. When the ceremony was concluded, and the ballots counted, Daniel Webster announced thirteen for John Quincy Adams, seven for Andrew Jackson, and four for William H. Crawford. John C. Calhoun was declared elected Vice-President.

Stephen Van Rensselaer, the patroon, had the honor, by giving the casting vote, of determining the election of John Quincy Adams to the Presidency of the nation. He was a member of Congress from 1823 to 1829, and at the same time a Regent of the University of the State of New York, and subsequently its Chancellor. He established during the year of the Presidential campaign a scientific school at Troy, incorporated in 1826 as the Rensselaer Institute, bearing fully one half of its current

expenses. It was under Van Rensselaer's direction and at his expense that Amos Eaton, senior professor in the institution, made geological surveys of New York in 1821.

One of the earliest acts of President Adams after his inauguration was to offer the post of Minister to England to Governor De Witt Clinton, who declined, preferring to serve New York at home, and Rufus King received the appointment. On the 4th of July, forty-nine years after the Declaration of Independence, Ohio was to commence her great work of connecting Lake Erie by canal with the Ohio River. Governor Clinton's presence was desired, and he made the journey in June, accompanied by Judge Alfred Conkling, General Solomon Van Rensselaer, and several other distinguished gentlemen. They reached Newark on the 3d, and as soon as Governor Clinton's carriage appeared on the public square, the many thousands of persons present rent the air with their loud shouts of welcome to "The Father of Internal Improvements." The next morning the party moved to the ground prepared, and Governor Clinton and Governor Jeremiah Morrow each excavated a few shovelfuls of earth in the presence of the assembled multitude. After the ceremonies and speeches, and when a hundred guns had announced to the world that the Ohio canal was begun, the company dined under the shade of wide-spreading beeches. Clinton traveled through Ohio as the guest of the State, even into Kentucky, everywhere receiving public honors of the most flattering character.

July 4.

Lafayette was the guest of the nation, and his travels through the country resembled one continuous triumphal procession. He visited every State, and everywhere the same welcome and the same festivities awaited him. The history of his progress, minutely related, would introduce the reader to all the distinguished men of America at that time, and present an exhibition of education, arts, industry, agriculture, manufactures, and the condition of affairs in general. On the 17th of June, the fiftieth anniversary of the battle, he laid the corner-stone of the Bunker Hill Monument, and Daniel Webster pronounced an oration to an immense concourse of people. From Boston he went to Portland, thence to Albany, and arrived in New York City in time to share in celebrating the 4th of July. It was a source of deep regret to him that he could not participate in the ceremonies of that same day in Ohio. There was something grand, to his mind, in the opening of a navigable inland communication between the Bay of New York and the Gulf of Mexico; and his predictions of the riches to be created by thus stimulating the powers of productive industry have been abundantly realized. Upon his way from Albany to New York he spent the Sabbath

at Clermont, the seat of the Livingstons. He was also entertained at the old Van Cortlandt manor-house on the Hudson at the mouth of the Croton, the seat of General Philip Van Cortlandt, who had been the companion of his journeyings.[1] He visited Mrs. Alexander Hamilton; and he was fêted by many of the New York families in the most superb manner. A public fête was also given him surpassing anything of the kind before witnessed in New York. Congress, in consideration of his sacrifices and his services, voted him two hundred thousand dollars and a township of land. He carried with him to his native country the prestige of his importance in America, was re-elected to the Chamber of Deputies, and in the Revolution of 1830 was the popular leader, and might have been made president of a republic. He chose, however, for the sake of peace and order, to place Louis Philippe on the throne.

[1] The Van Cortlandt manor-house is still standing and well preserved. The main portion of the edifice was the original block-house built by Governor Dongan in the early part of his administration as a rendezvous for fishing parties and conferences with the Indians. See Vol. I. 90, 300, 305. Stephanus Van Cortlandt, who in 1683 was appointed by the king of England one of Dongan's privy council, usually accompanied him on these expeditions, and subsequently purchased the land thereabouts of the Indians — eighty-five thousand acres, extending to the Connecticut line. This great property was erected into a manor by royal charter, and the block-house with its solid stone walls three feet thick, and loop-holes for musketry provided for the emergencies of life in a savage wilderness, was converted into a commodious dwelling. Its situation is picturesque, and the structure itself teems with the romance of two centuries. Its handsomely carved wainscoting and old-fashioned tiles are relics of Holland industry; and its antique treasures of plate, china, jewelry, and furniture, are of the most varied and interesting character. The christening bowl of the sketch was brought from Holland by Oloff Stevenson Van Cortlandt (see p. 90, Vol. I.) and has been since used in all the generations. The gold watch of the illustration belonged to Stephanus Van Cortlandt, and the sugar-sifter of solid silver graced his table; both are at least two hundred years old. The solid silver tea-kettle and gold pap-spoon with bells to amuse an infant were brought to New York by Johannes De Peyster about 1650 (see Vol. I. p. 225, 420, 421), whose granddaughter, Catharine, took them with her to the manor-house when she married its proprietor, Philip Van Cortlandt, in 1710. Pieces of table-ware imported some two hundred and fifty years ago are still in use. The dining-table itself came from Holland in the time of Oloff Stevenson Van Cortlandt; also a curious clock, the carvings of which represent the Queen of Sheba going to see Solomon; and the sleeve-buttons of the same ancestor, in cone-shaped gold with a pearl at the apex, are among the precious antiquities of this historical mansion.



Silver-ware of the Van Cortlandts.
[From originals at the Manor-house.]

CHAPTER XLVIII.

1825-1835.

PROGRESS OF THE CITY.

PREPARATIONS FOR CANAL CELEBRATION IN NEW YORK CITY. — OPENING OF THE ERIE CANAL. — THE FIRST CANAL-BOATS REACHING THE METROPOLIS. — THE AQUATIC DISPLAY. — THE CEREMONY OF UNITING THE WATERS OF LAKE ERIE AND ATLANTIC OCEAN. — PROCESSION IN THE CITY. — THE ILLUMINATION. — THE BALL. — THE MEDALS. — MODERN NEW YORK. — MAYOR PHILIP HONE. — FOUNDING OF THE MERCANTILE LIBRARY. — THE NEW YORK ATHENÆUM. — LITERARY MEN. — EARLY CLUBS OF NEW YORK. — RESIDENCES OF PROMINENT NEW-YORKERS IN 1826. — PUBLIC BUILDINGS ERECTED. — DEATH OF ADAMS AND JEFFERSON. — THE TWO GREAT NEW YORK RIVALS. CLINTON'S RE-ELECTION. — THE LEAKE AND WATTS ORPHAN HOME. — JOHN WATTS. — ALBERT GALLATIN. — DEATH OF CLINTON. — THE APPRENTICES' LIBRARY. — RIGHT REV. JOHN HENRY HOBART. — EPISCOPAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY. — UNIVERSITY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK. — WASHINGTON SQUARE. — THE UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY. — INSTITUTION FOR THE BLIND. — FIRST HORSE-RAILROAD IN THE CITY. — STEAM LOCOMOTIVES. — RETURN OF WASHINGTON IRVING FROM EUROPE. — RIOTS AND DISTURBANCES. — THE GREAT FIRE OF 1835.

THE Erie Canal was completed on the 26th of October, 1825. Thus the longest canal in the world had been constructed within a period of eight and one third years. The manual labor had not ceased for a day since July 4, 1817.

1825.

A celebration of the great event was proposed, to be conducted under the auspices of the corporation on a scale worthy of the character of the city. William Paulding was then mayor, and Richard Riker recorder. The members of the common council were nearly all detailed on important committees. The merchants and citizens met and resolved to co-operate; William Bayard presided over the meeting, John Pintard was the secretary, and William Walton Woolsey offered the resolutions; a committee was appointed, including Bayard, Pintard, and Woolsey, also ex-Mayor Cadwallader D. Colden, George Griswold, John Rathbone, Silas Richard, Mordecai M. Noah, Joseph G. Swift, and Campbell P. White, to secure a full expression of public feeling. While the various societies were perfecting arrangements, a committee, consisting of General Jacob Morton, John Pintard, and Thomas R. Mercein

repaired to Albany to concert upon measures which should give uniformity and effect to the jubilee through the State. From the common council, Elisha W. King and William A. Davis journeyed to Buffalo to extend the hospitalities of New York City to the committees along the whole line of the canal; Henry I. Wyckoff and Philip Hone were sent to meet King and Davis with the city's guests as they should enter the Hudson at Albany, and provide facilities for their passage down the river. Samuel Cowdrey, John Webb, Josiah Hedden, and John Agnew comprised another committee from the corporation to receive the party from the lakes upon its arrival in the New York City waters.

The entire State of New York was in commotion. For several days prior to the 4th of November, the day fixed for the grand consummation of the union of waters, strangers from every quarter, and from the Southern and the New England States, were crowding into New York City to witness the ceremonies. Buffalo was intensely excited on the morning of the 26th of October. At ten o'clock precisely the waters of Lake Erie were admitted into the canal, and the news was transmitted Oct. 26. to New York City in an hour and thirty minutes, by the discharge of cannon posted along the route at intervals; New York replied in the same manner, the sound occupying a similar length of time in passing through the air to Buffalo. The canal-boat *Seneca Chief* led off in fine style, drawn by four gray horses fancifully caparisoned. Governor Clinton, Lieutenant-Governor James Tallmadge, Stephen Van Rensselaer, the patroon, General Solomon Van Rensselaer, Jacob Rutsen Van Rensselaer, Colonel William L. Stone, the delegation from New York City, and numerous invited guests formed the traveling party. One of the canal boats, *Noah's Ark*, was a novelty. Its cargo was like that of its namesake of old, having on board two eagles, a bear, two fawns, and a variety of other "birds, beasts, and creeping things," with two Indian boys in the dress of their nation — all products of the great uncivilized West. Each boat was gorgeously decorated. Along the entire route to Albany, day and night, the inhabitants were assembled to greet the travelers. As the flotilla crossed the Genesee River at Rochester, by a stone aqueduct of nine arches, each of fifty feet span, it was hailed from a little boat stationed ostensibly "to protect the entrance" with, "Who comes there?" "Your brothers from the West on the waters of the Great Lakes," was the quick reply. "By what means have they been diverted so far from their natural course?" continued the questioner. "Through the channel of the Grand Erie Canal." "By whose authority, and by whom, was a work of such magnitude accomplished?" was asked. "By the authority and by the enterprise of the people of the State of New York," cried a chorus of

voices from the *Seneca Chief;* and the pert little craft gave way, and the boats proudly entered the spacious basin at the end of the aqueduct, welcomed with a salute of artillery, and the most uproarious applause, the committees standing under an arch surmounted by an eagle, and an immense concourse of people extending as far as the eye could reach on every side. At Utica, arriving late on Sunday morning, a deputation from the town waited upon the governor and his party and conducted them to church in the afternoon. Albany outdid herself. The whole city, apparently, multiplied by Vermont and the towns to the
Oct. 30. north even into Canada, came out in procession to escort the victorious projectors of the canal to the capital, where exercises of the most inspiriting character were opened and closed with prayer. Philip Hone, in behalf of the city of New York, made an elegant congratulatory address, and invited the corporation of Albany to accompany the party down the Hudson and accept the hospitalities of the metropolis. The Albany celebration terminated with a grand public dinner and illumination, and a canal scene exhibited at the theater, in which
Nov. 2. locks, canal-boats, and horses actually moving, with their various appurtenances, were represented in the most admirable manner. A fleet of all the steam-vessels on the Hudson towed the canal-boats from Albany to New York, the flag-ship *Chancellor Livingston* having in charge the elegant *Seneca Chief.*

The sun rose in a clear sky on the morning of the 4th of November, and New York City was awakened at its rising by the ringing of
Nov. 4. bells, martial music, and the thunder of cannon. The fleet with its illustrious passengers had arrived. The committee of reception from the common council went out upon the *Washington* to meet the guests; this new and handsome steamboat bore the banner of the corporation, and when within hailing distance of the *Seneca Chief,* inquired where she was from and what was her destination. The reply came ringing over the waters, "From Lake Erie, and bound for Sandy Hook." A few moments later the gentlemen stood in the presence of the governor, and Alderman Cowdrey performed his duty in a graceful and appropriate speech of welcome.

The aquatic procession, comprising twenty-nine steam-vessels, besides ships, schooners, barges, canal-boats, and other craft, moved towards the ocean at nine o'clock. The *Washington* took the lead, bearing the mayor and corporation of New York, the clergy, the society of the Cincinnati, army and navy officers, foreign magnates, and other distinguished guests. The ship *Hamlet,* dressed for the occasion with the flags of all nations, and crowded with marine and nautical societies, was taken in tow by the

Oliver Ellsworth. The safety barges *Lady Clinton* and *Lady Van Rensselaer* were attached to the steamboat *Commerce,* and crowded with ladies in elegant costumes. The former, graced by the presence of Mrs. Clinton, was superbly decorated from stem to stern with evergreens hung in festoons, and intertwined with bright-colored flowers. The British armed vessels in the harbor saluted and cheered the squadron, which immediately passed round them in a circle, the bands playing "God save the King," in courteous response to "Yankee Doodle" from the British musicians. The military and the forts saluted the vessels as they passed. The pageant was the most magnificent which America, and perhaps the world, had ever beheld. It was like a bewildering fairy scene. On reaching the ocean a national schooner, sent down the night before for the purpose, appeared as a "deputation from Neptune," to know who the visitors were, and the object of their coming. The whole fleet then formed a circle of about three miles in circumference.

The *Seneca Chief* bore two elegant kegs filled with Lake Erie water, painted green with gilded hoops, and adorned with devices and inscriptions. Clinton lifted one of these kegs high in the air and in full view of the assembled multitude poured its contents into the briny ocean, saying: "This solemnity, at this place, on the first arrival of vessels from Lake Erie, is intended to indicate and commemorate the navigable communication which has been accomplished between our mediterranean seas and the Atlantic Ocean in about eight years, to the extent of more than four hundred and twenty-five miles, by the wisdom, public spirit, and energy of the people of the State of New York; and may the God of the heavens and the earth smile most propitiously on this work, and render it subservient to the best interests of the human race." The keg, preserved as a precious memento of the interesting ceremony, is now in possession of the New York Historical Society. From the original the accompanying sketch has been made for this work. Dr. Mitchill, following Clinton, proceeded to pour the contents of a number of bottles, containing water from all parts of the world, into the sea, as emblematical



Keg from which Clinton poured the water of Lake Erie into the Atlantic.
[From the original in possession of the New York Historical Society.]

of our commercial intercourse with all the nations of earth, and made a learned and remarkable address. Ex-Mayor Cadwallader D. Colden, appointed to write a memoir on the subject of canals and inland navigation in general, presented his manuscript to Mayor Paulding, thus concluding the public ceremonies of the day upon the billows.

The fleet returned to the city in the same order as it went out to the sea, and while passing the Narrows amid the roar of artillery, the passengers on board the different boats were summoned to elegant collations. The corporation of New York prepared and sent to Buffalo by the *Seneca Chief* a superb keg containing "water of the Atlantic"; it bore the arms of the city painted in brilliant colors, over which were the words, in letters of gold, "Neptune's return to Pan."

Medals of very beautiful design and workmanship were given to all the invited guests of the corporation, both ladies and gentlemen. Upon one side Pan and Neptune were in loving embrace with the cornucopia, showing the fruits of the land and sea, and the motto—"Union of Erie with the Atlantic." The reverse showed the armorial bearings of the State — the sole agent in the great work — and a section of the canal representing its locks and aqueducts, with a view of the harbor and city of New York; also the words, "Erie Canal, commenced 4th of July, 1817, completed 26th October, 1825. Presented by the city of New York." Fifty-one gold medals were struck and sent to the different crowned heads of the world and eminent men. Several hundred were of silver, but the larger number were of white metal. The gold medals were inclosed in elegant square red morocco cases; the silver, in boxes made from logs of cedar brought from an island in Lake Erie. Recorder Riker, John Agnew, Thomas Bolton, and William A. Davis were the committee who presented with appropriate letters the higher testimonials. The aged John Adams wrote, in acceptance: "I rejoice that the city of New York has taken the lead in striking medals on important events. The Hollanders have a history of their country engraved on gold and silver medals, the most permanent history of any. The great canal in New York is the pride and wonder of the age, and deserves to be commemorated by every effort of art." Thomas Jefferson said: "This great work will immortalize the authorities of New York, and bless their descendants with wealth and prosperity"; and from President John Quincy Adams came the golden words: "The event is among those most worthy of commemoration in the progress of human affairs; an event equally creditable to the enterprise and perseverance of New York, by the accomplishment of which, in honoring themselves, they have reflected honor upon the age and country to which they belong."

The marvelous order attending the magical movements of the fleet was the source of unceasing delight to the spectators upon the shores. Steamboats, canal-boats, pilot-boats, ships, and barges were thrown at pleasure into squadron or line, into curves or circles, by pre-arranged signals. Reaching the Battery about half past two in the afternoon, the corporation and guests were received by an immense procession five miles long, which had been parading the streets since ten o'clock in the morning, and thence proceeded to the City Hall. The procession was fashioned after the great Federal pageant of 1788, embracing all the various societies and industries of the city — including fifty-nine different bodies of men. Bands of music were in scarlet and gold, and enormous cars or stages were fitted up in the most ingenious and unique manner. Four beautiful gray horses drew the tin-plate workers' and coppersmiths' car, bearing the five double locks at Lockport, represented in copper, with boats ascending and descending through the locks continually as the procession moved; twenty-four tin stars on each side of the locks represented the States of the Union. One of the fire-engines was mounted on an elegantly carpeted car drawn by four handsome horses led by four colored grooms dressed in Turkish costume, the American flag floating from the smoke-pipe of the engine as a flag-staff. Following the printers and booksellers were the students from the various educational institutions; Columbia College appeared one hundred strong, the young men as well as the professors in their collegial robes; they bore a banner with an allegorical representation of the meeting of the waters of the lake and ocean. Decorations and banners through the procession were of the greatest beauty and significance, and the image of Clinton was borne aloft, as was that of Hamilton in the rejoicings over the newly formed Constitution.

The festivities of this memorable day were concluded in the evening by an illumination of the city, together with one of the most novel pyrotechnic displays ever witnessed on this continent. The City Hall was the center of attraction. It was lighted by upwards of two thousand lamps and wax-candles; thus fire-works must necessarily be prepared to eclipse their brilliancy — and never was success more complete.

The arrangement was such that the fiery spectacle seemed to emanate from the roof; fifteen hundred fire-balls, with innumerable rockets, were sent into the air like some great volcanic eruption, and the rays, diverging from a common center, crossed and intersected each other at different angles, forming portions of concentric circles; the effect of the combination was singularly magnificent — sparks formed themselves into willows, adorned with countless stars, then into poplars, and other distinct shapes, accompanied with showers of gold and silver rain.

The committees from the West were entertained the next day at a sumptuous dinner served in their honor on board the *Chancellor Livingston*. The most generous hospitalities were extended to them in other directions, and they were shown all the institutions of the city. Tickets for a grand canal celebration ball had been issued by the militia officers and citizens, headed by a pictorial view of a canal, with locks, and boats towed by horses, and a glimpse of the ocean with a light-house upon a distant point of land — as reproduced in the accompanying sketch. This fête took place on Monday, the 7th, in the Lafayette amphitheater, the largest room of the kind in the United States. It was instituted on a grand scale. Some three thousand persons were present, including Governor and Mrs. Clinton. At one end of the dancing-hall was hung an immense mirror consisting of thirty pier-glasses without frames, accurately fitted together; at precisely twelve o'clock drapery was lifted from the other end, disclosing a supper-table covered with a profusion of delicacies, in the middle of which a miniature canal-boat made of maple sugar floated fancifully in a large vase.



Design upon Ball Ticket.

Nov. 7.

"We met the world and his wife; military heroes, noble statesmen, artificial and natural characters, the audacious, the clownish, the polished and refined," wrote one of the young lady participants upon returning home from the ball at a late hour; "but we were squeezed to death, are sleepy, and heartily tired."

The common council of the city bestowed unqualified praise upon General Augustus Fleming and Charles Rhind for their admirable management of the processions upon land and water, the festival, as a whole, having transcended all anticipations.[1] Rhind publicly expressed his acknowledgments to Commodore Chauncey, and the officers of the navy,

[1] The members of the common council in 1825 were, Henry I. Wyckoff, Elisha W. King, William H. Ireland, Samuel Cowdrey, John Webb, Asa Mann, Matthew Reed, Jacob B. Taylor, William A. Davis, Gideon Ostrander, Thomas Bolton, Samuel St. John, Philip Hone, John Agnew, William Burtsell, Josiah Hedden, Jameson Cox, Daniel E. Dunscomb, Effingham Schieffelin, William P. Rathbone.

for efficient service rendered in the conduct of the fleet. Dr. Alexander Coventry, of Utica, wrote to Mayor Paulding in behalf of the committees from the West, saying: "The Erie Canal insures to us a reward for industry, to our posterity an antidote for idleness — nor is it the least valuable of our acquired privileges, to have in the future our prosperity closely identified with that of the city; our connection with which has always been our proudest boast." He also said: "A visit to your admirably conducted philanthropic institutions filled us with admiration. We have seen your delinquents, as it were, snatched from perdition and restored to a society, to which, instead of being a curse, they may yet become valuable members. We are now fully convinced that the judicious philanthropist may convert a dense population (too often only the sinks of depravity) into the chosen abode of science, industry, and virtue." In allusion to the canal, General Morton said, "While the statesman views with pride the sources of wealth which will be opened, and the interesting ties of common interest with which the citizens of other States will be connected with us, thereby enhancing our political importance, the philanthropist and the retired citizen will contemplate with delight the effects which this great work will produce in the abodes of domestic comfort and social refinement." Philip Hone expressed the feeling of New York in saying, "That this great work should have been accomplished through the enterprise and resources of a single State, is the best basis for our future glory." It was not forgotten at this exciting moment that eighteen years only had elapsed since the first successful experiments in steam navigation; and one of the most significant toasts (given standing) by the corporation, as the twenty-nine steamboats were returning from the ocean on the day of the jubilee, was — "The memory of Robert Fulton, whose mighty genius has enabled us to commemorate this day in a style of unparalleled magnificence and grandeur." Nov. 10.

At this epoch the history of modern New York properly begins. The prediction that new combinations favorable to the growth and prosperity of a great community would take their rise from the magnificent work just accomplished was speedily fulfilled. The impetus given to business of every description and the increase of commerce and of wealth exceeded all expectations. The rapid building up of towns and villages in the great grain-growing valleys of the West was only equalled by the surface extension of New York City northward, and its marvelous development in altitude. The daring schemes of architects, who literally built castles in the air where the land was costly, excited less and less wonder as the years rolled on. From three and four stories business edifices soon sprung to seven and eight, and then, after a short pause, to twelve and fourteen.

Philip Hone was the mayor-elect of 1826. On the 16th of January
1826. he was conducted to the council chamber of the City Hall by Effingham Schieffelin, Pierre C. Van Wyck, and John Yates Cebra, the committee detailed for that duty, and introduced to ex-Mayor Paulding, who administered the oath of office, and after delivering a short speech retired. The new mayor was a noble specimen of the New York merchant at this period of progress. He was forty-five years old, of elegant personal appearance, gentlemanly address, studious habits, sterling integrity, sound sense, and irresistible social attractions. He had already been associated with the most eminent men of his time in founding important and useful institutions, and held various offices of trust and responsibility. He was devoted to the rising fortunes of the city, being a genuine New-Yorker by birth, feeling, principle, and ambition; and evidences of his good taste and public spirit soon appeared in numberless directions. It was the era of ornamentation, and he gave prompt attention to every change suggested, from the widening of an avenue to the elaboration of a church portico. He is justly classed among the most competent and useful mayors New York ever produced.



Portrait of Mayor Philip Hone.

Mayor Hone was one of the enlightened founders of the Mercantile Library, which at the time of his induction into the mayor's office had just passed its fifth birthday, with a collection of twenty-two hundred volumes. The first movement of the merchants towards founding a reading-room for their clerks was on the 9th of November, 1820. The germ of the present valuable library was opened with seven hundred volumes in the winter of 1821. For a long time its benefactors were obliged to contend against the bitter hostility of a class of merchants who feared the books would engross too much attention from their employees. But in

1823 the association was incorporated under the general law of 1796, and received from the Chamber of Commerce a gift of two hundred dollars. When its membership had reached four hundred, and its usefulness was every day becoming more apparent (in the spring of 1826), it was removed from its limited accommodations in Fulton Street to more spacious apartments in Cliff Street; the following year lectures were commenced, and it was resolved to raise money and erect a building. De Witt Clinton presented the first book to the library — a History of England — hence the structure when completed on the corner of Beekman and Nassau Streets, in 1830, was named Clinton Hall in his honor. It was dedicated to literature and science in November of that year, with twelve hundred members and six thousand well-chosen volumes. Columbia College granted to the association perpetually two free scholarships. Courses of lectures were established, classes were formed for the study of French, German, and Spanish languages, chemistry, drawing, and penmanship. In 1850 the institution had advanced in wealth and power for good to such a degree that it looked for a new home. Its circulation had reached one hundred thousand volumes. Clinton Hall was sold to the Nassau Bank for one hundred thousand dollars, and the Astor Place Opera House purchased and remodeled for the use of the library at a cost of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. It was opened April 19, 1854, with interesting ceremonies, and addresses from Horatio Seymour, then governor of the State, John Romeyn Broadhead, the eminent historian, and Charles King, the president of Columbia College from 1849 to 1864. The Mercantile Library now holds the fourth place among American public libraries as to the number of volumes upon its shelves, which are, in 1880, one hundred and eighty-three thousand.

The New York Athenæum, founded in 1824, was largely indebted to Mayor Hone for its early prosperity; its object was to furnish opportunity for the highest culture, and to advance science, art, and literature. It consisted of resident and honorary members, the former either associates, patrons, governors, or subscribers; the funds were to be derived from the contributions of these four classes, two hundred dollars constituting a patron, one hundred dollars a governor, and lesser sums associates and subscribers. Its library was to comprise, when complete, all the standard elementary works of science and literature of every age and nation. Monthly lectures were open to both ladies and gentlemen. The scheme for the year 1826 ran thus: "Roman Literature, Professor Charles Anthon;[1] Phrenology, Dr. Charles King; Taste and

1826.

[1] Professor Charles Anthon, born in New York City in 1797, was a classical scholar of great celebrity. He was the fourth of six sons of Dr. George C. Anthon, a German by birth,

Beauty, Professor John McVickar; the Revival of Classical Literature, Mr. Richard Ray; Chemistry, Professor James Renwick; Commerce, Mr. John Hone, Jr.; Painting, Professor Samuel Finley Breese Morse; Political Economy, William Beach Lawrence; Poetry, William Cullen Bryant; Oriental Literature, Rev. Dr. John Frederick Schroeder; Anniversary Discourse, Rev. Dr. James M. Mathews." The Athenæum, after performing a work of immense value in the growing city, was, in 1838, merged into the New York Society Library.

Bryant had already laid the foundation of his poetical fame, and entered upon his journalistic career as editor of the *New York Review* in 1825, and the *New York Evening Post* in 1826. James Fenimore Cooper was in the noontide of his renown as the author of *The Spy*. Gulian Crommelin Verplanck had risen to eminence in law, letters, theology, and politics. And the gifted Robert Charles Sands was wielding his pen continually in the production of essays; from 1827, until his death in 1832, he was the associate editor of the *New York Commercial Advertiser*, and from the same year he was, with Bryant and Verplanck, one of the joint authors of *The Talisman* — an excellent specimen of fine writing and professional execution, but discouraged for want of patronage — to which he contributed one of his longest poems, *The Dream of the Princess Papantzin*. But poetry and fiction at this decade were more or less formal in their art, and following classic models afforded meager scope for real originality.

Cooper originated, in 1824, the "Bread and Cheese Club," which met fortnightly at Washington Hall. Its membership included conspicuous professional men, scholars, and statesmen, of whom were Professor Renwick, William A. Duer, Judge John Duer, Fitz-Greene Halleck, Philip Hone, James DeKay the great naturalist, and Verplanck, Bryant, Sands, and Charles King. The selection of members for nomination rested with Cooper himself; bread and cheese were the ballots used, one of cheese

who attained the rank of surgeon-general in the British army, serving from the commencement of the French War until the final surrender of Detroit in 1784. He then resigned his commission and settled in New York City. Charles Anthon studied law, but in 1820, at the age of twenty-three, became Professor of Languages in Columbia College, subsequently becoming the head of the classical department of that institution, and producing upwards of fifty volumes, chiefly editions of the Latin classics and aids to classical study. His works have been republished in England and extensively used in schools. He was an accurate and thorough scholar, and an acute and ingenious critic of the ancient languages. His elder brother, John Anthon, LL. D. (born 1784, died 1863), practiced law with great assiduity in New York City, and is said to have tried more causes than any man that ever lived. (*Drake.*) He was instrumental in establishing the Law Institute, of which he was president. He was the author of many legal works of great value. Rev. Henry Anthon, D. D. (born 1792, died 1861), rector of St. Mark's Church, was also a brother of Charles. It was a remarkable family of men of intellect.

deciding adversely to admittance. The meetings were often swollen to quite a formidable assembly by members of Congress and distinguished strangers. Daniel Webster was a frequent guest, and William Beach Lawrence, Henry R. Storrs, and the French minister, De Neuville. The "Sketch Club" was originally intended as an artistic fraternity, but it soon widened, welcoming gentlemen of other professions if interested in art. Its meetings were held at the members' homes during the winter. Among its founders were Bryant, Verplanck, and Sands. Clubs had long been one of the features of New York life, but prior to 1825 they were small, and attained no special publicity. Nor did they multiply rapidly for still another decade, notwithstanding New York is now the second city in the world — London standing first — in the number and membership of its clubs, there being in operation within the city limits upwards of one hundred, with a membership in the aggregate of not less than fifty thousand.[1] The Hone Club was projected by Philip Hone in 1836, the same year that the Union Club came into existence; and both were constructed upon social principles. The Union represented the old families — the Livingstons, Van Cortlandts, Van Rensselaers, Schuylers, Suydams, Griswolds, Stuyvesants, and others of similar pedigree — their names filling up the list of membership with a sort of aristocratic monotony; the Hone was circumscribed in numbers, was rarely permitted to include more than twenty members, abjured discussions on theological dogmas, party politics, and individual personalities, and represented the wealth and talent of another element of the ancient quality of the city. Moses H. Grinnell, Simeon Draper, and James Watson Webb, the editor of the *Courier and Enquirer*, were among its chosen few; and Daniel Webster and William H. Seward were honorary members. At every meeting of the Hone an elegant dinner was served. "A Devonshire duke might have been astounded at the amplitude of the repasts and the richness and style of the entertainments," wrote Dr. Francis. Philip Hone was one of the committee of formation of the Union; thus it appears there was perfect harmony between the two clubs. Two years later the Kent Club was founded, which uniquely represented the cream and talent of the New York bar. Its membership included such legal lions as Francis B. Cutting, Peter Augustus Jay, Charles O'Coner, and Ogden Hoffman — the latter a bald-headed, dreamy-eyed man, whose learning was profound, and fervid eloquence historical; for upwards of a score of years he was employed in all the most important criminal trials of the city. He was also one of the founders of the Union Club. He was a brother of Charles Fenno Hoffman, associated with Charles King in the editorship

[1] *The Clubs of New York*, by Francis Gerry Fairfield.

of the *New York American*, who in 1832 founded the *Knickerbocker Magazine*, and subsequently edited the *New York Mirror*. The brothers were both men of charming social qualities and chivalrous personal character. For a few years these three clubs were the only associations of the sort that thrived, although many others were formed, had a brief existence, and disappeared from public view.

During the mayoralty of Philip Hone his residence was in Broadway, opposite City Hall Park. It was a deep, roomy, cheerful dwelling, with a broad entrance-hall, wainscoted walls, high old-fashioned carved sideboards, enormous mirrors, tall silver candlesticks, the finest of cut glass, and the rarest of ancient and costly porcelain. It was adorned with many



Residence of Mayor Philip Hone.
[From a rare old print.]

subjects of foreign art collected in Europe, Hone having traveled extensively, and it contained a well-chosen and costly library. His entertainments were princely. He took special delight in extending hospitalities to strangers of distinction, and could always summon to his aid the genius, wit, beauty, and fashion of the metropolis. Mrs. Hone was a lady of many gifts and graces. Her sister, Miss Dunscomb, married Robert Swartwout, and the wedding-party given by the Hones was mentioned by the newspapers as brilliant in the extreme. The accompanying illustration of the Hone mansion, copied from an old print, shows the Peabody

bookstore adjoining, the edifice evidently occupied as a dwelling-house excepting the one apartment devoted to bookselling; and also the American Hotel, which flourished for a time. The block below, where the Astor House now stands, was occupied with the residences of John G. Coster, David Lydig, and John Jacob Astor.

When Astor contemplated building the Astor House in 1830, Lydig removed to Laight Street, fronting St. John's Park, then considered the most eligible part of the city. Ex-Mayor Paulding dwelt in one of the finest blocks of houses in that vicinity, known as Paulding's Row, in Jay Street, corner of Greenwich, and subsequently built an elegant country-seat at Tarrytown. Lydig was one of the rich merchants of that generation, large-hearted, whole-souled, refined and intelligent, but in no sense a public character, although liberal in aiding measures designed to benefit the public. His business morality was of the highest order. For many years he was treasurer of the German Society, succeeding Baron Steuben and David Grim as president of the same; and he was a director of the Merchants' Bank. He married the beautiful daughter of Peter Mesier. Their only son, Philip Lydig, married the eldest daughter of John Suydam, of the famous family of merchants of that name. David Lydig purchased the old Peter De Lancey estate on the Bronx River in Westchester, which embraced not only the mills built by De Lancey in the early part of the previous century, but a large number of surrounding acres, including the quaint old family mansion with its historical associations and attractions. It was the birthplace of the beautiful Mrs. Ralph Izard and of Mrs. John Watts; and from this picturesque old homestead went out a brave officer to fight for England's monarch against his own countrymen. Lydig made it his summer residence, and when the original De Lancey house was accidentally burned, built a commodious cottage upon a knoll overlooking the beautiful river, which for nearly a mile meanders peacefully through the grounds, bordered with overhanging trees, presenting one of the most pleasing rural pictures within easy distance of New York. Summer-houses, rustic seats, and winding pathways of the olden time remain. But the great city has actually reached the opposite shore of the Bronx, and at the present writing is half-way across the bridge — disclosing a rate of progress within the half-century which the most sanguine prophet of 1826 would have declared impossible. After the death of the elder Lydig in 1842, the son and his family passed their summers in the same charming retreat. One of the daughters of Philip Lydig married the jurist and scholar, Charles P. Daly, president of the American Geographical Society, and another daughter married Judge Brady.

John Hone, elder brother and mercantile partner of the mayor, lived

in one of the seven houses fronting the Bowling Green — the site of the old fort, and Government House; and Stephen Whitney, and Samuel Ward, brother-in-law of Dr. Francis, dwelt in the same row. Nathaniel Prime's city residence was at No 1. Broadway, and John Watts lived in the stately old Watts mansion adjoining. Fashion had pushed its course as far north as Bleecker Street; several handsome houses were already standing in Waverley Place, and neighborhood. But the old residents near the Battery were as yet undisturbed. Myndert Van Schaick, whose wife was a daughter of John Hone, lived in Broadway, near the residence of Peter Augustus Jay, above Chambers Street. The Rev. Dr. James M. Mathews, of the Dutch Reformed Church, who also married a daughter of John Hone, resided in Broad Street; and among his immediate neighbors were Frederic De Peyster, and the family of Jacob Sherred who gave sixty thousand dollars to the Episcopal Theological Seminary in New York. Bishop Hobart, the great head of the Episcopal Church lived in Vesey Street; George Griswold in Wall Street; Colonel Nicholas Fish in Stuyvesant Street, near Third Avenue; and Archibald Gracie in Bond Street.

1826.

Not only dwelling-houses but public buildings were multiplying in every direction. The American Museum was erected in Broadway, overlooking the Park, in 1824. The Merchants' Exchange in Wall Street, commenced in 1825, was finished in 1827; and the city post-office was quartered under its roof. The Masonic Hall in Broadway, near Pearl Street, was one of the enterprises of 1826, a costly Gothic edifice, containing one apartment ninety-five feet long, forty-seven feet wide, and twenty-five feet high, finished and ornamented in the same style as the chapel of Henry VIII. It was intended for public meetings, concerts, and balls. The third story of the edifice was arranged in a luxurious manner for the meetings of the masonic fraternity. The serious blow given to the masons by the inhuman murder of William Morgan, about the time of the completion of the structure, induced a change of name, and it was henceforth called Gothic Hall. Governor De Witt Clinton was a mason, holding at this time the highest masonic office in the United States, and the Morgan excitement deprived him of many votes when time came for his fourth election to the gubernatorial chair.

e fiftieth birthday of the American republic was celebrated through-ut the country, and particularly in New York, where the re-mbrance of the beginning of the canal on that auspicious eight years before, was still vividly impressed upon the pub-that day died two venerable and venerated ex-Presidents hn Adams and Thomas Jefferson.

The coincidence seemed almost miraculous. Both Adams and Jefferson were on the committee in the Continental Congress to prepare the Declaration of Independence, both signed that immortal state paper, both represented the nation in Europe, both had been President of the new nation, and both died on the anniversary day, one half a century from the nation's birth. Public meetings, without distinction of parties, were held and eulogies pronounced in every part of the land.

The administration of John Quincy Adams met with fierce opposition from the friends of the disappointed candidates, owing partly to the dashing boldness and energy of Andrew Jackson, who attracted the masses like a magnet. Martin Van Buren threw his whole strength into the scale to prevent the re-election of Adams. He was in the Senate. Edward Livingston, the confidential friend of Jackson, was in the House, a member from Louisiana, and united his influence with that of Van Buren. In New York the heads of the two rival parties, divided on State issues and personal questions, were Martin Van Buren and Governor Clinton. Both admired Jackson. Many of the Clintonians, however, preferred Adams. It was said that the re-election of Clinton to the governorship would be fatal to the prospects of Adams. Van Buren had other reasons for wishing to defeat Clinton. Van Buren's talents had already achieved for him national distinction, and he had no rival greater than Clinton for advancement in the national government. Van Buren was frank and courteous in manner, but concealed his thoughts; Clinton was reserved and haughty in manner, but gave free utterance to his thoughts. Van Buren studied men, Clinton studied books. Both were New-Yorkers born and bred, and both traced their ancestry to Holland — Clinton through the De Witts.

A convention at Utica on the 6th of September, 1826, of which General Pierre Van Cortlandt was president, nominated Clinton for re-election. Van Buren and his party quickly found an opposing candidate. Edward Livingston spent the recesses of Congress in New York; he was at this juncture the head of the Livingston family, housing in his heart the old Livingston prejudice against the Clintons, and his influence was of moment. When the time came for voting the strife was very bitter, but the Clintonians won the victory. In the election of Jackson, which soon followed, the term "Federalist" disappeared from the political records. The supporters of Jackson adopted the name of Democrat, and the Adams men called themselves "National Republicans."

In 1827, on the 2d of June, John George Leake died at his residence in Park Row, opposite City Hall Park. He was a well-known and highly esteemed citizen of large wealth, a lawyer by profession — trained

in the office of James Duane — and his most intimate and cherished friend was the philanthropist, John Watts. Robert William Leake the brother of the deceased, married the sister of John Watts; the only issue of this marriage was a son who died in 1793, at the age of eight years, which was a severe blow to the uncle, who intended making him his sole heir. The two Leakes were sons of Robert Leake, a British officer in the Braddock expedition of 1754, who settled in New York City and accumulated a large property. John George Leake at the time of his death was the last of his race in this country; and desiring above all things to preserve and perpetuate his family name, left by will his entire wealth to Robert, the son of John Watts, upon the express condition of his taking the name of "Leake," by which surname he and his heirs would thereafter be forever called and known. Anticipating the possibility of refusal to accept as aforesaid on the part of Robert Watts, Leake defined the plan of an excellent and useful charity to which his estate should be appropriated. The executors named in the will were John Watts, his brother Robert Watts (whose wife was the daughter of Lord Stirling), Herman Le Roy, and William Bayard. After some hesitation young Watts complied with the conditions of the will, and, empowered by the legislature, assumed the name of Leake. Scarcely had this been done when he sickened and died. Thus the bereaved father of the heir became the heir of the son, and the inheritor of the Leake property. He took measures at once to execute the scheme of benevolence suggested by Leake. Destitute orphans had always awakened his interest and appealed to his sympathies. The Orphan Asylum founded by the ladies in 1806 was doing a great work, but the field was rapidly widening. New York was flooded with the poverty stricken from every clime and nation. Thus he founded the Leake and Watts Orphan Home, incorporated by act of the legislature in 1831. The corner-stone of a fine edifice near Hudson River and One Hundred and Eleventh Street was laid in 1838, with interesting ceremonies conducted by the clergy of the city; it was completed and opened for the admission of orphans in 1843. The institution

1827.



Hon. John Watts.
[Born in 1749, died in 1836.]

has proved a blessing to the community, and is one of the enduring monuments which seem to place us in palpable connection with the heroic founders of New York. John Watts was the last recorder of the city prior to the Revolution, and his life already spanned nearly fourscore years. His father was the eminent Counselor John Watts, and his mother, a sister of the brilliant Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey, with a maternal ancestry of strong characters reaching to the first invasion of the water-bound, forest-covered island of Manhattan. In the prime of his manhood John Watts was a model of masculine beauty. Even to an advanced age he was distinguished for elegance of person and the polished manners of an old-school gentleman. He bore himself gracefully and proudly erect, and his figure on horseback was the admiration of Broadway up to within a few weeks of his decease in 1836. He survived his wife and children, and through his manifold afflictions grew to be a reticent if not a taciturn man; but his heart was always open to the calls of philanthropy. He was one of the founders of the New York City Dispensary, and for some years its president.[1]

This year was also marked by the sudden death of Thomas Addis Emmet, in the court-room, while engaged in trying an important case. He came to New York in 1804, establishing himself in his profession just as the career of Alexander Hamilton terminated. He was one of the finest lawyers Ireland ever produced. The proudest seats of office and honor seemed none too high for his capacity and aspirations. At the time when ancient customs and institutions were toppling through the effects of the French Revolution he, in connection with others of high rank, determined to rid Ireland from the tyranny of Great Britain. The plan was discovered and the leaders imprisoned. After many months they were allowed to negotiate for their own release, and permitted to withdraw from Ireland. 1827.

An appeal was made to the legislature in the spring resulting in a grant of five thousand dollars from the State to the New York Historical Society. Frederic De Peyster, then a rising young lawyer — president of the Society in 1880 — was the agent to present the subject, and found a majority of the legislators at Albany hostile to appropriations of any character. They said it was not over a dozen years since they had responded favorably to a similar call through the influence of Governor Clinton. The

[1] John Watts, born 1749, died 1836, was Speaker of the New York Assembly from 1791 to 1794, and represented New York in the Third Congress. He was a munificent donor to philanthropic objects. His residence was No. 3 Broadway. His mother's mother was the daughter of Hon. Stephanus Van Cortlandt and Gertrude Schuyler. He married his cousin, Jane, daughter of Peter and Elizabeth Colden De Lancey, the granddaughter of Lieutenant-Governor Cadwallader Colden, of colonial New York memory. See Vol. I. 420, 502, 756, 757.

Rev. Dr. Mathews was the first Chancellor of the University. He was the scholarly pastor of the Garden Street Dutch Reformed Church, tall, of fine presence, elegant address, with a noble, well-poised head, and handsome, magnetic features. He was one of the most genial of men, animated and witty in conversation, fond of story-telling, and eloquent in debate. He was an author as well as a preacher and instructor; and his two daughters, Joanna and Julia Mathews, have enriched the juvenile literature of America with sixty-five entertaining and successful volumes of the highest religious and moral character. His increased duties, however, led to the installation of a colleague in the church, Rev. Mancius S. Hutton; and the great fire of 1835 destroying the old edifice, a new and elegant structure was erected near the University, and opened in 1837. Washington Square — the old Potter's Field — was being improved, and soon became one of the most quiet and fashionable portions of the city. Among the wealthy merchants who built handsome residences overlooking this new park were George Griswold, Thomas Suffern, Saul Alley, John Johnston, James Boorman, and William C. Rhinelander — who recently died leaving upwards of fifty millions. The street bounding Washington Square on the east was called University Place.

The Union Theological Seminary, in contemplation as the infant university began to show symptoms of life, was established in 1836. Twenty-eight trustees from the Presbyterian Church, half of whom were clergymen, managed its affairs — but the new theological school was open to every denomination of Christians. A plain brick edifice was constructed alongside the University opposite Washington Square. The basis of a rare and valuable library was also laid by the purchase in 1839 of the library of Leander Van Ess, of Germany, editor of the Septuagint and Vulgate, consisting of about fifteen thousand distinct works. It has steadily increased to some thirty-five thousand volumes, in 1880, with nearly the same number of choice and rare pamphlets, including the original editions of the reformers, Luther, Melancthon, and others, the earliest Bibles printed, and valuable collections of church history.

A society was incorporated in April, 1831, for the purpose of founding an institution for the education of the blind. Among the foremost in this enterprise were Dr. Samuel Akerly, brother-in-law of Dr. Mitchill,
1831. who had been so zealous in the interests of the deaf and dumb, and Samuel Wood, Theodore Dwight, and Dr. John Dennison Russ. The first attempt at instruction ever made in this country was in 1832. Dr. Russ invented a phonetic alphabet of raised letters, and taking six blind children into his household demonstrated the practicability of the experiment. The work went forward slowly but with marked

the loss. Merchants and farmers, public bodies of every character, scientific, religious, and charitable institutions, schools, colleges, tribunals of justice, and the legislative councils, united in tributes of respect. The New York bar passed resolutions offered by Josiah Ogden Hoffman, and seconded by the eloquent George Griffin, who said: "It is a bereaved world that mourns. Nature and education formed Clinton to be one of the master-spirits of the age in which he lived. The Pericles of our commonwealth, for near thirty years he exercised, without stooping to little arts of popularity, an intellectual dominion in his native State scarcely inferior to that of the illustrious Athenian — a dominion as benignant as it was effective. He was the supporter of every charitable and religious institution — the encourager of every science and every art; he zealously promoted every object calculated to meliorate the moral condition of the State, and labored with untiring assiduity to irradiate the general mind with the light of knowledge."[1] Columbia College wore crape for thirty days. It was remembered with pride that Clinton was the first student admitted to the college under the new order of things after the Revolution, and that he had delivered the latest address, May 3, 1827, before the Alumni, sketching the rise, progress, and present condition of the institution.[2]

[1] George Griffin, eminent lawyer and author, born 1778, died May, 1860 (the brother of the great divine, Rev. Edward Dorr Griffin, president of Williams College from 1821 to 1836), married a daughter of Colonel Zebulon Butler, who commanded the defense at Wyoming at the time of the massacre in 1778. His son, Rev. Edward Dorr Griffin, born 1804, died 1830, graduated from Columbia College with honors in 1823, and was subsequently assistant minister of Chirst's Church in the city.

[2] Governor Clinton, in the admirable discourse to which reference is made, expressed his perfect contempt of unworthy prejudices against foreigners, yet remarked: "Since the college has been under professors of native growth it has experienced its present fullness of prosperity. The president and all the professors of the college are now indigenous plants, and their talents and powers of instruction are felt in the flourishing state of the institution. Never did it stand on higher ground, and never were its prospects more brilliant." He adverted to the means of education in successful operation in the State as follows: "We have four colleges, containing four hundred and thirty-seven students; thirty-three incorporated academies, containing two thousand four hundred and forty students; eight thousand one hundred and forty-four common schools, in which four hundred and thirty-one thousand six hundred and one persons are receiving instruction; and the pupils in private institutions, it is computed, will swell this number to at least four hundred and sixty thousand. From the apex to the base of this glorious pyramid of intellectual improvement we perceive the intimacy of connection, an identity of interest, a unanimity of action and reaction, a system of reciprocated benefits, that cannot but fill us with joy, and make us proud of our country. The national school society of Great Britain educates but three hundred thousand children annually; no State or country can vie with our common school establishment." De Witt Clinton was born March 2, 1769, died February 11, 1828, aged fifty-nine. He was twice married: (1) to Maria, daughter of Walter Franklin, by whom he had ten children, of whom is the eminent Hon. George W. Clinton of Buffalo; (2) to Catharine, daughter of Dr. Thomas Jones.

The cause of common school education, the commercial, agricultural, and manufacturing interests of the city and State, and the political supremacy of New York as the most important member of the Union, were all identified with his long administration of affairs. Even the small men, and those who had thrown stones, contemplated his thirty years' career with admiration: as private secretary to his uncle, George Clinton, as mayor of New York City, as United States senator, State senator, canal commissioner, and governor, he had left the impress of his intellectual ability and moral greatness on all the leading interests of the nation as well as the State. Few names more illustrious grace the history of any age or country.

The lieutenant-governor, Nathaniel Pitcher, assumed the duties of the executive, and Peter R. Livingston was elected president of the senate. The next election placed Martin Van Buren in the governor's chair, and Enos T. Throop was elected lieutenant-governor. Van Buren was, however, soon called to the cabinet of President Jackson.

The value of books as a means of culture had long been recognized in New York. Columbia College had accumulated a fine collection of choice works, partly by judicious purchases, and partly through donations.[1] The New York Society Library was the rarest and richest as well as the earliest loan library in America. It contains, in 1880, about seventy thousand volumes, comprising a great number out of print, and not to be found in modern or antiquarian bookstores. From its inception down to the present time this library has been the resort, pre-eminently, of the families of wealth and social position, and its founders and early members are still represented by their descendants. The New York Hospital Library was established in 1796, the governors appropriating five hundred dollars to the purchase of volumes, and the medical faculty of Columbia College contributed from their private collections. Among the additions made prior to 1830 was the botanical library of Dr. Hosack. It contains about ten thousand volumes, the most valuable medical library of its size in the country. We have seen how the Mercantile Library and the Historical Society Library were expanding. In 1820 was established the Apprentices' Library, by the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen, for the use of mechanics' apprentices, in connection with a school for the children of unfortunate mechanics. In 1862 the free use of this library

[1] The largest gifts to the library of Columbia College have been the law libraries of William Samuel Johnson, third president, given by his son, and of Chief Justice John Jay, the gift of his grandson, John Jay. The most important additions by purchase have been the libraries of the late Nathaniel F. Moore and of the late Lorenzo Da Ponte; the former consisting for the most part of elegant and valuable editions of the Greek and Roman classics, and the latter, an extensive collection of the older Italian literature.

was extended to working-women. Some idea of its practical worth may be elicited from the fact of its having increased in size and circulation, until at the present time the volumes number sixty thousand, and the total circulation has reached one hundred and fifty thousand.

The Law Institute was organized in 1828, with Chancellor Kent its first president. The nucleus of a law library was immediately formed by the purchase of the private collection of Robert Tillotson. Donations of books came in slowly, but the library became a success in the highest and broadest sense, and now furnishes the bench and bar with resources of incalculable value. It contains some twenty-four thousand volumes, and is conceded to be the best public law library in the country. The American Institute originated during the same year, its purpose being to encourage and promote industry throughout the Union by the bestowal of rewards and other benefits on persons excelling in agriculture, commerce, manufactures, and the arts. It was incorporated in 1829, and the first annual fair was held in the new Masonic Hall in Broadway. A library was founded, which in 1850 numbered six thousand five hundred volumes — and since then has nearly doubled. It is strongest in the divisions of science and the arts. 1828. 1829.

The leading voice in appropriating the income of the immense church property of the Episcopalians of New York had for many years been that of Bishop John Henry Hobart. His diocese extended upwards of three hundred miles from east to west. A broader field of action, and a sway of public sentiment more powerful, have seldom fallen to the lot of any man clad in the robes and bearing the symbols of the prelacy. With the great mass of the clergy his will was law; and he spoke, acted, and bore himself as one having authority. He was a handsome man, with a bright, clear, piercing eye and a smooth face. He was small of stature, dignified and courtly; but he walked upon the street with as much rapidity as if walking for a wager. He was one of the great thinkers of his generation, and a ready writer and speaker, natural, earnest, bold, effective, the movements of his mind being as rapid as those of his limbs. His executive ability was unparalleled; and he extricated the church from many difficulties. In the pulpit he was commanding, and his voice, although not strong, was penetrating. His sermons were written with conciseness, point, and vigor, and his utterance was quick and energetic. There was intensity in all his mental and moral characteristics — a sort of elevated impetuosity running like a chain of fire through mind, heart, and life.

He drew about him a host of friends, and was alive to every social courtesy. He was often in general society, accompanied usually by the two young clergymen of Trinity Parish, Benjamin T. Onderdonk, conse-

crated bishop in 1830, and William Berrian, rector of Trinity from 1830 to 1862; and he was on terms of cordial intimacy with the clergy of other denominations. "Generally he had some controversy on hand, and I often jested with him on his being such a man of war from his youth up," wrote Dr. Mathews. His temperament was, however, adapted to the times. It seems a little remarkable that the great champion of Episcopacy in New York should have been of Puritan ancestry, but such was the fact. Edmund Hobart, one of the founders of Hingham, Massachusetts, came from Hingham, England, in 1633; his second son was an eminent Puritan divine, who had five clerical sons, preachers among the Congregationalists, also two grandsons, Rev. Noah Hobart and the distinguished missionary, Rev. David Brainard. Hon. John Sloss Hobart, so frequently mentioned in former pages, was the son of Rev. Noah Hobart. One of the grandsons of the eminent Edmund Hobart, to whom an army of divines and scholars trace their pedigree, was John Hobart, the grandfather of the bishop.



Right Reverend John Henry Hobart.
[Protestant Episcopal Bishop of New York.]

His favorite theme was the proper education of the clergy. He proposed a school of theology in New York as early as 1813, the germ of the Episcopal Theological Seminary in Ninth Avenue, established under his immediate auspices in 1819, in which he was an active professor of pastoral theology and pulpit eloquence. The board of trustees were all bishops — one from every diocese in the Union. A theological library was speedily instituted; and scholarships to furnish education gratuitous. This noble institution has ever since been sending 1820 candidates to every part of the land. The cause of Sun-

day schools and of missions, charities of every character, the circulation of Bibles and of tracts, and the authorship of almost numberless important works, engaged in turn Bishop Hobart's attention and efforts. His valuable life, however, came to a sudden termination in September, 1830, in the prime of his intellectual vigor, at the age of fifty-five.

New York City by this time appeared like a youth much overgrown for his years. It had shot up with a rapidity that defied calculation. Wealth was increasing faster than sobriety was inclined to measure. Swarming multitudes from every quarter of the globe were rendering the community in a certain sense unformed. Keen-sighted, far-seeing men had acted upon the principle that no good citizen should be without the privilege of a public library; educational and charitable institutions were multiplying; but a strong desire was manifested to lift intelligence upward and onward by creating a university in the city — a seat of learning on a broad scale, with the widest range of liberal education, that should benefit the nation as well as the commercial metropolis of the land. Among the merchants who aided munificently were George Griswold and John Delafield; Albert Gallatin was concerned in all the deliberations, and Morgan Lewis and Edward Livingston brought their well-matured judgment to the aid of the scholars and clergymen enlisted in the enterprise. The University was virtually established in 1831; professors were inaugurated to fill the various chairs in 1832; the corner-stone of a fine edifice one hundred and eighty feet long by one hundred feet wide, fronting on Washington Square, then quite a long distance from the city, was laid in 1833, which was soon completed, and opened in 1835. It was a Gothic structure of white freestone modeled after King's College, England, and was esteemed a masterpiece of pointed architecture, with its octangular turrets rising at each of the four corners.

1831.



University of the City of New York.
(Washington Square.)

Rev. Dr. Mathews was the first Chancellor of the University. He was the scholarly pastor of the Garden Street Dutch Reformed Church, tall, of fine presence, elegant address, with a noble, well-poised head, and handsome, magnetic features. He was one of the most genial of men, animated and witty in conversation, fond of story-telling, and eloquent in debate. He was an author as well as a preacher and instructor; and his two daughters, Joanna and Julia Mathews, have enriched the juvenile literature of America with sixty-five entertaining and successful volumes of the highest religious and moral character. His increased duties, however, led to the installation of a colleague in the church, Rev. Mancius S. Hutton; and the great fire of 1835 destroying the old edifice, a new and elegant structure was erected near the University, and opened in 1837. Washington Square — the old Potter's Field — was being improved, and soon became one of the most quiet and fashionable portions of the city. Among the wealthy merchants who built handsome residences overlooking this new park were George Griswold, Thomas Suffern, Saul Alley, John Johnston, James Boorman, and William C. Rhinelander — who recently died leaving upwards of fifty millions. The street bounding Washington Square on the east was called University Place.

The Union Theological Seminary, in contemplation as the infant university began to show symptoms of life, was established in 1836. Twenty-eight trustees from the Presbyterian Church, half of whom were clergymen, managed its affairs — but the new theological school was open to every denomination of Christians. A plain brick edifice was constructed alongside the University opposite Washington Square. The basis of a rare and valuable library was also laid by the purchase in 1839 of the library of Leander Van Ess, of Germany, editor of the Septuagint and Vulgate, consisting of about fifteen thousand distinct works. It has steadily increased to some thirty-five thousand volumes, in 1880, with nearly the same number of choice and rare pamphlets, including the original editions of the reformers, Luther, Melancthon, and others, the earliest Bibles printed, and valuable collections of church history.

A society was incorporated in April, 1831, for the purpose of founding an institution for the education of the blind. Among the foremost in this enterprise were Dr. Samuel Akerly, brother-in-law of Dr. Mitchill, who had been so zealous in the interests of the deaf and dumb, and Samuel Wood, Theodore Dwight, and Dr. John Dennison The first attempt at instruction ever made in this country was Dr. Russ invented a phonetic alphabet of raised letters, and blind children into his household demonstrated the practica- experiment. The work went forward slowly but with marked

success. In 1839 an elegant Gothic edifice was erected, through legislative and private donations, in Ninth Avenue, corner of Thirty-fourth Street.

The population of New York City at this epoch was upwards of two hundred thousand. But stages were the only means of public conveyance from one point to another. The subject of railway travel was in agitation; also the peculiar adaptation of horse-railroads for the streets of cities. The New York and Harlem Railroad Company was incorporated in 1831, for the purpose of constructing a railroad from the central part of the city to Harlem. Two years later the road, with a single track, was in operation as far as Murray Hill, and the new horse-cars were a great novelty as well as a convenience.

The introduction of steam as a moving power for land-carriages was painfully slow. A steam-engine built by George Stephenson at his works in England arrived in New York in the spring of 1829 and was exhibited for some time in the yard of Edward Dunscomb in Water Street, its wheels raised above the ground and kept running for the benefit of the curious. C. E. Detmold received that year a premium for constructing a horse locomotive able to carry twelve passengers at the rate of twelve miles an hour — the horse working on an endless chain platform. The next year he made drawings of the first American steam locomotive, which, built in New York, was placed on a South Carolina road late in the summer of 1830. Peter Cooper, the philanthropist, in the midst of the great excitement created by the progress of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad — of which the first stone was laid July 4, 1828 — invented and built a small locomotive in Baltimore to demonstrate to the stockholders that the cars could be drawn around short curves. It was placed upon the road in 1830, and its success induced the half bankrupt and quite disheartened company to press forward with the work. The railroad from Albany to Schenectady was commenced the same year, for which a charter had been granted in 1826; the trial trip was made in 1832. Other railroads were undertaken in various parts of the country; but it was a long while before they became a business success.

Washington Irving returned from his travels of a dozen or more years in foreign lands in May, 1832. New York welcomed him home with pride and affection. Honors of every description were accorded him. Enthusiasm pervaded all classes. No author had ever 1832. been so much read in the city of his birth. His felicities of theme, thought, and expression, together with his irresistible drollery, fullness of invention, and refined humors, gave him a place in the public heart never to be superseded. While abroad, his genius had won for him distin-

guished consideration, and he had been on terms of intimacy with the most notable and worthy of all countries. For two years he was secretary of the American legation in London, and received one of the fifty-guinea gold medals provided by George IV. for eminence in historical compositions. Standing once more among his kindred and countrymen, the same erect, dignified, healthful figure of modest proportions, with the same thoughtful air varied with captivating surprises of animation, he unconsciously charmed, while adoring New York above all the places he had seen beyond the seas. A great banquet was given him on the 30th, at the City Hotel in Broadway; three hundred gentlemen were seated at the tables. Chancellor Kent presided, and James K. Paulding was placed at the right hand of the long-absent traveler. Philip Hone, William A. Duer, Professor Renwick, Thomas L. Ogden, and Samuel Swartwout were the vice-presidents of the entertainment.[1]

May 30.

The summer following was marked by the appearance of that terrible scourge, the Asiatic cholera. Over three thousand persons died in New York City between the 4th of July and the 1st of October. The peculiarities of the fearful visitation excited universal notice; and not least among the contributions to medical literature it elicited was a valuable paper from Dr. John W. Francis. In the autumn President Jackson was re-elected by a large vote, and Martin Van Buren became vice-president. Again New York furnished a Secretary of State, in the person of Edward Livingston. He had just begun to feel at ease in his senatorial chair, when elevated to the cabinet. He wrote to his wife at their beautiful seat on the Hudson — Montgomery Place, inherited from his sister — saying: "Here am I in the second place in the United States, some say the first; in the place filled by Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe; and my brother, who filled it before any of them; in the place filled by Clay at so great a sacrifice; in the very easy-chair of Adams; in the office which every politician looks to as the last step but one in the ladder of his ambition; in the very cell where the great magician, they say, brewed his spells." The duty of doing the honors of the Executive Mansion having devolved upon President Jackson's young niece, Mrs. Livingston, as the wife of the premier, was sought for aid and assistance on all occasions. And she was abundantly competent. Her gifts in conver-

[1] Among those who gave this dinner were Francis B. Cutting, Ogden Hoffman, William Gracie, Charles Fenno Hoffman, James G. King, Peter Schemerhorn, Henry Ogden, Jacob Morton, Charles F. Grim, Dr. John W. Francis, Cornelius Low, Richard Ray, Judge John Duer, Thomas R. Mercein, Charles Kent, J. Fenimore Cooper, Thomas W. Ludlow, Charles King, John A. King, Charles Graham, General Augustus Fleming, James J. Jones, Abraham Schemerhorn, Gulian C. Verplanck, David E. Colden, William Bard, Peter G. Stuyvesant, Beverley Robinson, W. B. Lawrence, and Peter Irving.

sation, her distinction of manners, and remarkable beauty are historical. Their house in Washington had long since become the resort of all that was notable in statesmanship and letters; and national hospitalities were never dispensed with more elegance.

In April, 1833, Cora Livingston, the beautiful daughter and only surviving child of Edward Livingston, was married to Thomas P. Barton, and immediately after the ceremony President Jackson, while offering his congratulation, announced that Livingston was appointed Minister to France, and that his newly wedded son-in-law had been selected as secretary of legation. At the same period Auguste Davezac, the brother of Mrs. Livingston, was Chargé d'Affaires of the United States at The Hague. 1833.



Cornelius W. Lawrence.
[From a Miniature presented the author by the late Mrs. Lawrence.]

The first election of a mayor of New York by the votes of the people, in conformity with a recent amendment of the State constitution, occurred in 1834. The candidates were Gulian C. Verplanck and Cornelius W. Lawrence. Some stirring scenes occurred, but the Democrats were successful, and Lawrence was placed in the mayor's chair. Governor William L. Marcy, at this time controlled the executive department of the State government, a man of talents of the highest order, of great decision of character, and of acknowledged honor and integrity. The Democratic party was well organized, had the full benefit of Jackson's popularity, and was basking in the sunshine of his patronage; while its favorite, Martin Van Buren, was the heir-apparent to the Presidency. 1834.

In June, 1835, Edward Livingston and his family returned to New York from France — in the *Constitution*, commanded by Commodore Elliott — where his conduct of affairs had given universal satisfaction. Crowds of people greeted him at the landing and followed his carriage to the house of his brother in Greenwich Street, in front of which they remained, calling for him until he appeared at the door and made a short speech. A request came presently from the common council of the city for him to hold a public reception in the governor's room of the City Hall; and during the same day he received an invitation to a public dinner to be given in his honor at the City Hotel, signed by Mayor Lawrence, Enos T. Throop, Samuel Jones, Thomas J. Oakley, William Leggett, J. Fenimore Cooper, Theodore Sedgwick, and others, which took place on the 16th of July. The mayor presided, and among the toasts was — "Edward Livingston. As a patriot 1835.

and statesman he belongs to America; as a jurist and philosopher, to the world."[1]

It had been discovered in 1834 that New York City contained a disorderly element of a formidable character, and in April of that year the civil authorities were for the first time obliged to call for military aid in maintaining the peace of the city. The municipal election gave rise to a series of brawls and riots. Three months afterwards another riot was created through hostility to the antislavery movement. The meetings of the Abolitionists were attacked and broken up, and the mob sacked the dwellings of Arthur and Lewis Tappan, in Rose Street. Mayor Lawrence called out the National Guard, which marched and countermarched in front of the City Hall; word suddenly came that several of the churches were about to be destroyed by the rioters, and the troops were ordered to the rescue.[2] The streets were filled with angry-looking multitudes, and near the Spring Street Church a barricade of carts, barrels, and ladders chained together was planted across the way, and the parsonage of Rev. Dr. Cox had already been attacked. The troops were assailed

[1] The name of Edward Livingston had become illustrious all over the world through his great scheme of philanthropy, the *Livingston Code*, which was no sooner published in America in 1823 than it was reprinted in England, in France, and in Germany. (*Westminster Review* for January, 1825; *Project of a New Penal Code*, London, 1824; *Jeremy Bentham's Works*, edited by Bowring, XI. 37; *Revue Encyclopédique*, tom. XLIV. 214, 215; *Cambridge Essays*, 1856, p. 17.) Victor Hugo wrote to the author "You will be numbered among the men of this age who have deserved most and best of mankind." The new law-giver received autograph letters from the Emperor of Russia and the King of Sweden on the subject of his work. The King of the Netherlands sent him a gold medal, with a eulogistic inscription. The government of Guatemala translated one of his codes — that of Reform and Prison Discipline — and adopted it word for word (*Codigo de Reforma y Disciplina de las Prisiones*. Guatemala, 1834); and in his honor gave to a new city and district the name of Livingston. Many of the most prominent statesmen of the world wrote to him in terms of appreciative commendation. When Kossuth was entertained at a public dinner by the bar of New York City, in 1852, he said "that America had a great authority for codification — Livingston — one of the three or four American names best known and most respected in Europe."

[2] Cornelius Van Wyck Lawrence (born 1791, died 1861), mayor of New York City, member of Congress from 1832 to 1834, president of the Democratic Electoral College in 1836, collector of the port of New York under President Polk, and for twenty years president of the Bank of the State of New York, was descended from William Lawrence who settled on Long Island about two hundred years prior to this period (see Vol. I. 231), and married Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Smith, the patentee of Smithtown — the lady who afterwards married Sir Philip Carteret. Mayor Lawrence married his cousin, Lydia A., daughter of Judge Effingham Lawrence, and widow of Edward N. Lawrence. The Lawrence family is widely known and prominently connected throughout the country. Walter Bowne (born 1771, died 1846), mayor of New York City four years prior to the election of Lawrence, and who represented the city in the State senate three successive terms, traced his ancestry to the same source in the maternal line, the Lawrences and Bownes having intermarried in many generations. Mary, the daughter of Walter Bowne, became the wife of John W. Lawrence (born in 1800), member of Congress and president of the Seventh Ward Bank in New York.

with stones and every offensive missile, but with admirable coolness they were able to quell the disturbance and disperse the mob without firing a shot. Scarcely another month had elapsed ere a riot occurred among the stone-cutters. In building the University, the contractors purchased marble at Sing Sing, and employed the State prisoners, for economy's sake, to cut and hew it before bringing it to the city. Three or four private dwellings were also in process of erection from the Sing Sing marble. This was no sooner known than the stone-cutters banded together, held meetings, and paraded the streets with incendiary placards, and even went so far as to attack several houses. The troops were called out, and, after dispersing the malcontents, lay under arms in Washington Square four days and four nights. The third, or "Five Points Riot," occurred on Sunday, June 21, 1835. It was an Irish brawl. A regiment of Irishmen was about to be organized, to which some native Americans took exception. Two or three fights began in different quarters of the town, one in Grand Street, another in Chatham, and a third in Pearl. The latter was between two Irishmen, but the affray soon became general and serious. Citizens interfered and were pelted with brick-bats. Finally Mayor Lawrence appeared on the scene with a large force of police, and, having arrested the principal ringleaders, dispersed the mob for the time. On Monday the riots were renewed by parties of Irish and Americans, a public house in the Bowery was sacked, and several prominent citizens dangerously injured. The mayor and police again came to the rescue; but the next day and the next witnessed a repetition of outrages, and finally public notice was given that there would be no meeting of the O'Connell Guards; and peace thereby was restored. 1835.

A terrible calamity befell New York City in the following December. On the bitter cold night of the 16th, as the tempestuous winds were howling through the snow-clad streets, the people below City Hall were suddenly startled by an alarm of fire. Upon looking out they saw a volume of lurid light streaming into the sky below Wall Street. Firemen hastened to the scene of the conflagration, but water could only be obtained from the river, and that presently froze in the pipes before it could be used. The brave men beat their hose and tried every means to prevent the formation of ice without avail; it was the coldest weather known for many years; finally they drew their "machines" out of the way and boldly tried to save property. Many of the stores were new, with iron shutters and doors and copper roofs, and in burning presented the appearance of immense iron furnaces in full blast. The heat at times melted the copper roofing, and the liquid ran off in great drops. The gale blew towards the East River. Wall after wall was Dec. 16.

heard tumbling like an avalanche. Fiery tongues of flame leaped from roofs and windows along whole streets, and seemed to be making angry dashes at each other. The water of the bay looked like a vast sea of blood. The bells rang for a while and then ceased. Both sides of Pearl Street and Hanover Square were at the same instant in the jaws of the hungry monster. Seventeen blocks were consumed, and upwards of twenty millions of property converted into smoke and ashes. The burnt district embraced some thirteen acres, and nearly seven hundred buildings were swept away, occupied chiefly by New York's largest shipping and wholesale dry-goods merchants and grocers. The marble exchange, supposed fire-proof, in which had been stored books, papers, and costly goods, disappeared like a dissolving-view; and the Garden Street Church, in the midst of its tombs, with its fine organ, and immense quantities of merchandise placed within and about it for safety, was quickly a shapeless pile of ruins. Mayor Lawrence appeared with his officers, and it was resolved to blow up buildings. But there was a want of powder; Charles King volunteered to visit the navy-yard for a supply, and returned with a band of marines and sailors. About two o'clock in the morning several structures were mined, and the explosions went on fearfully but successfully until the progress of the fire was arrested.

The day dawned upon a wild waste. And, to add to the distress, every insurance company in the city was made bankrupt by the same disaster.

Dec. 19. As soon as the first excitement had subsided, a public meeting of the citizens was convened by the mayor at the City Hall, and resolutions, offered by James G. King, to unite in vigorous exertions to repair the loss, were unanimously adopted. On motion of Dudley Selden, a committee of one hundred and fifty citizens was appointed to ascertain the origin and cause of the fire and probable extent of losses.



Ogden Arms.

CHAPTER XLIX.

1835 - 1845.

INTRODUCTION OF CROTON WATER.

NEW YORK SUFFERING FOR WATER. — INTRODUCTION OF GAS. — THE CROTON AQUEDUCT. — MURRAY HILL RESERVOIR. — CROTON RIVER FLOWING INTO THE CITY. — CELEBRATION OF THE GREAT ACHIEVEMENT. — ELECTION OF MARTIN VAN BUREN TO THE PRESIDENCY. — FINANCIAL CRISIS OF 1837. — FAILURES. — SUSPENSION OF SPECIE PAYMENTS BY ALL THE BANKS IN AMERICA. — INFLUENCE OF JAMES G. KING. — ENGLAND SENDING GOLD TO NEW YORK. — THE COUNTRY RELIEVED. — BANKS OF 1880. — MONEYED INSTITUTIONS. — PRISONS. — THE TOMBS. — CITY CORRECTIONAL AND CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS. — PENNY JOURNALISM. — THE GREAT NEWSPAPER SYSTEM. — FOUNDING OF THE PROMINENT NEW YORK JOURNALS. — THE ITALIAN OPERA. — POETS OF 1837. — COLUMBIA COLLEGE ANNIVERSARY. — DEDICATION OF THE UNIVERSITY. — INVENTION OF THE MAGNETIC TELEGRAPH. — ADOPTION OF THE MORSE SYSTEM. — PROFESSOR SAMUEL F. B. MORSE. — HONORS OF THE WORLD. — GREAT POLITICAL EXCITEMENT OF THE DECADE. — VICTORY OF THE WHIGS. — THE GREAT FIRE OF 1845 IN NEW YORK CITY.

A SENSE of the perishing condition of the city for the want of water took possession of the public mind. The cool, clear-headed, undismayed business-men of New York, while devising means for rebuilding their commercial structures, discussed the long-pending measure of bringing water from the adjacent country to the relief of the island metropolis. Fire and famine are usually twin companions. In the late deplorable destruction of property the fire had been in its magnitude the direct result of a water famine.

But the greatest consternation was presently awakened in view of the probable financial consequences of the disaster. One firm after another failed. It was a winter of distress — not a propitious moment for diverting a few millions, more or less, to the construction of aqueducts and bridges. At the same time prudence pointed out the danger of procrastination. The public health as well as safety required water. The supply had never been equal to the demand — which was increasing in rapid ratio. The population had reached two hundred and seventy thousand; and the great human tide was flowing in from the Old World in a resistless and almost overpowering current. From the brackish wells and the old Tea Pump to the practical operation of the Manhattan Water- 1836.

Works in Reade Street — which managed to distribute very poor water, pumped from wells, through the lower part of the city in hollow logs — the citizens had always been restricted. And the more people the less water. The situation had become absolutely appalling.

New York was the most extravagant city in the known world as far as charity was concerned. No other community ever had been so taxed with providing for the destitute of all climes. They came bankrupt in character as well as finances, wrecks of incapacity, miseducation, prodigality, and crime — not only from across the ocean but from every part of our own continent. The metropolis was a general asylum for vagrants. The brains of political philosophers were vexed with the problem of how to provide most effectually for both poverty and vice, while humanity never faltered in the matter of dollars and cents.

Gas was introduced into the city below Canal Street in 1825, meeting with much opposition. Many persons were afraid to have it in or near their dwellings. Explosions were predicted. When the newspapers suggested that the great fire originated in the bursting of a gas-pipe, scores of men were ready to exclaim, "I told you so!" Samuel Leggett, president of the old Franklin Bank, originated the first gas company in New York in 1823, and became its president. He introduced gas into his own handsome private residence in Franklin Square, and opened his doors hospitably to the public in order to demonstrate the utility of the new source of light and comfort.[1] He also about the same time attempted to furnish the city with water from the Bronx River.

The various schemes agitated for supplying the city with wholesome water would form an interesting chapter. The question had been before the people more or less for several decades. Projects for boring artesian

[1] Samuel Leggett was a man of enlarged ideas and great practical benevolence. He was the son of Thomas Leggett, of Westchester County, a large landholder, driven from his estate by the "Cow Boys" in the Revolution, who came to the city on the return of peace and went into a lucrative business, purchasing the fine house subsequently occupied by his son, and, not being ready to take immediate possession, rented it to Comfort Sands for a brief period. Samuel Leggett and his brothers succeeded their father in business, and were among the notable New York merchants of the early portion of the present century. William Leggett was of the same family, a cousin of Samuel Leggett; he married, in 1828, Almira, daughter of John Waring, and in the autumn of the same year established *The Critic*, a weekly literary journal, which at the end of six months was united with the *New York Mirror*, to which he was a contributor. In 1829 he became associated with William Cullen Bryant in the *Evening Post*; and in 1836 was the editor of the *Plain Dealer*, a weekly devoted to politics and literature. William, son of Samuel Leggett, married a daughter of Wager Hull, a descendant of Admiral Sir Wager Hull of the British Navy, and bought the spacious mansion at the corner of St. Mark's Place and Second Avenue: their daughter, Sarah H. Leggett, has founded with admirable success a Home for Working Women in the New York of to-day; she has also established the Fifth Avenue Reading-Room.

wells, for cutting an open canal to the Housatonic River in Connecticut, and for obtaining water from the Passaic River in New Jersey, were among those which had claimed attention and been abandoned. The Croton River, flowing into the Hudson near the old Van Cortlandt manor-house, forty miles above the city, seemed the most promising source. Traversing a beautiful, high, rolling region of country, known as the Croton water-shed, where ten or more picturesque natural lakes might at any time be brought into service, it offered special advantages. Surveys and estimates were made in 1834 by commissioners appointed for the purpose. The popular vote in 1835 decided upon the undertaking, although a very strong party was continually harping on extravagance, and declared that water which had been good enough for their ancestors would suffice for them. The fire was incontrovertible evidence of the imperative need of water to preserve the city from destruction, and the work was pushed forward in spite of serious obstacles.

A dam was thrown across the Croton River creating a lake five miles long, from which a conduit of solid masonry was constructed to the city forty-five miles in length. In its course it encountered snags of every description. Sixteen tunnels in rock vary in length from one hundred and sixty to one thousand two hundred and sixty-three feet. At Sing Sing an elliptical arch of hewn granite is eighty-eight feet span, with its key-stone upwards of seventy feet from the waters of the brook beneath. In Westchester County the aqueduct crosses twenty-five streams from twelve to seventy feet below the line of grade, besides numerous brooks. At Harlem River the famous High Bridge was erected for its accommodation, a magnificent structure of granite one thousand four hundred and fifty feet in length, with fourteen arches each of eighty feet span, one hundred and fourteen feet above tide-water.



The Murray Hill Distributing Reservoir.
[Fifth Avenue.]

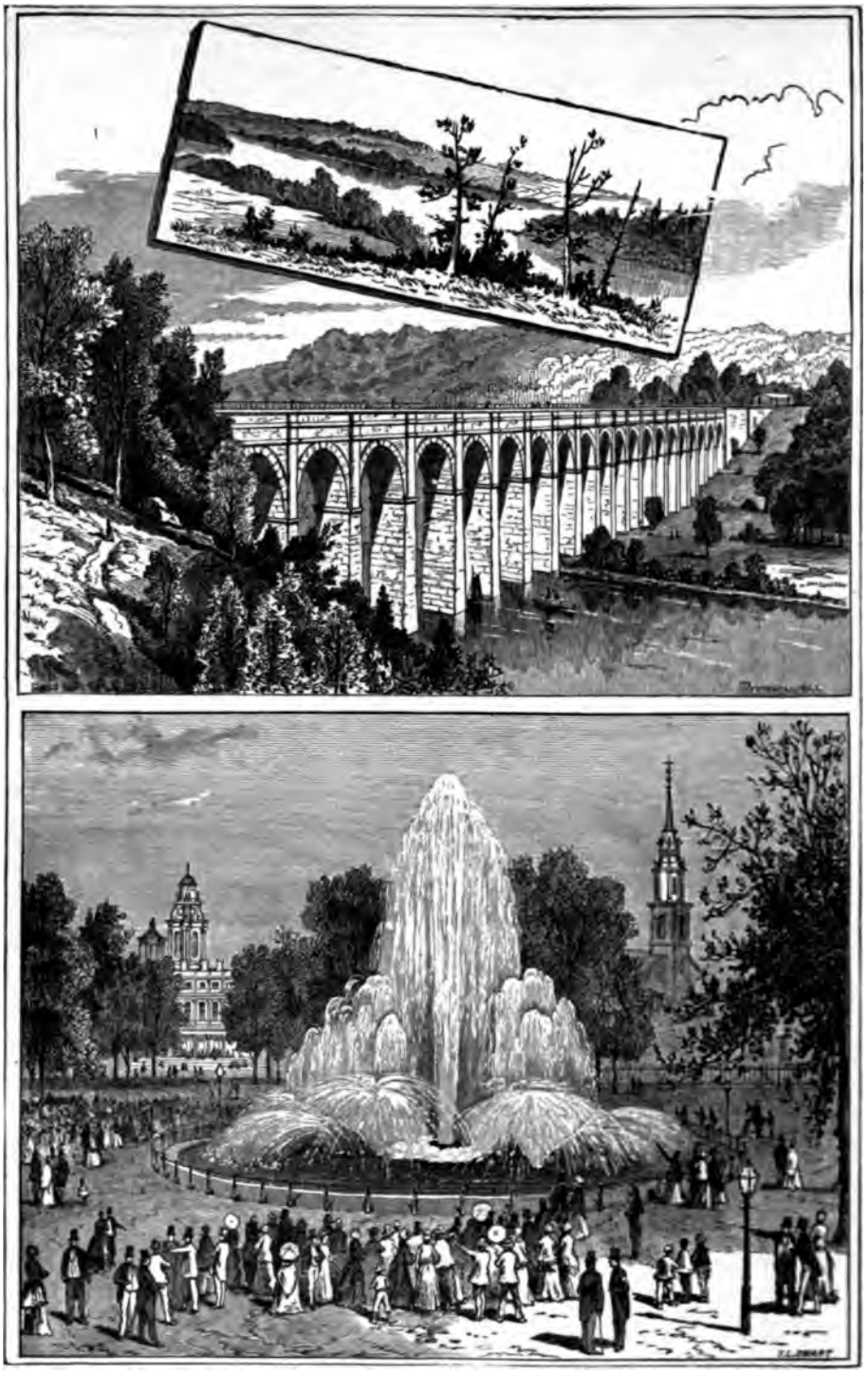
About four miles below High Bridge, in what is now Central Park, was located a large receiving reservoir at first covering thirty-one acres — although another was soon constructed covering one hundred and five acres — from which the water was conducted to a distributing reservoir on

Murray Hill. Besides these, a "high service" reservoir near High Bridge was found necessary, and a lofty tower was built, with powerful pumping machinery, for forcing water into a tank at the top of the tower holding fifty-five thousand gallons, to supply the more elevated portion of the city. The iron mains laid beneath the street surface to carry water to the buildings are about four hundred miles in length at the present writing.

The whole decade, until 1845, was devoted to the construction of the Croton Aqueduct. It was so far completed in 1842 that the water was admitted to the city. Prior to that great event the commissioners and engineers walked through its entire length of forty-five miles. It is arched above and below so as to form an ellipse measuring eight and one half feet perpendicularly and seven and one half feet horizontally. It slopes about thirteen inches to the mile, and has a capacity of carrying one hundred and fifteen million gallons of water per day. When the water was introduced a voyage was made from Croton Lake to the city within the aqueduct, by four persons, on the *Croton Maid*, a boat fashioned for the purpose.

The achievement, like that of the Erie Canal, was destined for a degree of usefulness wholly beyond the most extravagant estimate. Its importance in a hygienic and economic view was rightly foreseen; in insurance alone it caused the reduction of forty cents on every one hundred dollars in the annual rates. Its accomplishment, by a single city, at a cost of upwards of nine millions, in a period of unprecedented commercial embarrassments, and in the face of vast natural obstacles, was a marvel for all future generations; and it is a work worthy of being ranked with the old Roman aqueducts. Henceforward there would seem no project too bold nor enterprise too great for New York to undertake.

On the 4th of July, 1842, the Croton River, turned into its new and enduring channel, rushed into the city. The event was celebrated with an imposing military and civic procession seven miles in length. The gorgeous display in point of magnitude and invention eclipsed both its predecessors — the great Federal pageant of 1788, and that of the canal celebration in 1825. While parading the streets, the rejoicing multitudes were suddenly greeted with the opening of the beautiful fountains, and the wildest enthusiasm prevailed. The several divisions of the procession halted at the City Hall Park, where Samuel Stevens, president of the State Board of Water Commissions, made a stirring address, consigning the custody of the nearly completed works to John L. Lawrence, president of the Croton Aqueduct Board — who also made an appropriate speech. By request of the corporation of the city, George P. Morris, the popular



"'Water leaps as if delighted
While her conquered foes retire!
Pale Contagion flies affrighted
With the baffled demon Fire!'"

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song-writer and editor, had prepared an ode for the occasion, which was sung by the members of the Sacred Music Society, standing before the gushing waters of the Park fountain. The following are a few of the closing lines: —

"Water leaps as if delighted,
While her conquered foes retire!
Pale contagion flies affrighted
With the baffled demon Fire!
Water shouts a glad hosanna!
Bubbles up the earth to bless!
Cheers it like the precious manna
In the barren wilderness.

"Round the aqueducts of story,
As the mists of Lethe throng,
Croton's waves, in all their glory,
Troop in melody along.
Ever sparkling, bright, and single
Will this rock-ribbed stream appear,
When posterity shall mingle
Like the gathered waters here."

While the aqueduct was progressing, with all the petty annoyances connected with the details of such an enterprise, affairs throughout the nation reached a feverish crisis. Martin Van Buren, who had in New York reduced the management of his party to a science systematizing it until it was the most perfect organization ever known in this country, was inaugurated, on the 4th of March, 1837, President of the United States. But financial disaster was the grand legacy of the preceding administration. When the public money which had been withdrawn from the Bank of the United States, was deposited in the local banks, it became easy to obtain loans. Speculation extended to every branch of trade, and especially to Western lands. New cities were founded in the wilderness, and fabulous prices charged for building-lots. Hardly a man could be found who had not his pet project for realizing a fortune. Foreign goods at the same time were imported heavily. To pay for these, gold and silver were sent abroad in large quantities. Just before the close of his second term, Jackson issued the famous "specie circular," requiring payments for the public lands to be made in hard money, which swept the gold and silver into the Treasury. Bitter fruits were to be harvested.

1837.

March 4.

Business men could not pay their debts. Consternation seized all classes. The storm burst with terrific fury in New York. During the

first three weeks in April two hundred and fifty houses stopped payment. The losses exceeded one hundred millions. Property of all kinds declined in value. From New York the panic extended to the remotest quarters of the Union. The failures in New Orleans reached twenty-seven millions in two days. Eight of the States in part or wholly failed. Even the national government could not pay its debts. Universal bankruptcy seemed impending. The seasons had been unfavorable to agriculture, and nearly a million and a half bushels of wheat, for home consumption, were imported from Europe into New York during the early spring.[1] The question of payment was discussed with alarm. A general run was made upon the banks. The State of New York, for a loan not exceeding half a million, at six per cent interest, publicly advertised, received not a bid. The policy of the Bank of England in declining any further extension of credit reacted with great intensity. After deliberate consultation among the officers and directors, all the banks in New York suspended specie payments on the 10th of May.

April.

May 10.

James G. King, of the great banking-house of Prime, Ward, & King, a leading member and afterwards president of the Chamber of Commerce, was one of the sagacious few whose voice, countenance, and counsel were cheerful and hopeful. He perceived the magnitude and extent of the danger; but he believed that mutual aid and confidence would mitigate, and perhaps control the evil, and his example of calm self-possession inspired others with courage. The merchants and traders of the city meeting the same day at the Exchange, in pursuance of a call numerously signed by leading men of all pursuits and parties, he addressed them, offering resolutions to the effect that paper notes of the different

[1] Flour, during the winter of 1836 and 1837, was twelve and fifteen dollars a barrel, and the poor people suffered severely. It was rumored that a few of the larger flour and grain dealers had taken advantage of the scarcity to buy up all the flour in the city. The old war-cry of "the poor against the rich" was raised, which finally terminated in a riot. On the 10th of February, a placard, headed, "BREAD! MEAT! RENT! FUEL! — their prices must come down!" appeared in conspicuous places calling for a meeting in the Park. Six thousand or more gathered — a motley crowd of whom the greater part were foreigners — and demagogues harangued them until they were fitted for almost any work of spoliation. The popular fury was chiefly directed against Eli Hart, a great flour-merchant, who, it was said, had fifty-three thousand barrels of flour in his store. The mob assaulted the building, and in the end carried it by storm, in spite of the efforts of Mayor Lawrence and a large police force; the rioters threw barrels of flour by fifties and by hundreds from the windows, together with sacks of wheat amounting to over one thousand bushels — until the street, according to a writer of the day, "was knee-deep in flour and wheat." Several other stores were attacked, but through the combined efforts of the citizens and the police the mob was dispersed as night approached. Some forty of the rioters were captured, tried, and sent to the State prison: the ringleaders, however, escaped.

banks should pass current as usual until such time as the resumption of specie payments might be found practicable. Nathaniel Prime seconded the resolutions — which were put separately, and each unanimously adopted. The sanction thus given by the leading business men to the step taken by the banks produced a salutary effect. The community breathed more freely, and trade revived.

During the summer efforts were made to return to specie payments. But disasters thickened. Three of the largest London houses interested in American trade failed; and the return of a large amount of sterling bills drawn on those houses added to the general dismay.

At this juncture James G. King sailed for England. He was warmly received and eagerly consulted by the bankers and merchants of London. While discussing measures proper to be taken in the terrible crisis, he startled the bank-parlor by suggesting that the Bank of England and the great capitalists, instead of continuing to embarrass American merchants by discrediting paper connected with the American trade, should at once send over to New York several million dollars in coin. He declared that such a supply would determine the New York banks upon their future course. After some hesitation the Bank of England consented. A consignment of one million pounds sterling in gold was shipped to New York in March, 1838, on the sole responsibility of Prime, Ward, & King, and the guaranty of Baring Brothers & Co. Curtis, governor of the Bank of England, wrote to King, on the day prior to the first shipment of eighty thousand sovereigns: "The object of the bank in the operation is not one of profit — the whole transaction is out of the ordinary course of its operations. I deem it inexpedient to fix any precise period within which the returns should be made. Having shown your house so much confidence in intrusting the management of this great concern in its hands, it would but ill agree with that confidence if I were to prescribe limits, which might, in many ways, act most inconveniently, and deprive the bank of the advantage of your judgment and experience." King hastened home, the vessel in which he was a passenger bearing the second shipment of gold. The New York banks had already determined to resume specie payments within a year from the day of suspension — on or before the 10th of the coming May — and Samuel Ward, the partner of King, had been active in organizing a public meeting which again pledged the whole business community to stand by the banks. A convention of delegates from several of the States formally declared resumption impolitic and unsafe for some time to come; and the banks of Pennsylvania absolutely refused to come into the measure. But the reign of irredeemable paper terminated, and the city of New York,

October.

which had been compelled to lead the way in suspension, now had the great honor and the supreme satisfaction of leading the way in resumption, and of smoothing the way for others. As the coin arrived it was sold on easy terms to the various banks in the city; also in Boston and Pennsylvania. A reaction took place, depression vanished, and misfortunes were retrieved.[1] The Bank of England's treasure was managed with skill and fidelity by the house in which such signal confidence was reposed, and the transaction was closed without loss and with great promptitude.

James G. King, who, by taking the initiative in this important measure, rendered a service of vast moment, not only to his native city and State, but to the whole country, was the third son of the statesman, Rufus King, and the grandson of John Alsop. He was forty-six years of age, of distinguished personal appearance and accomplished scholarship, affable and engaging in manners, and of exceptional integrity, executive ability, and worldly wisdom. He was, indeed, an admirable representative of the old-school merchant and banker — a class of men who have contributed with princely generosity to the rise of the metropolis, and who are still covering continents with railroads and oceans with steamships. He studied law in his youth, but finally turned his attention to commerce. From 1818 to 1824 he resided in Liverpool, doing a large business in partnership with his brother-in-law, Archibald Gracie. He returned to New York through an invitation to become a partner in the banking-house with which he was henceforward



James Gore King.

[1] *Hunt's Lives of American Merchants.*

connected, and which subsequently was reconstructed under the name of James G. King & Sons.[1]

In relation to banks and banking institutions in the metropolis a few facts will best illustrate their steady growth. In 1800 two incorporated banks only were in operation. In 1812 the number had multiplied into eight, with an aggregate capital of some ten and one half millions. No new banks were chartered until some time after the war had ceased. But in 1840 thirty banks existed in the city, of which six were banking associations formed under the general banking law.[2] The grand total of capital employed was a little less than twenty-nine and one half millions. In 1880, notwithstanding all the vicissitudes of banking enterprise, the number of national, State, and savings banks located in the city are upwards of one hundred, independent of the private banking-houses, Loan and Trust, and Safe Deposit companies. The rise of insurance companies has been no less rapid. Prior to 1820 there were but twelve, inclusive of fire and marine, in New York and Philadelphia. In 1840 New York alone sus-

[1] James Gore King, third son of Rufus and Mary Alsop King (born in New York City, May 8, 1791, died 1853), married Sarah Rogers, daughter of Archibald Gracie, in 1813. Children: 1. Caroline, married Denning Duer; 2. Harriet, married Dr. George Wilkes; 3. James Gore King, Jr., judge of the Superior Court of the State of New York, married Caroline, daughter of Governor John A. King; 4. Archibald Gracie King, president of Institution for Savings of Merchants' Clerks, married Elizabeth D., daughter of William A. Duer, president of Columbia College; 5. Mary, married Edgar Richards; 6. Frederica, married J. C. Bancroft Davis, Assistant Secretary of State under President Grant, Minister to Germany, and judge of the Court of Claims; 7. Edward King, president of Union Trust Company, married Isabella Ramsey Cochrane, niece of Dean Ramsey of Edinburgh; 8. Fanny, married James L. McLane, of Baltimore. — *Family Archives*

The wife of the eminent merchant, Archibald Gracie, was Esther, daughter of Moses and Hannah Fitch Rogers. (See pp. 521, 522.) Her mother, Hannah Fitch, was the daughter of Governor Thomas Fitch of Connecticut. The great-grandfather of Governor Fitch (Thomas, son of William Fitch, member of the British Parliament) came to Boston from England in 1637, removing to Norwalk, Connecticut, in 1651, where the family has ever since been one of wealth and high position. Moses Rogers, elder brother of Mrs. Gracie, married Sarah, daughter of Benjamin Woolsey (see p. 522). Their children were: 1. Sarah E. Rogers, married Hon. Samuel M. Hopkins; 2. Benjamin Woolsey Rogers, married Susan, daughter of William Bayard, whose son, Benjamin Woolsey Rogers, married Helena, daughter of Richard K. Hoffman, M. D.; 3. Archibald Rogers, married Anna, daughter of Judge Nathaniel Pendleton; 4. Julia A. Rogers, married Francis Bayard Winthrop. — *Haldane.*

[2] The Banking Associations in 1840 were as follows: Agency of the Bank of the United States (Philadelphia), George Griswold and Richard Alsop associates; North American Trust and Banking Company, Joseph D. Beers president; Mechanics' Banking Association, E. D. Comstock president; American Exchange Bank, David Leavitt president; Bank of Commerce, John A. Stevens president; New York Banking Company, John Delafield president. The combined capital of the five, independent of the United States Agency, was nine millions. In 1840 four savings-banks only were in operation. (*Williams's Annual Register for 1840.*) The first, as heretofore recorded, was founded in 1819. In 1880 twenty-four are in successful operation. (*Appleton's Dictionary of New York and Vicinity for 1880.*)

tained forty-four. In 1876 ninety-four fire-insurance companies were connected with the Board of Fire Underwriters, with a capital of eighty-five millions; and in addition to these were ten marine and twenty life-insurance companies. The total cash capital of moneyed institutions in the city at present is not less than a thousand million dollars.

Prisons seemed to be as essential as banks to the general prosperity of the city. Indolence and pauperism produced offenders against the laws faster than edifices could be constructed for their discipline and punishment. Of convicts, seventy per cent were foreigners; of police arrests, for all manner of offenses, seventy-five per cent were vagrants from other places and countries. As early as 1796 the legislature provided for two state-prisons, one to be erected in Albany and the other in New York City. The commissioners in charge of building Newgate, on the Hudson, in what was then Greenwich village, were John Watts, General Matthew Clarkson, Isaac Stoutenburgh, Thomas Eddy, and John Murray. It was opened in 1797, but it soon became too crowded, and in 1816 the Auburn state-prison, on a much larger scale, was projected; during the same year a penitentiary for persons convicted of minor offenses was built on the East River shore at Bellevue, near the almshouse; in 1826 the Bellevue Hospital was built, and the three buildings surrounded by a stone wall. About the same time Newgate was sold and the site for a state-prison selected at Sing Sing, with reference to the employment of convicts in working the extensive quarries of marble in that vicinity. This was completed in 1828. The city-prisons, for the safe-keeping of offenders awaiting trial, becoming inadequate to the demand, the Halls of Justice, better known as The Tombs, was built upon the site of the old Collect, or Fresh-Water Pond — illustrated on a former page. It was completed in 1838, covering a whole block; and it is probably the purest specimen of Egyptian architecture to be found outside of Egypt itself. If it was not so unfortunately located it would be one of the most imposing buildings in the city; but its really grand proportions are dwarfed almost into insignificance. It stands in a hollow, so low that the top of its massive walls scarcely rises above the level of Broadway, only some one hundred yards distant from its western façade. The granite was brought from Maine, with the exception of the stone of the old Bridewell, demolished about that time. Internally, The Tombs is rather a series of buildings than a single structure. There is now a city prison connected with each police court — seven or more in all. The only one, excepting The Tombs, having any architectural pretensions is the Jefferson Market Prison, a unique and handsome structure of irregular shape, in Italian Gothic style, situated on Sixth Avenue, corner of Tenth Street.

A group of three beautiful and picturesque islands in the East River, alongside the city, are now occupied with the penal and charitable institutions for which New York is famous. To trace the history of their growth and development would require a volume by itself. Blackwell's Island, of one hundred and twenty acres, was purchased by the city in 1828, for fifty thousand dollars. A heavy granite sea-wall, and various edifices turreted and battlemented in the old feudal style, were in due course of time constructed of stone quarried on the island by the convicts. Gardens and attractive grounds were laid out and cultivated, and trees planted. There are now upon the island a penitentiary, with inmates averaging about twelve hundred, an almshouse, a correctional workhouse, a large charity hospital with accommodations for eight hundred, a small-pox hospital, a blind asylum, a spacious lunatic asylum, and hospitals for paralytics, epileptics, incurables, and the convalescent, inhabited constantly by some seven thousand persons, all under the charge of the Commissioners of Public Charities and Corrections. Ward's Island is nearly circular, and in parts finely wooded. Several of its hospitals and asylums are large and handsome structures. The Emigrants' Hospital receives the sick and destitute aliens from the Old World, and is in charge of the Commissioners of Emigration, created in 1847. Randall's Island, of one hundred acres, is the site of the House of Refuge, an imposing edifice, with mosque-like turrets, erected in 1854 (the first institution of the kind ever organized); and of the nursery, children's hospitals, asylum and school for idiots, and other charities provided by the city for destitute children. The Society for reforming Juvenile Delinquents, an outgrowth of the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism, established the pioneer House of Refuge in Madison Square, with six boys and three girls, in 1825. When the old arsenal was burned, in 1839, the institution was transferred to one of the hospital buildings on the East River, where it remained fifteen years — until the new edifice on Randall's Island was completed.



The Tombs.

The decade of which this chapter treats was marked by the foundation of the great newspaper system, which has become an engine of thought more powerful than book-making. Newspapers had long been the most appreciated of all human productions. But they were not numerous, and their circulation was limited. The *New York Sun*, projected by Benjamin H. Day in September, 1833, was the first successful penny paper in the world. Horace Greeley, in partnership with Dr. Horatio David Shepard and Francis V. Story, issued a little penny sheet in January of the same year, which survived exactly three weeks. The *Sun* was made up of twelve columns, each ten inches long; it had no editorials, it gave no opinions, commercial reviews, financial reports, or stock sales, and it made no promises. But it helped to make newspaper readers; and when two years old boasted a circulation of eight thousand. One cent continued to be its price for thirty years. The penny press dates from the advent of the *Sun* in 1833, since when upwards of one hundred one and two cent journals have been started in New York City — although many of them had but a brief existence. The *New York Herald* was founded in 1835, by James Gordon Bennett, who had been in the city since 1822, engaged on various papers. He made the science of journalism a study. His new sheet was independent of party, and conducted in a manner so original and unexpected that the public seized it with avidity. In 1836 he raised the price to two cents. There were seven large morning papers at this epoch called "sixpenny sheets," and four evening papers of the same character and price. Yet Bennett prophesied, after carefully computing his accounts, "I shall be enabled to carry into effect prodigious improvements, and to make the *Herald* the greatest, the best, and the most profitable paper that ever appeared in this country." Gerard Hallock, one of the editors of the *Journal of Commerce*, wrote of the penny papers about the same time, "The number of newspaper readers is probably doubled by their influence, and they circulate as pioneers among those classes who have suffered greatly from want of general intelligence."

The *Journal of Commerce*, founded in 1827 under the auspices of Arthur Tappan, was the "blanket sheet" of the period chiefly in competition with the *Courier and Enquirer* — as far as obtaining fresh news was concerned. It was purchased in 1828 by David Hale and Gerard Hallock. Hale was the son of a Connecticut divine, a tall, slim, brusque, vigorous man of thirty-six, who managed the business and commercial

e with persistent industry and energy. Hallock

ivine; an accomplished linguist and gen-

dited and guided the general policy of

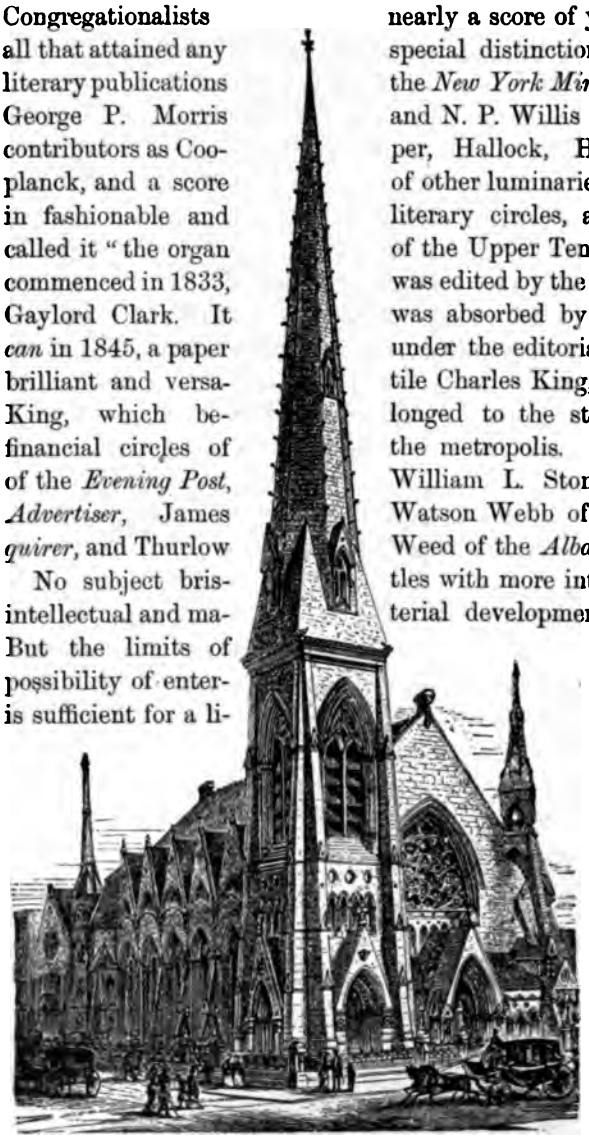
a year the famous news-schooners,

to cruise at sea and intercept European vessels for the latest intelligence. The *Courier and Enquirer* immediately hired vessels for the same purpose, and the races of these squadrons down the bay were exciting in the extreme. In 1833 Hale and Hallock established a horse-express to Philadelphia, and, not to be outdone, the other papers instituted an opposition express. An interview at a later day between Hale and Bennett was the origin of the Associated Press, founded in 1849, of which the amiable and self-poised Gerard Hallock was the president for many years.[1] The *New York Express* was ushered into existence in 1836, under the editorial direction of James Brooks, assisted by his brother, Erastus Brooks. The first number of the *New York Tribune* was issued by Horace Greeley in 1841. He had been in New York ten years, and for some time had edited the *New Yorker;* also the *Log Cabin*, a campaign journal, both of which were merged into the *Tribune*, with which his name henceforward was completely identified. Henry J. Raymond, who in 1851 founded the *New York Times*, became assistant editor of the *Tribune* at ten dollars a week, and gained extraordinary distinction as a reporter; he was subsequently on the editorial staff of the *Courier and Enquirer*. The *New York World* was of a later date, making its first appearance in June, 1860; and in July, 1861, the *Courier and Enquirer* was merged into this new journal. There were no Sunday papers in New York prior to 1825. The community was startled when the *Sunday Courier* appeared one bright Sabbath morning. Public sentiment rebelled against the innovation, and only three or four Sunday papers were attempted during the following ten years. Even the *Journal of Commerce* would permit no work done in the establishment between twelve o'clock Saturday night and twelve o'clock Sunday night. The religious press of New York dates from 1820, when the *New York Observer* was founded by Sidney E. Morse, in connection with his brother, Richard C. Morse, sons of Rev. Dr. Jedediah Morse, the geographer. They were brothers of Professor Samuel F. B. Morse of artistic and telegraphic fame. But few journals under this head proved successful prior to 1840. The *Christian Intelligencer*, the organ of the influential and wealthy Dutch Reformed Church, projected in 1830, and ever since holding a high place among the religious publications of the country, and the *New York Evangelist*, founded about 1833, "to promote revivals and

[1] Gerard Hallock (born 1800, died 1869,) was the brother of the late Rev. Dr. William A. Hallock, (born 1794, died 1880), who, coming to New York, founded the *American Tract Society* in 1825, and was its great managing head for over half a century. They were sons of the learned Rev. Moses Hallock of Plainfield, Massachusetts, who, in addition to his pastoral duties taught a classical school in his own house, fitting young men for Williams College. William Cullen Bryant was a classmate, under this instruction, with the four sons of the clergyman, two of whom came to reside in New York as above.

missions, temperance and other reforms," ably conducted by Rev. Joshua Leavitt — subsequently of the *Independent*, started as an organ of the Congregationalists nearly a score of years afterward — were all that attained any special distinction in the city. Among literary publications the *New York Mirror* took the lead, with George P. Morris and N. P. Willis at the helm, and such contributors as Cooper, Hallock, Hoffman, Irving, Verplanck, and a score of other luminaries. It was widely read in fashionable and literary circles, and Willis facetiously called it "the organ of the Upper Ten." The *Knickerbocker*, commenced in 1833, was edited by the witty and genial Lewis Gaylord Clark. It was absorbed by the *New York American* in 1845, a paper under the editorial management of the brilliant and versatile Charles King, brother of James G. King, which belonged to the strictly aristocratic and financial circles of the metropolis. Bryant was the editor of the *Evening Post*, William L. Stone of the *Commercial Advertiser*, James Watson Webb of the *Courier and Enquirer*, and Thurlow Weed of the *Albany Evening Journal*.

No subject brisdles with more intense interest than the intellectual and material development of the newspaper. But the limits of this work preclude the possibility of entering into its details. It is sufficient for a library in itself. As the city grew, journals of every class multiplied, until their number has, in 1880, reached four hundred and thirty-seven. Of these, thirty are issued daily, eleven semi-weekly, and one hundred and ninety-four weekly.



Dutch Reformed Church in Fifth Avenue, corner of Forty-eight Street.
[In the tower of this church hangs the "Silver-toned Bell" cast in Holland, in 1731, for the Middle Dutch Church in Nassau Street. See Vol. I. 524.]

The decade under consideration was one of peculiar intellectual vitality. Authorship took a fresh start, publishing-houses expanded (that of the Harpers occupied nine contiguous buildings when burned in 1853), art received higher recognition than

ever before, exhibitions of pictures and statuary became both lucrative and popular, while the drama struggled for elevation in keeping with the advance of public taste. "The age is itself dramatic, and the dramatic spirit now more than ever characterizes the people," wrote the critic of the *Mirror* in 1837.[1] Four theatrical edifices were projected between 1835 and 1845. The one theater of the early years of the century is to-day represented by twenty-five, chiefly handsome and costly structures. The Italian Opera was introduced in 1825, the most select audience ever assembled within the walls of the Park Theater greeting the first appearance of the famous Garcia with his troupe. His daughter, afterwards Madame Malibran, then only seventeen, astonished and delighted New York with the wonderful compass and sweetness of her voice. She received ten thousand dollars for singing in English Opera at the opening of the Bowery Theater in 1826. Other troupes visited the country from time to time, but the success of the opera for a long period was not assured. George P. Morris wrote a play called *Brier Cliff*, which was produced at the Chatham Theater in 1837, and repeated forty nights in succession. In 1842 he wrote the libretto of an opera, *The Maid of Saxony*, which was set to music and performed fourteen nights in the Park Theater.

The semi-centennial anniversary of the revival of Columbia College was celebrated in April, 1837. An imposing procession of trustees, professors, clergymen, societies, public officials, and dignitaries from universities of other States, with appropriate costumes and banners, formed on the college green and marched through some of the principal streets to St. John's Church. The exercises were of a marked and memorable char-

[1] In the same issue of the *New York Mirror* appears a list of the poets of the period, quoted from a publication long since forgotten, the *New York Book*. The paragraph is given for the benefit of the curious. "Who says that the American people are a mere money-getting, dollar-saving people? Who can deny, on the contrary, that they are a nation of poets, sons of Apollo, every one of them? Judge for yourselves. Their names, as registered in the *New York Book*, are: Francis Arden, John I. Bailey, Robert Barker, Ann E. Bleecker, Anthony Bleecker, S. De Witt Bloodgood, A. H. Bogart, David S. Bogart, Elizabeth Bogart, James G. Brooks, Miss Mary E. Brooks, A. L. Blauvelt, Willis G. Clark (twin brother of Lewis Gaylord Clark), Elizabeth C. Clinch, William Croswell, Isaac Clason, Lucretia M. Davidson, G. W. Doane, Joseph Rodman Drake, William Duer, Elizabeth F. Ellet, Emma C. Embury, Theodore S. Fay, Margarette V. Faugeres, William P. Hawes, Charles Fenno Hoffman, Washington Irving, John Inman, Samuel Low, Jonathan Lawrence, Jr., William Leggett, William Livingston, George P. Morris, Jacob Morton, Lindley Murray, Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill, Clement C. Moore, James Nack, Rosewell Park, James K. Paulding, Edward Sanford, Robert C. Sands, Daniel Seymour, Thomas Slidell, Alfred B. Street, William L. Stone, George D. Strong, J. R. Sutermeister, T. W. Tucker, W. H. Vining, J. B. Van Schaick, and Gulian C. Verplanck. The editor of the *New York Book* has accomplished a difficult task in a very satisfactory manner, although several deserving names may be found among the missing."

acter. An oration from Rev. Dr. Manton Eastburn reviewed the history of the college. President William A. Duer conferred the honorary degree of Master of Arts upon William Cullen Bryant, Charles Fenno Hoffman, and Fitz-Greene Halleck; of Doctor of Laws upon David B. Ogden, John Duer, and George Griffin; and of Doctor of Divinity upon seven prominent clergymen. The president's levee in the evening, wrote Willis, "was one of the most striking fêtes New York ever witnessed. The picture-galleries and conservatories of half the town were laid under contribution to supply the plants, painting, and statuary with which the corridors and alcoves of the spacious suite of apartments were decorated; and the number of eminent literary and professional persons, mingling with the young sprigs of fashion and grave political characters of all parties, rendered the scene at once novel, animated, and imposing. Such reunions make the halls of learning serve a more beneficent purpose than mere pupilage in letters." During the next month the new Gothic edifice of the University was publicly dedicated to science, letters, and religion, the chapel being crowded with the beauty and intelligence of the city. One of the speakers took occasion to explain that in opening the portals of science to the architect, engineer, mechanic, agriculturist, and others who wished "to pursue one or more special branches of study without being required to attend upon the whole undergraduate course," the University had no disposition to disparage classical learning. On the contrary, he affirmed that it was nowhere more effectually imparted or more rigidly exacted in candidates for degrees.

The rooms of the upper story adjacent to the chapel on the north side were occupied by the professor of the Literature of the Arts of Design, Samuel F. B. Morse — with his pupils — who was elected to this post when the institution was first established. In September following the dedication of the building, having completed the first crude telegraphic recording apparatus in the world, he exhibited to a select assemblage at the University the operation of his new system, and demonstrated beyond dispute his ability to communicate between two points distant half a mile from each other. He immediately applied to Congress for aid constructing an experimental telegraph from Washington to Balti-

But his project was received coldly, with skepticism, and even dicule.

Morse had been a resident of New York City since 1815. he enjoyed unusual social privileges. He went to England gton Allston in 1811, and while abroad was the pupil of ley. He studied sculpture as well as painting, and in 1813 hands of the Duke of Norfolk, in presence of the for-

eign ambassadors, the gold medal offered by the Adelphi Society of Arts in London for the best single figure modeled within a specified period. When he first established himself in New York he was grieved to find that petty jealousies and dissensions kept the artists apart. He made it his first business to heal animosities, and one evening invited the artists to his room, ostensibly to eat strawberries and cream, but really to beguile them into something like agreeable intercourse. He covered his table with prints, and scattered inviting casts about the room. Before the evening was spent it was proposed and unanimously agreed to meet in a similar manner every week. This was the germ of the National Academy of Design, of which Morse became the first president — was re-elected for sixteen years — and before which he delivered the first course of lectures on Fine Arts in this country. He was deeply interested in various departments of science, especially in chemistry. It was in the autumn of 1832, while on board the Havre packet *Sully*, returning to America, to enter upon the duties of his professorship in the University, that he conceived the great invention which won him more honors of a foreign and public kind than were ever before bestowed upon an American. In a casual conversation with some of the passengers concerning the relation between electricity and magnetism, a recent experiment in Paris was described. Electricity had been instantaneously transmitted through a wire. The idea that in a gentle and steady current of the electric fluid a source existed of regular, continued, and rapid motions, which might be applied to a machine for conveying messages from place to place, and inscribing them on a tablet, at once took possession of the mind of Morse. We can almost see the figure of the illustrious inventor as he paced the deck full of this thought, or



Professor Samuel F. B. Morse.

gazed dreamily into the sea, devising mechanical contrivances to give it expression. Before the packet reached New York the essential features of the electro-magnetic transmitting and recording apparatus were sketched upon paper. While experimenting in his rooms in the New York University, he met with little sympathy from scientists; and the public generally presumed his brilliant discovery would prove but an ingenious scientific pastime. He stretched half a mile of wire around and around one of his apartments, and thus could exhibit a telegraph in actual operation in 1835; but only in one direction — until the summer of 1837.

The story of the long-baffled efforts and final success of Morse is as remarkable as any in the annals of discovery. The lesson it teaches is as old as human genius and human ambition. Inflexible perseverance in patient endeavor is essential to achievement. He sailed for Europe, resolute, and undismayed by the coolness of Congress, but the governments of the Old World gave him no encouragement, and he returned to America to try again. He renewed his appeal to Congress year after year. On the last night of the session in March, 1843, he left the Capitol, after waiting patiently through the long day, thoroughly disconsolate. His amazement may be imagined the next morning, to learn that in the hurry and confusion of the midnight hour the expiring Congress voted thirty thousand dollars for the construction of a telegraph between Washington and Baltimore. He immediately commenced the work. At first the wires, inclosed in lead pipes, were buried in the earth. One day, while watching the laborers engaged in digging a trench for the purpose, near Baltimore, Morse sought refuge in a shed from a violent thunder-storm, exclaiming, "The time will come when we shall have to hang these wires on poles." Before ten miles were accomplished the lead pipes were abandoned and the wires elevated. The completion of the undertaking was announced in May, 1844.

The notion of the utility of electricity for imparting information did not originate in any one mind, any more than that of the moving of ships by steam. But Morse combined and improved upon the invention of others to such a degree that out of sixty competitors he reached the most desirable result for public and private use.[1] At a convention held in 1851, for the purpose of adopting a uniform system of telegraphing for all Germany, that of Morse was selected. It has superseded other systems in nearly every country of the world. The representatives of the principal European powers, assembled at Paris in 1857, presented Morse four hundred thousand francs as a recompense for his invention. Gold medals of scientific merit were awarded him by the Emperor of Austria

[1] *History, Theory, and Practice of the Electric Telegraph*, by George B. Prescott, pp. 57, 58.

and the King of Prussia. The Cross of Chevalier of the Legion of Honor was conferred on him by the Emperor of France; the Cross of Knight of the Dannebrog by the King of Denmark; the Cross of Knight Commander of the Order of Isabella the Catholic, by the Queen of Spain; the decorations of Knighthood by the King of Portugal and the King of Italy; and the decoration of the Nishan Iftichur (the order of glory), set in diamonds, from the Sultan of Turkey. In addition to these honors he was elected member of all the prominent European scientific and art academies, as well as those of this country; he was esteemed the most illustrious American of his age.[1]

The telegraph companies of Great Britain gave him a public banquet in London in 1856, and two years later the Americans in Paris tendered him a similar entertainment. As the years rolled on and the magnitude of the benefits his genius had conferred upon the human race became more and more conspicuous, New York City, the scene of his long struggle to bring the most wayward of the elements into obedience, united with the telegraph fraternity of the United States — June 10, 1871 — in one of the grandest tributes of respect and love ever accorded to a living man. A colossal statue, erected in his honor, "in the most beauti-

[1] Professor Samuel Finley Breese Morse (born 1791, died 1872) was the eldest son of Rev. Dr. Jedediah Morse, the celebrated divine and geographer — died in New Haven, 1826 — whose wife was Elizabeth Ann, daughter of Judge Samuel and Rebecca (Finley) Breese, of New York, and granddaughter of Rev. Dr. Samuel Finley, President of Princeton College. Sidney Breese, the father of Judge Samuel Breese, was a New York merchant, born in Shrewsbury, Wales; he had been a warm partisan of the Pretender, but on the failure of the rebellion entered the British navy, and finally, giving up his commission, settled in New York City, where he married Elizabeth Pinkethman. His epitaph in Trinity Churchyard, New York, has been often quoted for its quaint humor, showing the man: —

"SIDNEY BREESE, JUNE 8, 1767,
MADE BY HIMSELF.
HA! SIDNEY, SIDNEY,
LYEST THOU HERE?
I HERE LYE
TILL TIME IS FLOWN
TO ITS EXTREMITY."

Judge Samuel Breese was twice married: (2) to Elizabeth Anderson, granddaughter of Rev. James Anderson, first pastor of the Wall Street Presbyterian Church (see Vol. I. 505); their children who grew up were: 1. Samuel Sidney Breese, married Helen Burrows, and settled on a large estate in Oneida County, New York; 2. Arthur Breese, of Utica, married Catharine, daughter of Judge Livingston of Poughkeepsie, among whose children were Rear-Admiral Samuel Livingston Breese and Chief Justice Sidney Breese, United States Senator from Illinois; 3. Susannah Bayard Breese, married Rev. Samuel F. Snowden, of Princeton, New Jersey; 4. Abigail Breese, married Josiah Salisbury, of Boston, and had two children, Professor Edward Elbridge Salisbury of New Haven, and Elizabeth M., the first wife of President Theodore D. Woolsey of New Haven.

ful of the public grounds of the chief city of the Western Hemisphere, to stand for ages," was unveiled in his presence, the city through the Mayor, and the people of two States through their chief magistrates — the State of his birth and the State of his adoption — participating in the ceremonial; while a multitude fifty or sixty thousand strong witnessed the spectacle. Governor John T. Hoffman said, "Thanks to Samuel F. B. Morse, men speak to one another now, though separated by the width of the earth; and we intend that, so far as in us lies, the men who come after us shall be at no loss to discover his name for want of the recorded testimony of his contemporaries." William Cullen Bryant addressed the assemblage, saying, "We come together on the occasion of raising a statue, not to buried but to living merit — to a great discoverer who yet sits among us, a witness of honors which are but the first-fruits of that ample harvest which his memory will gather in the long season yet to come." The exercises of the day were gloriously concluded by a brilliant ovation in the evening at the Academy of Music, in presence of the largest and most intellectual audience ever crowded within the walls of the building. Enthusiasm reached its climax when the distinguished inventor attached his signature to the telegram: "Professor Morse sends greeting to those of the telegraphic fraternity throughout the world. Glory to God in the highest, peace and good will to men!" A few moments later responses came from nearly all the cities of America, and from Canada, Havana, and other distant places. After numerous speeches, the revered "Father of Telegraphy" made a few brief and touching remarks, alluding with much emotion to the demonstrations of regard "so unexampled in the history of inventions."

It was his farewell. On the 2d of the following April the whole civilized world was in mourning. By means of the instrument which he had perfected, intelligence of the death of Morse was sent thrilling beneath the billows of the ocean, across the continents, eastward, westward, and was simultaneously in London, Paris, Rome, Berlin, St. Petersburg, Syria, Egypt, China, Australia, and Japan. While all America sorrowed, eloquent words of mingled admiration and condolence flashed over the wires from four continents — even from the gray old land of the Pharaohs and from Hong Kong. Never in the history of the nation had a simple citizen's memory met with such wide heartfelt respect. Impressive funeral ceremonies, in which millions really participated, were conducted from the Madison Square Church in New York City, Rev. Dr. William Adams, pastor and personal friend of the deceased, delivering an earnest and eloquent discourse. The pall-bearers were John Adams Dix, the soldier, statesman, and author; Cyrus W. Field, of Atlantic Cable fame; Peter

Cooper, the philanthropist; Cambridge Livingston, the veteran legal scholar; Charles Butler, the eminent lawyer and railroad projector; Daniel Huntington, the artist; William Orton, president of the Western Union Telegraph; and Ezra Cornell.

The great political excitement of the decade centered about the election of William Henry Harrison to the Presidency in 1840. Although Martin Van Buren came into office with a large majority, the people denied him a second term with almost as strong an expression of their new preference. President Harrison had scarcely entered upon the duties of his office, and selected his cabinet, when he died, just one month from the day of his inauguration. John Tyler, the Vice-President, succeeded to the Presidential Chair. But his administration was not satisfactory to the party in power. He was married during his term of office, the only event of the kind in the history of America. His bride was a New York lady, descended from the lords of the manor of Gardiner's Island, and the marriage ceremony was performed in New York City. He assumed a style of living too aristocratic to please the public taste, drove four horses, and was accused of a desire to please his wife. The memory of the six horses attached to Washington's equipage had long since grown dim.

In New York, as in almost every other State, the Whigs achieved a signal triumph in 1840. William H. Seward, afterwards Secretary of State, was re-elected Governor. During his former administration the public peace and tranquillity were severely disturbed by Anti-Rent difficulties in the manor of Rensselaerwick. Stephen Van Rensselaer, the late patroon, had suffered the arrearages of rent — merely nominal, as a handful of wheat or a fat chicken per acre — to remain uncollected. His heirs now demanded payment. The tenants complained that these semi-feudal land tenures were totally inconsistent with the spirit and genius of our institutions, and refused to pay them. Armed, and disguised as Indians, they offered such resistance to the civil officers that military power was found necessary. The disturbance was subdued for the time, but broke out afresh in 1844 attracting wide attention, and the subject was carried into politics, and then into the courts. Finally the State Constitution of 1846 abolished all feudal tenures.

The city of New York was visited in 1845 by another great conflagration, second only in its ravages to the fire of 1835. It broke out in midsummer, on the 19th of July, destroying three hundred and forty-five buildings in the business part of the city below Wall Street — property estimated at several millions. 1845.

CHAPTER L.

1845-1880.

CONCLUDING CHAPTER.

CONTRASTS. — AREA OF THE CITY. — THE HARBOR IN 1880. — POPULATION. — UNION SQUARE. — MADISON SQUARE. — WAR WITH MEXICO. — DISCOVERY OF GOLD IN CALIFORNIA. — THE ASTOR PLACE RIOT. — THE SEVENTH REGIMENT. — THE ASTOR LIBRARY. — JOHN JACOB ASTOR. — THE CRYSTAL PALACE. — THE WADDELL MANSION. — MURRAY HILL. — GLIMPSE OF SOCIAL LIFE. — FIFTH AVENUE RESIDENCES. — THE CHURCHES OF NEW YORK. — CHURCH ARCHITECTURE. — REV. DR. WILLIAM ADAMS. — SABBATH SCHOOLS OF THE CITY IN 1880. — PHILANTHROPY. — TENEMENT HOUSES. — ASSOCIATION FOR IMPROVING THE CONDITION OF THE POOR. — ASYLUMS. — HOSPITALS. — FIVE POINTS. — ARCHIBALD RUSSELL. — CENTRAL PARK. — FINANCIAL CRISIS OF 1857. — POLICE RIOTS. — THE ATLANTIC CABLE. — THE CIVIL WAR. — ACTION OF NEW YORK. — THE DRAFT RIOT. — ACADEMY OF DESIGN. — WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT. — ASSASSINATION OF LINCOLN. — UNION LEAGUE CLUB. — LENOX LIBRARY. — METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART. — MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY. — COOPER INSTITUTE. — MERCHANTS AND PUBLIC-SPIRITED CITIZENS. — THE ELEVATED RAILROADS. — THE BROOKLYN BRIDGE. — CONCLUSION.

THE boundary line where history ceases and contemporaneous record begins has never been drawn with absolute precision. The ancient historians rarely ventured within half a century of their own time. Materials for history require curing with age. The affairs of New York during the thirty-five years embraced in this chapter have widened into a thousand channels of interest and influence, affecting the whole continent. They are rich in detail, instructive in character, and voluminous in substance. When faithfully digested they will form an unusually entertaining volume in themselves. But the limits of our present work are prescribed. Brief touches upon leading events, together with a few illustrative facts and statistics, will bring our narrative to a close.

In tracing the varied fortunes of the rising city from its birth, the reader who has noted the continuity and duration of mental influences will have no difficulty in accounting for the sympathetic activity which has been so prolific in material progress. A better combined array of moral forces than that which shaped the destiny of New York we might search



"The harbor, eloquent with busy life, and one of the safest, largest, and most beautiful in the world, presents a striking contrast, as viewed from the Staten Island shore in 1890, to the placid solitude portrayed in our opening picture." Page 749.

the centuries to discover. Society, by the individual action of its private members in the ordinary pursuits of life, supplies the vital current which creates and sustains prosperity. Turning backward to the beginning, we see a picturesque island, patched with forest and rock, three thousand miles from civilization. The intervening years disappear, as if by miraculous magic — and our eyes rest upon a great metropolis with its miles and miles of roofs and broken outline of spires, towers, and domes, telling of religion, art, and trade; while on either side, as far as the eye can reach, the water-line is fringed with a forest of masts, from which float the varicolored flags that represent the commerce of the globe. The extreme length of the city is now sixteen miles, and its area forty-one and one half square miles. As a port of entry it comprises Brooklyn, Jersey City, and all the other municipalities situated on New York Bay and the Hudson and East Rivers opposite the metropolis. It is estimated that sixty per cent of the entire foreign commerce of the United States is carried on through this port alone, the arrivals and departures of vessels numbering twenty thousand annually, of which over five thousand are steamers. The harbor, eloquent with busy life, and one of the safest, largest, and most beautiful in the world, presents a striking contrast, as viewed from the Staten Island shore in 1880, to the placid solitude portrayed in our opening picture. Stately ships and steamers in one endless procession are plowing waters then rippled only by a few bark canoes; while scores of ferry-boats moving to and from the neighboring cities fairly illustrate the idea of perpetual motion. The population of New York, if given on the same principle as that of London, would hardly fall short of two and one half millions, since nearly as many New Yorkers dwell outside as within the city limits; a



View from Union Square, North.

radius of from twenty to thirty miles from the City Hall has become almost a continuous city, and is virtually New York.

At the time the magnetic telegraph was first opened between New York and Philadelphia, in 1845, Union Square was becoming the
1845. fashionable place of residence for New York's oldest and wealthiest citizens. Samuel B. Ruggles had been one of the most active and efficient in securing the improvements which converted the open space into an elegant park; and he also presented the choice little spot of land — now Gramercy Park — to the owners of sixty adjoining lots, to induce the erection of first-class dwellings in that locality. Fourteenth Street was soon filled with costly mansions; the equestrian statue of Washington was in 1856 erected in the open thoroughfare. But business followed, making little raids here and there, and fashion became uneasy and moved on. The habitations once graced by brilliant assemblages of fair women and brave men were converted into furniture salesrooms or milliners' shops, many of which have recently been torn down to make room for elegant business structures. In 1845 but a few scattering buildings were seen from Union Square, looking north. The accompanying sketch reveals the present view from the same point.

Efforts were made to improve the ten unsightly acres at the junction of Broadway and Fifth Avenue soon after the burning of the House of Refuge in 1839. But a little stream of running water, forming a skating-pond for boys in winter, was very much in the way. James Harper, one of the famous Harper publishers, was mayor of the city from 1844 to 1847, and through his influence measures were taken to complete and beautify Madison Square, now the center of the world of amusement and fashion. When the costly white marble Fifth Avenue Hotel was begun in 1856, and finished in 1859, facing the square, the world wondered, as it seemed quite too far from the heart of the city for popular patronage.

Washington Irving returned from Spain in 1846, where he had been four years United States minister, and was once more welcomed to his native city with enthusiasm. Charles Dickens, in America at the time Irving departed on his mission, paid a noteworthy tribute to the good sense of Americans in showing respect to their own "intellectual celebrities." In an account of one of President Tyler's receptions, he wrote: "My dear friend Washington Irving was present the last time before going abroad. I sincerely believe that, in all the madness of American politics, few public men would have been so earnestly, devotedly, and affectionately caressed as this most charming writer; and I have seldom respected a public assembly more than I did this eager throng, when I saw them turning with one mind from noisy orators and officers of State,

and flocking with a generous and honest impulse round the man of quiet pursuits; proud in his promotion, as reflecting back upon their country, and grateful to him with their whole hearts for the store of graceful fancies he had poured out among them."

Meanwhile New York was sharing largely in the burdens of the nation. War with Mexico was calling many of her gallant sons into the battle-field. William Jenkins Worth, in the military service of the Union for a period covering thirty-six years, was a conspicuous figure in the Mexican struggle, and a handsome monument was subsequently erected in his honor, fronting Madison Square.[1] Philip Kearny, a marvel of dash and bravery, whose mother was the daughter of John Watts the philanthropist, was the first man who entered, sword in hand, the San Antonio Gate of the city of Mexico, losing his left arm in the fierce strife. In the mean time Stephen Watts Kearny, uncle of the former, had fought and conquered the Mexicans in California and established a provincial government, assuming command as governor March 1, 1847. The difficulty with Mexico grew out of the annexation of Texas to the United States in 1845, as did the election of James K. Polk to the Presidency. The triumphant conclusion of the Mexican War resulted in the cession of New Mexico and California to the United States in February, 1848. During the same month gold was discovered in California, and people flocked there from Mexico, South America, Europe, and Asia, as well as the United States. In three years the new State had a mixed population of a quarter of a million of energetic, adventurous, reckless beings, capable of almost any crime in their mad pursuit of the shining dust. New York quivered with excitement. Visions of sudden wealth dazzled the imagination. Men left their business of all kinds and started on long, perilous overland journeys to the land of promise; others went by sea around Cape Horn in the famous swift-sailing clippers. Hundreds of families were left without fathers, husbands, and brothers for an indefinite period. Many fortunes were made. In subsequent efforts to develop the resources of California other than gold, to construct society, and christianize the heterogeneous community, New York contributed many leading minds. Since 1853 Rev. Dr. William Ingraham Kip, a descendant of one of the earliest New York settlers, and the distinguished representative of a family noted in every generation since 1635 for mental vigor and strong character, has been Episcopal Bishop of California. Leland Stan-

[1] General William Jenkins Worth, born at Hudson, New York, 1794, died at San Antonio, Texas, 1849, served with distinction in the Florida War, from 1840 to 1842, and in the Mexican War from 1846 to 1848. He was engaged in the capture of Monterey and Vera Cruz, in the battles of Cerro Gordo, Churubusco, Molino del Rey, Chapultepec, and the assault and capture of the city of Mexico, 13th and 14th of September, 1847.

ford, foremost in pushing the great Pacific Railway across the continent, the grandest enterprise of the age, and governor of California from 1862 to 1864, was also a New Yorker.

The gold-seekers, in their hurried flight from New York, divided public attention with the notable Astor Place Riot in the spring of 1849. Wil-
1849. liam Charles Macready, the English actor, was on a farewell visit to the United States. Edwin Forrest, the American tragedian, had not been well received in England, some years before, owing to the alleged influence of Macready, and being extremely popular with a certain order of people in New York, it was comparatively easy to incite the spirit of retaliation. A mob collected in Astor Place to drive Macready from the
May 10. stage during the performance of *Macbeth*. The house was filled with one of New York's best audiences; but disaffected persons were scattered through the building, and no sooner did Macready appear upon the stage than he was greeted with hisses, and a shower of chairs, eggs, and other missiles. The utmost confusion and terror prevailed, many ladies crept under the seats for safety, the police made a few arrests, order was temporarily restored, and the play proceeded. Meanwhile the mob outside numbered twenty thousand, composed of the very dregs of the city, with piles of paving-stones, where the street sewers were being repaired, for deadly weapons of warfare. Three hundred police were driven back, after a gallant struggle to disperse the rioters. Violent attempts of the angry multitude to force the entrances of the Opera House were unsuccessful; doors and windows, hurriedly barricaded, were assailed with terrible fury, some of the paving-stones passing through the glass and lighting in the midst of the audience. At nine o'clock the gallant Seventh Regiment, in response to a summons from the civil authorities, appeared in Astor Place, preceded by mounted men, ten abreast.[1] The stones of the mob rendered the horses unmanageable, and the infantry

[1] *History of the Seventh Regiment, National Guard*, by William Swinton, pp. 14, 15, 16. The origin of the name, National Guard, by which for many years the gallant Seventh Regiment was exclusively known, is associated with a historic event of singular interest. During
—— parade at the reception of Lafayette in 1824, some of the officers of this regi-
ment a contemplated independent battalion, and paused for a suitable name.
—ith the Paris National Guard furnished the suggestion, and John D.
—al Guard" would not be appropriate. It would be a pleasure, if
the successive steps by which this famous organization laid the
me. It first paraded as a regiment May 31, 1826, to receive an
Mayor Philip Hone, "in presence of a brilliant assemblage." It
ce of quelling riots in 1834. But its national prestige dates from
er Place riot; no honors of city or citizen were thought too high
thy guardians of law and order, and "its courage, promptness,
—o long the theme of conversation."

marching in column of platoons, was obliged to face the terrible volley of stones, but preserved its magnificent discipline under the trying ordeal; it passed through Astor Place to Third Avenue, turned and cleared Eighth Street, throwing a guard of police across at each end, and moved a second time through Broadway into Astor Place, forming a line in front of the theater. At this juncture howls and cries rendered the night-air hideous; many persons had been injured by the stones, some killed, and all efforts to appease the infuriated mob had proved fruitless; thus authority was given to fire. The first volley was purposely aimed high, but not the second. It told with fatal certainty; and, pressing hard upon the flying mob, the troops soon cleared Astor Place of rioters — who rallied and returned to the attack, but a third volley scattered them completely, and ended the Astor Place Riot. The next day the city was very disorderly, but the military remained on duty — even for three days. Twenty of the rioters were believed to have been killed, and fifty or sixty wounded. Of the Seventh Regiment one hundred and fifty officers and men were seriously injured by the stones, of whom seventy were carried to their homes — but subsequently recovered. Judge Robert Emmet, son of the great lawyer, Thomas Addis Emmet, assisted Macready to escape from the Opera House, and secreted him in his own dwelling in Clinton Place for two days and nights, then drove him disguised, in his own carriage, to New Rochelle, and thence to Boston, whence he sailed for England.

At the opening of the Legislature of 1849 Governor Hamilton Fish called attention to the liberal bequest by John Jacob Astor of four hundred thousand dollars for the foundation and perpetual support of a free public library in the city of New York, and recommended the necessary legislation for giving validity to the munificent donation. John Jacob Astor, whose business career in New York City extended over upwards of half a century, died March 29, 1848.[1] He was twenty years of

1849.

[1] John Jacob Astor (born 1763, died 1848) married Sarah, daughter of Adam Todd, first cousin of the wife of Henry Brevoort. Children : 1. Magdalen, married Governor Bentzen of Santa Cruz, (2) Rev. John Bristed, whose sons were Charles Astor Bristed — married Laura W., daughter of Henry Brevoort — and John J. A. Bristed ; 2. William B., married Margaret, daughter of General John and Alida Livingston Armstrong, and granddaughter of Judge Robert R. Livingston, of Clermont ; 3. Henry ; 4. Dorothea, married Walter Langdon ; 5. Eliza, married Count Vincent Rumpff, of Switzerland ; 6. John Jacob.

Children of William B. and Margaret Armstrong Astor : 1. Emily, married Samuel Ward, of Washington, whose daughter, Margaret A., married Hon. John Winthrop Chanler ; 2. John Jacob, married Augusta, daughter of Thomas S. Gibbes, whose son William W., member of Assembly and State senator, married Mary Paul, of Philadelphia ; 3. Alida, married John Carey ; 4. Laura E., married Franklin Delano ; 5. William Astor, married Caroline, daughter of Abraham Schermerhorn, and has four daughters and one son — three of the former marrying respectively, James Van Allen, James R. Roosevelt, and J. Coleman Drayton.

Children of Walter and Dorothea Astor Langdon : 1. Sarah A., married Francis R. Boreel,

age when he first entered the metropolis in 1783, the same year that peace was established between England and America. A few years spent in London had opened his eyes to a mine of wealth in the American fur traffic. He began on a small scale, independent of capital, connections, or influence, and through his own masterly perceptions and force of character became the richest man of his time in the United States. He journeyed through the woods to the distant frontiers of the country, establishing fur stations along the borders of Canada and the region of the Great Lakes, soon employing his own vessels in shipping furs to Europe, with large profits on both the outward and return cargoes; as early as 1800 he possessed a large fortune. He subsequently extended a line of trading-posts across the continent to the shores of the Pacific, sending ships around Cape Horn to take possession of the region at the mouth of the Columbia River, and thus open a direct exchange with China. At the same time he sent a confidential agent to St. Petersburg to negotiate a system of trade with the Russian posts on the Pacific. This gigantic scheme had a broader basis than mere individual profit. He counted upon extending the bounds of empire — expecting his colony in Astoria would develop into a great emporium of commerce, that, carrying the American population across the Rocky Mountains, would animate the shores of the Pacific with civilization. But for the War of 1812 his dream would doubtless have been realized. Meanwhile his investments in city real estate doubled and trebled on his hands. His wealth increased in

Chamberlain to the King of Holland, of whose children, William W. A. married Mary Emilie, daughter of Sir John Milbanke, Bart.; Eliza D. married Adolph James Charles, Baron de Pallaudt; and Sophy R. married Otto Frederic, Baron Groenince; 2. John Langdon; 3. Eliza Langdon, married Matthew Wilks of Cruickston Park, Canada; 4. Louisa D., married De Lancey Kane, whose children are Walter L. Kane, married Miss Hunter of Newport, De Lancey A. Kane, married Eleanora F., daughter of Adrian Iselin, S. Nicholson Kane, John I. Kane, married Annie Schermerhorn, Louisa L. Kane, Emily A. Kane, married Augustus Jay, Sibyl Kane, and Woodbury Kane; 5. Walter Langdon, married Catharine, daughter of Charles Ludlow Livingston; 6. Woodbury Langdon, married Helen, daughter of Isaac Colford Jones; 7. Cecilia Langdon, married M. de Nottbeck, Russian Consul; 8. Eugene Langdon, married Harriet, daughter of Rawlins Lowndes, who after his death married Philip Schuyler.

Abraham Schermerhorn, the father of Mrs. William Astor, was the third son of Peter and Elizabeth Bussing Schermerhorn, descended from Jacob Janse Schermerhorn, who settled in New York in 1636. The grandmother of Peter was Maria Beekman, granddaughter of the famous William Beekman, founder of the Beekman family in New York. Abraham married Helen, daughter of Henry and Ann Van Cortlandt White. Their children: 1. Henry White Schermerhorn; 2. Augustus Van Cortlandt Schermerhorn, married Ellen, daughter of Hon. [illegible] A. Bayard; 3. Elizabeth Schermerhorn, married James I. Jones; 4. Ann W. Schermerhorn, married Charles Suydam; Helen Schermerhorn, married [illegible] John Treat Irvin [illegible], married Benjamin Welles; 6. Caroline, married William Astor. John [illegible] brother of Abraham, married Rebecca, daughter of General Ebenezer Ste[illegible] [illegible] of John and Abraham, married Rev. William Creighton, S[illegible]

similar ratio to the growth of New York; and his liberality was princely. He was a man of fine personal appearance, his features bearing the stamp of intelligent sagacity, and of commanding and pleasing address. He drew about him such eminent and scholarly men as Washington Irving, James G. King, Fitz-Greene Halleck, Henry Brevoort, Samuel Ward, Samuel B. Ruggles, Daniel Lord, and Joseph G. Cogswell, the learned editor of the *New York Review*. Thus he was ably assisted in planning the great free library with which his name is identified. These gentlemen were appointed trustees to carry out his intentions, together with his son, William B. Astor, his grandson, Charles Astor Bristed, and the mayor of the city and chancellor of the State *ex-officiis*.

The site of the Astor Library, in Lafayette Place, cost twenty-five thousand dollars. The edifice, fashioned after the royal palaces in Florence, was completed in 1853. Washington Irving was president of the trustees, and Dr. Cogswell the superintendent of the new institution. The latter visited all the book-marts of Europe, spending several years in the labor of selecting the works which make the various departments of the library so well suited to the wants of scholars, investigators, and scientists, and to the pursuit of exact knowledge in all the arts — and few educated men of any age or country could have executed the responsible trust with more taste, skill, and wisdom. William B. Astor subsequently made munificent donations, enlarging the edifice and increasing the books; and his son, John Jacob Astor, has recently contributed further additions. The value of the building and contents, and the funds of the library, in 1880, amount to over one million dollars. The books upon the shelves number about two hundred thousand. The library is accessible to the whole community, and to visitors from every part of America or the world, without fee or ceremony, except the requisite age. Its treasures benefit from fifty to sixty thousand readers annually, and not less than seven thousand are permitted to study in its alcoves. The class of books in demand reveals the wide range the New York mind is taking in thought and research. The educational influence of the library is better appreciated by remembering that it contains no light or ephemeral books; all are for reference and consultation, to be read within its walls, and as far as practicable are of permanent value. 1853.

In the summer of 1853 New York was stirred as never before by the opening of the World's Fair in the beautiful Crystal Palace erected on Murray Hill, in the square adjoining the reservoir. Far back into the country the thrill of this splendid novelty was felt, and everybody visited the city and the exhibition who could rally the means for a July 14.

journey. The hotels were flooded with silk and broadcloth from all parts of the Union, and the streets and avenues were thronged with eager multitudes from sober villages, farm-houses, and log-huts. The collection of sculpture, the largest and best America had ever seen, was the chief center of attraction for all classes. "We grow sculptors as naturally as we grow Indian corn, and it is no wonder that a taste for their works should be indigenous," wrote one of the editors of the day. "What refining influences have already gone out from the creations of the chisel here exhibited can only be guessed. The picture-gallery, so full of wonder and delight, has also revealed a sixth sense to many a fascinated eye and heart. Indeed, we could hardly be persuaded that every day in the



The Waddell Mansion, Murray Hill.
[With view of wheatfield in the grounds, about 1847.]

Crystal Palace does not see the dawn of thought that will yet shine out over the land in modes of beauty and benefit."

In the vicinity of the "House of Glass," with its bewildering dome, and broad galleries filled with the choice productions of all nations, stood for some years a handsome specimen of domestic architecture built about 1845 by Coventry Waddell, who held for a long time a confidential position in the State Department at Washington. The mansion was a famous social center, although at the period of its erection Fifth Avenue above Madison Square was little more than a common road, and the old farm fences were visible on all sides. Mrs. Waddell accompanied her

husband when he went to conclude the purchase of the site of his dwelling, and sat under an apple-tree looking down upon the city in the distance while he was in conference with the owner of the lots. The place when improved was called a suburban villa; its grounds, beautified with taste, covered the whole square between Thirty-seventh and Thirty-eighth streets. A field of wheat was cultivated in the inclosure after the house was built, from which a barrel of flour was made. When Fifth Avenue was graded the edifice was rendered still more imposing and picturesque by its elevated position. A writer in *Putnam's Monthly*, March, 1854, says: "It is remarkable for being inclosed in its own garden ground, as high as the original level of the island, and descends by sloping grass-banks to the street." It was furnished in a style of costly elegance, and a large conservatory and picture-gallery were among its attractions. From its broad marble hall a winding staircase led to the tower, from which a charming view was obtained of both the East and Hudson rivers, the intervening semi-rural landscape, and the approaching city. It was the scene of many notable entertainments, Mrs. Waddell being a leader in society. "It was said that at her parties one might always be sure of meeting any really worthy celebrity, American or foreign."[1] Fancy dress balls were in vogue at the period; one given by Mrs. Schermerhorn, at her residence in Great Jones Street, required all the guests to appear in the style of dress worn at the French court during the reign of Louis XV. Some idea of the brilliancy of the affair may be formed from the fact that the costumes alone cost between forty and fifty thousand dollars, and the jewelry worn on the occasion was worth half a million. The newspapers of the day describe a similar fête given at the Waddell mansion: "We noticed present a greater array of city fashionables than we have seen gathered before this season; the hostess and the flowers (the beautiful conservatory was thrown open), the bay windows, the winding stairways through the towers, the oriels, the corbels, the tapestries, the supper, the music, and the ball, the gathering of beauty, and the concourse of gallant knights could not be surpassed."

The march of brown stone speedily obliterated all traces of the beautiful villa, and upon its site was erected the massive sanctuary of the old

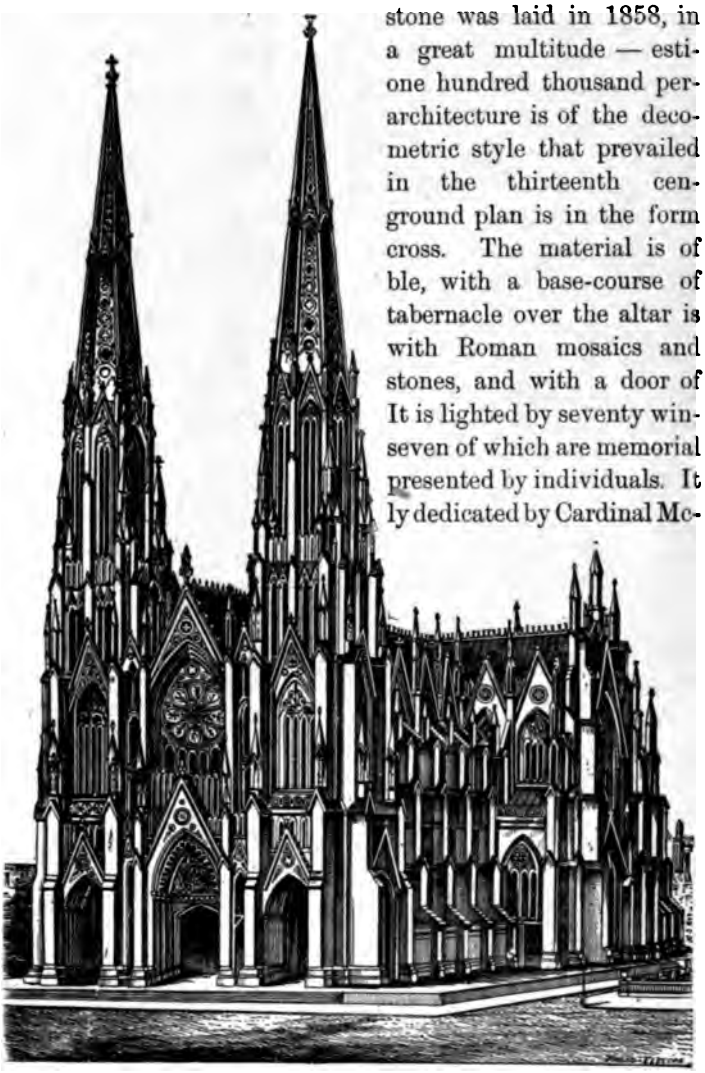
[1] Coventry Waddell, son of Henry and Eliza Daubeny Waddell (see p. 157) married Charlotte Augusta, daughter of Jonathan Southwick, of New York City, and granddaughter of Worthington Ely, whose father, Dr. John Ely, married Sarah Worthington, a great beauty, sister to the mother of Governor John Cotton Smith. The Worthingtons were descended from Hugh Worthington, who held the lordship of Worthington under Edward IV. in 1474. The Elys settled in Lyme, Connecticut, about 1660, and the family has ever since been one of influence, many of its branches being among the substantial citizens of New York, not least of whom is our recent mayor, Smith Ely. From Sarah Worthington also descended Samuel Goodrich, the famous "Peter Parley" of history.

Brick Church organization. The rapid improvements in Fifth Avenue above Madison Square date from the completion of the Madison Square Presbyterian Church in 1854—an offshoot from the Broome Street Church. Fifth Avenue is now an almost unbroken line of architectural beauty for full four miles; and there is probably no street in the world wherein are more elegant and imposing private residences, furnished with princely magnificence, or more exquisite collections of those trifles of art and taste which bespeak a high order of cultivation. Madison Avenue, beginning at the Square, started off about the same time on a race with its rival, and for some two miles is by no means outdone by Fifth Avenue in the costliness of its fashionable dwellings, churches, and club-houses.

The multiplication of churches in New York is a theme for the student. The number, in 1880, is four hundred and ninety-two, including chapels and missions. Eighty-three of these are of the Episcopal denomination, seventy-six are Presbyterian, twenty-eight are Dutch Reformed, forty-six are Baptist, sixty-six are Methodist, twenty-two are Lutheran, eight are Congregational, two are Moravian, five are Friends, six are Universalist, three are Unitarian, fifty-six are Roman Catholic, twenty-five are Jews, one is Greek, sixteen are undenominational, twelve are independent missions, and thirty-seven are classed as miscellaneous. There are also societies of Spiritualists, Free-Thinkers, and Infidels, who hold meetings from week to week in various halls throughout the city.

One or two examples of church architecture will illustrate the contrast of the present with that of the Colonial period, which is as marked as the wonderful increase of church edifices. Nearly every style and combination of style appears in New York. Yet rarely do we find a model borrowed bodily from a foreign land. Independence of thought has led to the rejection of many architectural features and the substitution of others, freshly drawn from the inspiration of the surroundings or suggested by a sense of local fitness. The handsomest specimen of Gothic architecture is Trinity Church, the third edifice upon the same site—overlooking Wall Street. It was finished in 1846. The altar, eleven feet long, is divided into panels, the one in the center bearing a Maltese cross in mosaic set with cameos, and the symbols of the Evangelists; the reredos occupies nearly the whole width of the chancel, and is about twenty-four feet high; both were erected as a memorial to the late William B. Astor, by his sons. The churchyard which surrounds the structure is to the New York heart an endearing memorial of the varied and interesting elements of character which have contributed to the present greatness of the city. St. Patrick's Cathedral in Fifth Avenue, occupying the entire front of the

block between Fiftieth and Fifty-first streets, is the most magnificent ecclesiastical building in the New World. It was projected by Archbishop Hughes about 1850, and the plans were drawn by James Renwick. The corner-stone was laid in 1858, in presence of a great multitude — estimated at one hundred thousand persons. The architecture is of the decorated or geometric style that prevailed in Europe in the thirteenth century. The ground plan is in the form of a Latin cross. The material is white marble, with a base-course of granite. The tabernacle over the altar is decorated with Roman mosaics and precious stones, and with a door of gilt bronze. It is lighted by seventy windows, thirty-seven of which are memorial windows, presented by individuals. It was solemnly dedicated by Cardinal McCloskey in 1879, but it is not yet completed, although the work has been steadily going forward for twenty-two years. It is estimated that the cost will reach two millions five hundred thousand dollars. To the casual observer, the church architecture of New York, in hundreds of instances, is impressive in its costliness and massiveness. To the artist, it has become a unique and interesting study. Suggestions of Italian Renaissance, of Romanesque, Norman, and Byzan-



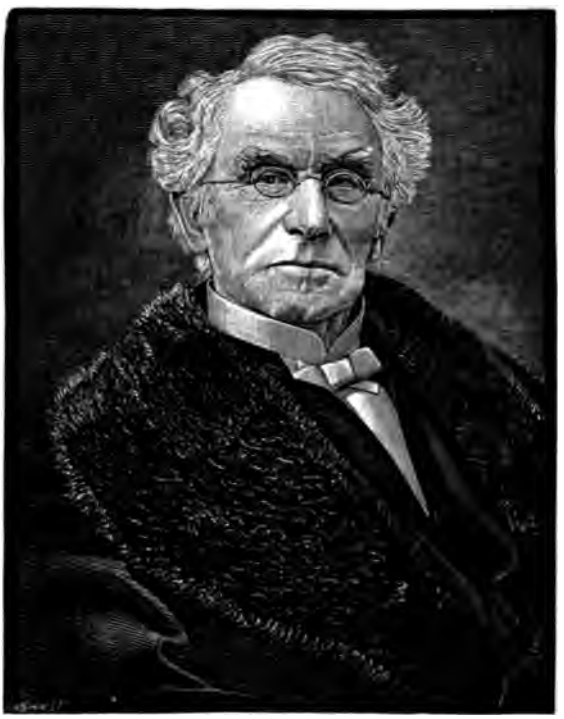
St. Patrick's Cathedral.
[Fifth Avenue.]

tine, are by no means rare. Grace Church in Broadway, at Tenth Street, completed in 1845, is an elegant Gothic structure of white granite; it has two fine organs connected by electric machinery, the gift of Miss Catharine L. Wolfe — as was also the recently erected reredos — who is said to be the richest single woman in America. The interior decorations of St. Thomas Church, in Fifth Avenue, corner of Fifty-third Street, suggest early Italian art, and are full of pleasing effects and colors. The chimes in the steeple of this church rival those of Trinity and Grace churches. In the second block above St. Thomas, in Fifth Avenue, stands the new Presbyterian Church, known as Dr. Hall's, a simple but singularly graceful adaptation of the French Gothic. The Dutch Reformed Church in Fifth Avenue, corner of Forty-eighth Street, in the steeple of which hangs the "silver-toned bell" cast in Holland for the old Middle Dutch Church, in Nassau Street, is an exceptionally fine specimen of Gothic architecture in brown stone. Representing one of the earliest churches in the city, it is peculiarly illustrative of the changes wrought by the march of time.

The final service in the Middle Dutch Church occurred in 1844, on the Sunday evening prior to its occupation by the United States Government as a city post-office. The senior pastor, Rev. Dr. John Knox, assisted by Rev. Dr. Thomas De Witt, conducted the exercises. The old historical edifice was thronged to its utmost capacity, and many tears fell when the benediction was pronounced in the Dutch language. An elegant structure had been erected in Lafayette Place in 1839, based in its design upon ancient examples of Grecian architecture. Another church edifice was projected in 1851, in Fifth Avenue, corner of Twenty-ninth Street, and dedicated in October, 1854, two months prior to the dedication of the Madison Square Church. Rev. Dr. De Witt was settled in the ministry of the Collegiate Churches in 1827, Rev. Dr. Thomas E. Vermilye in 1839, and Rev. Dr. Talbot W. Chambers in 1849, each of whom were gifted and influential, and not only secured the love and confidence of their people, but of the whole community. The beautiful white marble edifice in Fifth Avenue, corner of Twenty-first Street, arose from the ashes of the old Garden Street Church, as did the noble structure in Washington Square.

The pulpits of the various denominations have been filled by a long catalogue of eminent divines, distinguished for learning, eloquence, varied accomplishments, and piety. In no city have able preachers of the gospel commanded more genuine appreciation, or remained longer in one pastorate. The late Rev. Dr. William Adams, the leading clergyman of the Presbyterian Church, became the pastor of the Broome Street Church

in 1834, and of the Madison Square Church, built by his people, nineteen years later. For nearly half a century, in the pulpit, on the platform, in popular assemblies, in refined and brilliant social circles, in private conferences on matters of critical moment, and in the high counsels of the church, his magnetic voice commanded admiring attention. He was of fine personal appearance, tall, graceful, dignified, courtly, with a calm scholarly brow, clear penetrating eye, firmly set but delicately chiseled lips, a sweet smile, and a light elastic step. The whole make and bearing of the man rendered him always conspicuous and prominent. He was of the same common ancestry as the two Presidents, John Adams and John Quincy Adams. His father, John Adams, was one of the most distinguished educators of the country; and his mother, Elizabeth Ripley, was a lineal descendant of Governor Bradford, who came over in the *Mayflower*. He was graduated from Yale in the class of 1827, and pursued his theological studies at Andover. His influence in all the departments of human action increased with his years. No pastor was ever more easily or frequently approached by all classes and conditions of people in want of advice or aid; and no one was oftener designated to represent the clergy in positions of honor and responsibility. He stood in the great meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in 1873, with all Protestant Christendom around him, by general consent, the foremost minister in America; and none of the thousands present on that memorable occasion will ever forget the majestic grace, the fervor, the imagery, and the eloquence of his address of welcome to the learning and genius of the church beyond the sea. He spoke extemporaneously, but his words were the key-note to



Rev. William Adams, D.D.

the deliberations of the whole series of meetings. In the autumn of 1873 he was elected president of the Union Theological Seminary, of which he had been one of the original projectors, and was assigned to the chair of Sacred Rhetoric. In accepting, he closed his pastoral career. Henceforward the intellectual vigor, amplitude of learning, and freshness in the use of words, phrases, and illustrations, which for twoscore years had been a perpetual surprise and delight to one of the largest and most scholarly congregations in the city, were turned to account in the training of ministers for all parts of the country. It was almost a liberal Christian education in itself for a student of divinity to sit three years at his feet. His method of instruction was unique. Every morning some one young gentleman was invited to his library, frequently to breakfast, from which the two passed into the church-building — adjoining his house — where the student was required to enter the pulpit and preach an original sermon, conducting the complete exercises of church service, even to the benediction, with only Dr. Adams for an audience. In the criticism which followed the student received the full benefit of ripe experience; and this instruction was valued as it deserved. The influence of such a long and beautiful life as that of Dr. Adams upon the general welfare of the city and its institutions is better and broader than can ever be recorded in words.[1]

In connection with the churches of the various denominations in New York are four hundred and eighteen Sabbath schools. The same spirit which prevailed among the founders of the city, quickened and cherished by their descendants, has led to mission enterprises in every quarter where wretchedness and vice exist. While costly edifices have arisen in such abundance for the wealthier classes, the poor have not been neglected. Nearly every church has its mission territory, independent of a multitude of private charities, and the world outside little dreams of the labor performed by ladies and gentlemen who never tire of the civilizing and Christianizing process — that never ends. In no portion of the metropolis have the fruits of this feature of philanthropy been more apparent

[1] Rev. William Adams, D. D., was born in Colchester, Connecticut, January 25, 1807, died at his country-seat on Orange Mountain, August 31, 1880. In 1842 he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of the City of New York. It was chiefly through his instrumentality that the reunion of the two schools of the Presbyterian Church was successfully accomplished in 1869. Since he became president of Union Theological Seminary the endowments of the institution have been increased nearly $500,000, of which James Brown, the senior member of the great banking firm of Brown Brothers, made the princely donation of $300,000, and ex-Governor Edwin Dennison Morgan gave $100,000. Dr. Adams left a widow, and two sons and two daughters: Thatcher M. Adams; William Adams; Mary Adams, who married John Crosby Brown, son of James Brown, of Brown Brothers; and Susan Adams, who married Eugene Delano.

than in the region known as Five Points. Dickens wandered into that focus of iniquity while visiting New York in 1841, and described its horrors; near The Tombs, Worth, Baxter, and Park streets came together, making five corners or points of varying sharpness, hence the name. It was an unwholesome district, supplied with a few rickety wooden buildings, and thickly peopled with human beings of every age, color, and condition. An old brewery, built long before the city hove in sight on its northern route, tottering with yawning seams in its walls and broken, gaping windows, sheltered daring outlaws and furnished a place of rendezvous for the vilest of the vile. The police were dismayed and discouraged. With the history of the old brewery are associated some of the most appalling crimes ever perpetrated. The arrival of every emigrant ship rendered this plague-spot more hideous. City missionaries finally ventured into its dangerous precincts and began their humanizing work with success.

The benevolent societies and institutions of New York at the present time number over three hundred — aside from the public charities — and receive and disburse annually about four million dollars. It would seem as if there could be no infirmity or calamity to which the human family is subject for which provision has not been made. The poor who receive aid and assistance are from forty different nationalities; and while two hundred thousand immigrants land yearly at Castle Garden the demand for benevolence is not likely to diminish. The tide sweeps on to all parts of the country, but it is estimated that one fourth of the immigrants remain to become part and parcel of the city population. The tenement-houses of New York shelter full five hundred thousand people, and in some localities they are crowded far beyond the most densely populated districts of London. In one block on Avenue B, near the East River, there are fifty-two tenement-houses occupied by two thousand three hundred and fifty-six persons. There is one house in the city where the number of tenants reaches fifteen hundred; and it is by no means unusual for one hundred to lodge in a house twenty-five feet front.

Brief mention of a few of the philanthropic organizations of modern New York will enlighten the reader somewhat as to the character of the many. In 1848 was incorporated the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, which was formed in 1843. The president was James Brown, of the banking-house of Brown Brothers, and the vice-presidents were James Lenox, John C. Green, Horatio Allen, Apollos R. Wetmore, and John David Wolfe; the treasurer was Robert B. Minturn, corresponding secretary Robert M. Hartley, recording secretary Joseph B. Collins; and the elected members of the board of managers were

Stewart Brown, Jonathan Sturges, George Griswold, and Erastus C. Benedict, the late Chancellor of the University of the State of New York. They were all men of responsibility and high position, commanding the entire confidence of the community. The particular object of the association, as stated in the act of incorporation, was to elevate the physical and moral condition of the poverty-stricken, and so far as practicable relieve their necessities. Visitors, numbering several hundred, were regularly appointed, many of whom were among the wealthy donors; sanitary reforms were projected, since a sickly population is always expensive as well as dangerous, and every effort was made to meet the claims of humanity without creating or encouraging a dependent class. This carefully adjusted, skillfully managed, unostentatious, and excellent scheme of benevolence conflicted in its operations with no other organized charity, but occupied a special field — relieving annually about forty thousand persons — and its bearings for almost half a century upon the economical, social, and moral concerns of the city admit of no numerical estimate. The magnitude and unity of the organization, sustained by voluntary contributions and gratuitous labors, have been the wonder and admiration of philanthropic foreigners. Its methods of dealing with poverty have been adopted in other cities throughout the land, and in Germany, Switzerland, and many of the European countries. Even in Athens and in other parts of classic Greece organizations founded upon the New York principles by Michiel Diogenes Kalopathakes, a young Greek of superior talents who familiarized himself with the practical workings of the association while on a visit to America, have been eminently successful.

Asylums and hospitals were the natural outgrowth of such an institution. Robert M. Hartley digested a plan for the benefit of neglected and vicious children in 1849, and in connection with Luther Bradish, Benjamin F. Butler, Horatio Allen, Thomas Denny, Apollos R. Wetmore, and Joseph B. Collins, acted as a committee to devise plans for the establishment of a permanent reformatory institution. Simultaneously with this movement, Dr. John Dennison Russ, secretary of the Prison Association, agitated the same subject; it was estimated that over three thousand children were floating on the current, educated only in crime, and growing into the worst of beggars. Dr. Russ called a meeting at the office of Mayor Woodhull on of January following the Astor Place Riot, which had shown the al character of the ignorant and degraded masses, and com- associations presented written plans; these were duly he New York Juvenile Asylum was incorporated 1851. Dr. Russ was its superintendent for ings were erected, a House of Reception

in West Thirteenth Street, and an asylum in One Hundred and Seventy-fifth Street, near Tenth Avenue. The former accommodates one hundred and fifty inmates, and the latter six hundred and seventy. The city contributes moderately for each child supported during the year, to which is added a share in the school fund, and from ten to twenty thousand dollars is raised every year by private subscriptions. Within the first fourteen years upwards of twelve thousand pilfering and vagrant children were supported, nearly three thousand of whom, after arriving at proper age, were placed in country homes in the State of Illinois; less than five per cent of the children brought under the influence, tuition, and discipline of the asylum prove to be incorrigibly bad.

Among the destitute about one in ten were found suffering from physical ills and maladies. A hospital was founded for the ruptured and crippled in 1864, although the real inception of the institution antedates by many years its incorporation; an elegant and spacious edifice was erected in Lexington Avenue, corner of Forty-second Street, through private contributions, at a cost of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The president for many years was John C. Green; the vice-presidents were James Lenox, Robert B. Minturn, John David Wolfe, Stewart Brown, and Apollos R. Wetmore; the treasurer was Jonathan Sturges, and the two secretaries were Robert M. Hartley and Joseph B. Collins. Among the original corporators were James W. Beekman, George Griswold, Dr. James Knight, Luther R. Marsh, Henry S. Terbell, Nathan Bishop, Thomas Denny, John W. Quincy, Enoch L. Fancher, and Charles N. Talbot.

The Presbyterian Hospital, founded by James Lenox in 1868, originated in the pressing need for enlarged hospital accommodations to meet the increasing wants of the sick and disabled of the rapidly increasing population. The beautiful site for the edifice, on Seventieth Street, with its ample grounds, valued at two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, was the gift of Lenox — who also gave two hundred and fifty thousand dollars in money towards the erection of a structure which should embrace all the modern improvements in hospital architecture at a cost of about one million. Other wealthy philanthropists contributed generously, and the property and concerns of the institution were vested in and managed by a board of thirty managers, prominent among whom were James Lenox president, John C. Green vice-president, Aaron B. Belknap, Robert M. Hartley, Henry M. Taber, Jonathan Sturges, James Brown, William M. Vermilye, brother of Rev. Dr. Vermilye, Alexander Van Rensselaer, Robert L. Stuart, Morris K. Jessop, John Taylor Johnson, Dr. Willard Parker, William E. Dodge, Edward S. Jaffray, Henry Parish, and Washington R. Vermilye.

In the mean time hospitals, both general and special, were multiplying under other auspices. There are at present in the city not less than sixty kindred institutions — inclusive of nearly a score of medical dispensaries for supplying the sick poor gratuitously with medicines and surgical aid. Many of the hospitals are denominational in origin and polity, and patronized according to the affinities of race, language, and religion. The Mount Sinai Hospital in Lexington Avenue, near Sixty-seventh Street, was founded by a wealthy Hebrew in 1852, and although sufferers of any creed are admitted, it is sustained by the Jews. The buildings are of the Elizabethan style of architecture, embodying all the improvements of modern art. The Roman Catholics have three incorporated hospitals, and one has been established by the Germans. St. Luke's, in Fifth Avenue, founded in 1846 by Rev. William A. Muhlenburg, the Episcopal divine, receives patients of all religious denominations. Roosevelt Hospital, incorporated in 1864, and opened for patients of every sect, nationality, and color, in 1871, is a magnificent charity for which New York is indebted to the millionaire, James H. Roosevelt. The edifice is of brick, constructed on the pavilion plan, with accommodations for one hundred and eighty patients. The medical staff includes some of the most eminent specialists. Thus the Roosevelt name, which has been identified in New York with commerce and invention, with politics, statesmanship, science, and charity for some two centuries, is engraved upon an enduring monument. Among the other charities of the city, with their varied spheres of action and resources, the Five Points House of Industry occupies a field of wide-reaching usefulness. Several hundred children are constantly in its schools, who are also fed and clothed; while fifty or more women each month are passed through the house to situations, and from seventy to one hundred families supplied with daily bread. Out-of-door relief is given to applicants, often reaching three hundred thousand meals per year. A regular hospital is attached to the building, in which the children not only of the school, but of the whole neighborhood, are treated when sick. The institution was established in 1850, and incorporated in 1854. Its origin and success was due mainly to the efforts of Archibald Russell, who was its president for seventeen years. The corporators included such men as Horace B. Claflin, Anson G. Phelps, Hugh N. Camp, Washington R. Vermilye, Henry Sheldon, Henry C. Bowen, Marshall Lefferts, George F. Betts, D. Lydig Suydam, Charles Tracy, and Morris Reynolds. Archibald Russell was a Scotch



Roosevelt Arms.

gentleman of wealth who came to reside in New York in 1836, and devoted his life to the cause of education and philanthropy. He was one of the organizers of the American Geographical Society in 1852, of which Hon. George Bancroft was the first president; and he was an active member and officer of the New York Historical Society.[1]

[1] Archibald Russell (born in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1811, died in New York City, 1871) was graduated from Edinburgh University, studied law with Sir Fraser Tytler, and completed his education at Bonn, Germany. He was the son of James Russell, president of the Royal Society, Edinburgh, and cousin of the metaphysician, Sir William Hamilton. He was of the Kingseat and Slipperfield family of Russell (see *Burke's Peerage*), and cousin to Lord Sinclair and Sir Archibald Little. Through his mother he was descended from the Rutherfords of Edgerston, and his maternal great-grandmother was Eleanor Elliot, of the family of the Earl of Minto, who trace in unbroken succession from James II. of Scotland, and is connected with the Dukes of Buccleugh and the Earls of Angus. Coming to reside in New York in 1836, he married Helen Rutherford Watts, daughter of Dr. John and Anna Rutherford Watts, and granddaughter of Robert Watts and Lady Mary, daughter of Lord Stirling. (See pp. 156, 206.) He thus became connected with families who had played an important part in the history of the city. Naturally a philanthropist, he resolved to devote his energies to the welfare of the home of his adoption. The inscription upon the tablet erected to his memory by the trustees of the Five Points' House of Industry is, "This Institution is his Monument." He was one of the active members of the Christian Commission which did such noble work during the late war, and at its close was chairman of the "Famine Relief Committee." He was for many years a vestryman of the Church of the Ascension, and was instrumental in erecting a church near "Glen Albyn" his country-seat in Ulster County. He also founded and was president of the Ulster County Savings Institution. Children: 1. Anna Rutherford Russell, married Henry Lewis Morris, of the Morris family of Morrisania; 2. Eleanor Elliot, married Arthur J. Peabody, nephew of the great philanthropist, George Peabody; 3. John Watts Russell, A. M., LL. B.; 4. Archibald Douglass Russell; 5. William Hamilton Russell, A. B. — *Family Archives.*

The children of Robert and Mary Alexander Watts were: 1. Sarah M., married (1) Nicholas Romain, M. D., (2) Bertram P. Cruger; 2. Anne, married John W. Kearny; 3. Catharine, married Henry Barclay; 4. Robert, married Matilda Ridley, related to the martyr bishop whose seal is in the possession of the family, and had four sons, Robert Watts, M. D., married Charlotte Deas of South Carolina; Ridley Watts, married Sarah, daughter of Henry Grinnell; Alexander Watts, married Miss Sedgwick of Stockbridge, Massachusetts; Essex Watts, married his cousin, Mary Kearny; 5. Dr. John Watts, married Anna, daughter of Hon. John Rutherford (see p. 300), and their only daughter, Helen, married Archibald Russell.

The Rutherfords of New York and New Jersey descended from Sir John Rutherford, of Edgerston, Scotland, whose grandfather, John Rutherford, married Barbara Abernethy, daughter of the Bishop of Caithness — the ancestor also of Sir Walter Scott, Bart. Sir John was the sixteenth in descent from Hugo de Rutherford, a Scottish baron, A. D. 1225; Walter, the sixth son of Sir John, came to New York, and married Catharine, daughter of James Alexander, grandson of the Earl of Stirling, and sister of Lord Stirling. (See Vol. I. 503, 599; Vol. II. 207, 304, 418.) Their son, John (born 1760, died 1840), graduated from Princeton College in 1775, married Helen, daughter of Lewis Morris, signer of the Declaration of Independence, was United States Senator from 1791 to 1798, and filled important posts in New York. (See pp. 284, 566.) Children: 1. Mary; 2. Catharine; 3. Robert Walter, married daughter of Colonel Lewis Morris, and had five children — John, who married daughter of James K. Livingston, Walter, who married Isabella, daughter of Cap-

The year 1856 was marked by the purchase of the site of Central Park, now the pride of the city, at a cost of nearly five and one half millions of dollars — the largest sum ever expended in the purchase of ground for a similar purpose. In 1857 the control of the improvements was placed in the hands of eleven commissioners, who in their work of landscape-gardening seem to have followed the wise counsel of the Laird of Dumbiedikes — "When ye hae naething else to do ye may aye be sticking in a tree; it 'll be growing when ye are sleeping." The park covers eight hundred and sixty-two acres, and has forty miles of roads, bridle-paths, and walks, and forty-three bridges and archways. It was not accomplished without great opposition. But time and experience have changed public sentiment, and it is now admitted that fifteen millions of dollars were never invested more judiciously. This park, occupying a central position on Manhattan Island, has already proved a great civilizer, and its mission has but just begun. When it was first established no other park existed in the country, and without it we probably should not have had in this generation Prospect Park in Brooklyn, Fairmount Park in Philadelphia, and a dozen kindred undertakings of noble proportions. It is two and one half miles in length and one half mile wide, but long ere its completion it was found too small for the immediate demand; continuous park accommodations are now being extended in park-ways of extraordinary width and beauty to the Harlem River and beyond.

In the summer of 1857 financial disaster swept over both hemispheres. New York, as the great commercial centre of the nation,
1857. was the first to feel the effects of the storm, which rapidly spread with devastating fury over the entire country. Prior to the end of December there were nine hundred and eighty-five failures among the merchants of the metropolis, involving liabilities exceeding one hundred and twenty millions. Many more subsequently suspended for large amounts. Enterprises of every description came to a stand-still, industries were paralyzed, and the working classes were thrown into a state of

tain David Brooks, U. S. A., Anna E., Lewis M., the eminent astronomer, who married Margaret Stuyvesant — daughter of Rev. John W. Chanler, Robert W., who married Anna L., daughter of Phineas H. Buckley; 4. Helena Sarah (born 1789, died 1873), the second wife of Peter Gerard Stuyvesant, whose first wife was Susan Barclay; 5. Louisa; 6. Anna, married John Watts, M. D. — the parents of Mrs. Archibald Russell. John Rutherford, M. P., brother of Walter Rutherford, who settled in New York, married Eleanor, daughter of Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto, and sister of Andrew Elliot, Lieutenant-Governor of New York; he was ancestor of Archibald Russell, and of the female line of the present William Oliver Rutherford of Edgerston. Mary, daughter of Walter and Catharine Alexander Rutherford, married General Matthew Clarkson, and their daughter, Mary, married the distinguished Peter Augustus Jay, son of the chief justice. — *Haldane; Clarkson; Family Archives; Douglass; Burke.*

extreme destitution, to which a severe winter added fresh terrors. It was estimated that twenty-five thousand industrious men and women, representing in their helpless families probably four times that number, were deprived of the means of earning their subsistence. The common council destributed food, and furnished labor for large numbers of the unemployed on the Central Park and other public works, while private associations were formed, in addition to the regularly established charities, to relieve the suffering. In one district alone ten thousand persons were fed, one December day, by public and private charity — few of whom were American born. But aid could not reach all, and many perished. Serious danger was apprehended for a time. Crowds assembled and warned the common council that "they must find bread for the people." Bakers' wagons were seized by the mob in the streets. The hungry laborers threatened to break open provision-stores and help themselves. The Arsenal was protected by a strong police force, and United States troops were placed in charge of the Custom House and Assay Office.

It had been a year of riots and disturbances. The Legislature in April passed a bill to transfer the control of the police department from the city to the State, which interfered with the municipal reforms of Mayor Fernando Wood, who had been training the police into military obedience while inaugurating a war against the liquor traffic, and who resolved at once to test the constitutionality of the law to the utmost and resist its execution. The State created a police district, and appointed police commissioners to manage the police force and secure the peace and protection of the city. Mayor Wood refused to surrender the police property or disband the old police. For a time the novel spectacle of two departments of police striving for mastery diverted attention. The question was referred to the courts; but before it was settled a street commissioner, appointed by Governor John Alsop King to fill a vacancy caused by death, was forcibly ejected from the City Hall by Mayor Wood, who claimed the appointing power. Matters quickly assumed an ominous aspect. Two warrants for the arrest of the mayor were obtained, one on the charge of inciting a riot and the other for the personal violence inflicted upon the State appointee, with which a large force of the new police attempted to gain an entrance to the City Hall. A fierce affray ensued, the old police being well armed and stationed in every part of the building. The Seventh Regiment was at the moment marching down Broadway in full feather to take a steamer for Boston, it having accepted an invitation to participate in the Bunker Hill Monument celebration of that year, and being summoned, turned promptly into the Park and stood in imposing array facing City Hall. Its presence instantly quelled

June 16.

the disturbance. The mayor supposed it had been ordered to enforce the State enactments, and submitted with the best grace possible. Quiet was temporarily restored, and the gallant Seventh resumed its journey.

One word about the police force of 1880. It numbers three thousand men, and is governed by a board of four commissioners, who appoint all members of the force from the superintendent down. For patrol service the city is divided into thirty-five precincts, each having its own building containing quarters for the men, cells for prisoners, and lodgings for homeless persons. The police stations are all connected with the central office by special telegraphic wires; thus the latter is at once notified of any occurrence of any importance in the precinct. A detachment is assigned to harbor duty, occupying a steam-tug. Other detachments guard the City Hall and the Grand Central Depot, and perform various services. With the exception of London and Paris, the police system of New York is the most perfect of any city in the world.

With the coming of spring business slowly revived. The New York banks had taken the initiative in resumption during the early part of winter. Meanwhile the political atmosphere was severely troubled. The elections turned on the question of slavery — which had agitated the country for twenty or more years. The famous Dred Scott decision in 1857 intensified the already heated controversy. James Buchanan was made President about the same time. The opponents of slavery were united henceforward under the name of Republicans. In May, 1858, Minnesota, the thirty-second State, was admitted into the Union; and Oregon in February, 1857.

1858.

In August, 1858, the successful laying of the Atlantic cable was announced, and Queen Victoria transmitted a message to President Buchanan, receiving a response. New York City, where the idea had been conceived of uniting Europe and America by telegraph, was in a whirlpool of excitement. One hundred guns were fired in the morning and at noon, in honor of the event, bells rang in one significant chorus, and flags were everywhere unfurled. In the evening the city was illuminated, and during the display of fireworks the City Hall was badly injured by a conflagration. The 1st of September was set apart for one of the grandest celebrations on record. Cyrus W. Field was the lion of the hour. To

Aug. 16.

"more than to any other individual belongs the honor of carrying to
t undertaking," said Professor Morse, on the platform
sic, June 11, 1871; "he made the ocean but an
repeated crossings." In 1853 Field spent six
travel, and on his return projected the hercu-
d Peter Cooper, the philanthropist, and

Moses Taylor, both wealthy New York capitalists, in his scheme, and one evening in May, 1854, met them, together with Marshall O. Roberts and Chandler White, at the house of his brother, David Dudley Field, and in half an hour organized a company and subscribed a million and a half of dollars. Two years later aid in money and ships was procured from both the British and American governments, and several London capitalists became interested. But up to the time of the successful laying of the submarine cable across the Gulf of St. Lawrence it had been purely a New York undertaking. Suddenly the cable ceased to perform its part of the programme. It was pronounced a splendid hoax. Many refused to believe that any message had ever passed over it. Field was mercilessly ridiculed. His task was rendered all the more difficult through its momentary success. But with iron will he persisted in his endeavor. In 1866, after nearly thirteen years of unceasing toil, necessitating some fifty passages across the Atlantic, the great electric link between the two continents was triumphantly completed.

Among the local incidents of the decade were the visit of Jenny Lind, and her first appearance at Castle Garden, September 7, 1850; the visit of the Hungarian patriot, Louis Kossuth, in 1851, who received an enthusiastic public welcome; the arrival of Rachel, the great tragedienne, in 1855; the visit of Thackeray, in the autumn of the same year; the visit of the Japanese Embassy, which was entertained in the most lavish manner by the municipal authorities, in 1860; and the successive visits during the same year of the Prince de Joinville, Lady Franklin, and the Prince of Wales — who was officially received with a military display and welcome by an immense concourse of citizens. Lady Franklin came to thank the New Yorkers for their interest in the fate of her husband. The Grinnell expedition to the Arctic regions sailed from New York City in May, 1850. Dr. Elisha Kent Kane went as surgeon and naturalist, and in 1853 commanded the second Grinnell expedition. Henry Grinnell, whose connection with these grand enterprises helped to widen the mercantile renown of the city, was the brother of Moses H. Grinnell, both of whom were of the famous house of Grinnell, Minturn, & Co., which probably built more ships prior to 1860 than any other mercantile house in this country. They were the sons of Cornelius Grinnell, a well-known shipping merchant of New Bedford. Moses H. Grinnell was forty-eight years a member of the Chamber of Commerce, and for some time its president. He was a member of Congress, a Presidential elector, and collector of the port of New York — a model merchant and pre-eminently a public-spirited citizen. He took a prominent part in promoting and conducting the charities of the city, in which his partner, Robert

B. Minturn, was also deeply interested. His mansion in Fifth Avenue, corner of Fourteenth Street — subsequently rented to Delmonico — was the abode for many years of a generous hospitality.

With the election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency in the autumn of 1860, the controversies between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States culminated. Before the end of December South Carolina passed an ordinance of secession. Other cotton States followed in rapid succession. Business was arrested, and the winter was one of apprehension and distress. President Buchanan, in common with many others, thought the government could not use coercive measures to prevent a State from going out of the Union. In January, 1861, Mayor Wood recommended to the common council that New York should secede, and become a free city. It is needless to add that the suggestion was scouted with honest indignation. Instead, men and money were freely and speedily offered the President to aid in enforcing the laws. At the same time New York was in no humor for war, as shown by a monster petition from the merchants and others with forty thousand signatures, forwarded to Congress, accompanied by a delegation from the Chamber of Commerce, urging for a peaceful settlement of the national difficulties.

1861.

But the chasm was too broad and menacing. Events followed each other too swiftly. Thursday morning, April 12, at half past four o'clock, the first gun was fired by the secessionists upon Fort Sumter. The news stirred the nation like an electric shock. The uprising that followed was without a parallel in history. Men everywhere took sides for or against the Union. The peace-makers were silenced. At the South the loyal citizens were overwhelmed by the war party, and at the North Democrats and Republicans combined for the support of the government. President Lincoln issued a call for seventy-five thousand troops to serve for three months, the quota for New York being thirteen thousand. On the evening of the same day several prominent gentlemen met by invitation at the residence of the eminent merchant, Robert H. McCurdy, in Fourteenth Street, and resolved to call a public meeting of all parties desirous of preserving the Union, which resulted in a meeting upon Union Square, and a demonstration surpassing in magnitude and enthusiasm any public assemblage in this country. Its effects were instantly felt in every part of the land. The four presidents of the meeting were John A. Dix, Hamilton Fish, ex-Mayor Havemeyer, and Moses H. Grinnell. Four stands had been arranged for the speakers, but proving insufficient, the people were addressed from the balconies, and even from the roofs of the houses. Resolutions were adopted, and a

April 12.

April 20.

committee organized under the title of Union Defense Committee, embracing such well-known men as John A. Dix, Simeon Draper, Moses Taylor, A. T. Stewart, James Boorman, Robert McCurdy, Moses Grinnell, Royal Phelps, William E. Dodge, Hamilton Fish, William H. Havemeyer, William M. Evarts, John J. Cisco, Theodore Dehon, Samuel Sloane, James T. Brady, Prosper M. Wetmore, John Jacob Astor, Jr., Edwards Pierrepont, Isaac Bell, Richard M. Blatchford, James S. Wadsworth, Charles H. Marshall, Abiel A. Low, Green C. Bronson, Rudolph A. Witthaus, A. C. Richards, and Mayor Wood, with the comptroller and presidents of the two boards of the common council of the city. The work of organizing regiments was at once undertaken. The city authorized a loan of one million dollars for the defense of the Union. The New York bar met and contributed twenty-five thousand dollars, the banks pledged enormous sums, and the whole city set itself to the stern suppression of the Southern revolt. In the same breath, as it were, the Legislature responded to Lincoln's call by authorizing the enlistment of thirty thousand men for two years instead of three months, and appropriated three million dollars for the war.

Such was the beginning. Once more a race of soldiers seemed to have peopled New York. The alacrity with which men of all classes offered their personal services was unexampled. Scions of the oldest and wealthiest families esteemed it an honor to serve as private soldiers. Foremost in the field was the Seventh Regiment, composed of the best and most influential citizens of the metropolis. The tidings thrilled the city and State, and other cities and States, that this famous body, the flower of the citizen soldiery, would march to Washington without delay. Thirty-five merchants contributed one hundred dollars each on the morn- April 17.
of the 17th, for its camp equipage and other necessaries for active service.[1] Its march down Broadway on the 19th was like a triumphal

[1] The names of these donors are an index to the sentiment of the foremost families of New York at this crisis: Moses H. Grinnell, George B. De Forest, L. G. Cannon, C. R. Robert, Royal Phelps, S. Wetmore, R. M. Blatchford, Thomas Addis Emmet, A. C. Gray, W. B. Duncan, Phelps, Dodge & Co., Charles H. Russell, Edwin Bartlett, Charles Christmas, Edward Minturn, S. B. Chittenden, Moses Taylor, Theodore Dehon, Ogden Haggerty, William M. Evarts, G. S. Robbins, George Griswold, John A. Stevens, James Gallatin, E. Walker & Son, H. R. Dunham, Hamilton Fish, Robert B. Minturn, D. F. Manice, George W. Blunt, James H. Titus, William Curtis Noyes, Shepherd Knapp, Charles H. Marshall, A. V. Stout, W. Whiteright, Jr., John L. Aspinwall, J. F. D. Lanier, Henry Chauncey, Jr., Stewart Brown, Andrew Foster, Joseph W. Alsop, Joseph Gaillard, Jr., Henry Chauncey, James S. Wadsworth, August Belmont, John Bridge, Clark & Mosely, Benjamin F. Breeden, Benjamin Nathan, P. S. Forbes, W. W. De Forest, Charles Davis, Isaac Bell, Frederick Bronson, Howell L. Williams, B. H. Hutton, Almon W. Griswold, New York Stock Exchange, Rufus Prime, Washington Coster, Aymar & Co., Bleecker Outhout, Levi E. Morton, C. B. Loomis, R. Alsop, G. C. Ward, Benjamin L. Swan. — *Swinton.*

procession. Many thousands joined the moving column, preceding the march in escort or following in its rear. Street, sidewalks, areas, fences, stoops, balconies, windows, roofs, trees, lamp-posts, awnings — every foot of available space held spectators, and for long distances on the side streets the compact throngs struggled for a glimpse. The cheering never for a moment ceased. "It was worth a life, that march," wrote Theodore Winthrop. "We knew that our great city was with us as one man, utterly united in the cause we were marching to sustain." Other regiments were quickly on the wing. Announcement being made one morning in the Chamber of Commerce that funds were needed for several regiments about to march, a collection was instantly taken up, and twenty-one thousand dollars raised in ten minutes. The banks, after having loaned one hundred and fifty millions in coin to the government, suspended specie payments. During the year a million and a half dollars were appropriated to the relief of the families of volunteers in the city. Mayor Opdyke, in his annual message in January, 1863, said that the people of the metropolis had contributed in taxes, gratuities, and loans to the government, since the beginning of the war, not less than three hundred millions of dollars, and had furnished over eighty thousand volunteers.

During each year of the war repeated large out-of-door manifestations were made in support of the government, of which those in Union Square, July 15, 1862, and April 11, 1863, were the most conspicuous. Meanwhile the ladies of the city were at work by thousands for the soldiers, and many of the most tenderly reared were in training for hospital nurses. David Dudley Field presided over a great meeting of ladies at Cooper Institute before the end of the first month of the war, which was addressed by Rev. Dr. Henry W. Bellows, Vice-President Hannibal Hamlin, and others, and which resulted in an organization with Dr. Valentine Mott as president and Howard Potter treasurer, that proved to be the germ of the United States Sanitary Commission. Numberless associations were soon formed for the relief of the soldiers. The Emancipation Proclamation, which virtually blotted slavery from the soil of the Republic took effect on the first day of January, 1863. This was an eventful year.

1863. The project of arming the slaves roused the bitterest opposition. Then followed the conscription law, passed March 3, which was denounced on every hand. In May President Lincoln ordered a draft of three hundred thousand men.

At this juncture the enemy invaded Pennsylvania, and the governor entreated assistance from the adjoining States; Governor Seymour of New York responded by directing General Sandford, commander of the city militia, to send every available regiment at his disposal to the seat

of war for thirty days' service. While the troops were absent, the United States authorities attempted to enforce the draft, which caused a terrible insurrection. The elements of disorder and crime united their forces, and were joined by thousands of frenzied workmen and idlers. For three days and three nights the rioters maintained a reign of terror. They sacked houses in great numbers, demolished the offices of the provost marshal, burned the colored orphan asylum, attacked the police, and chased negroes — women and children even — wherever they appeared on the streets, and when caught hanged them on the nearest lamp-post. They tore down and trampled under foot the national flags, and robbed stores in open day; all business was suspended, street-cars and stages did not dare to run, plate and property were concealed, and residences fortified. The Secretary of War ordered home the regiments doing duty in Pennsylvania, but ere they arrived the climax of atrocities had been reached, and through the combined action of the police and the citizens, together with the slender military force at the disposal of the authorities, the riot, one of the most formidable in the annals of riots, had been substantially quelled. The police displayed admirable address and undaunted bravery, against overwhelming numbers; they were under the command of Thomas C. Acton, president of the police board, who issued orders with the coolness and skill of a trained military veteran. The arrival of the Seventh Regiment on the 16th was hailed with delight by all law-abiding citizens, and with execrations by the mob, which still in some places prolonged the carnival of crime from sheer love of it. In the afternoon the Seventh marched through several of the districts where fighting was in progress, including that between Third Avenue and the East River — the hot-bed of the riot. It was a trying ordeal, the soldiers being assailed with missiles and scattering shots from windows, doors, and house-tops; but the rioters fled before them to the houses and fences. Saturday, the sixth day of the disturbance, found the city nearly as tranquil as usual, except that the military forces were in constant motion through the streets. Two million dollars of property had been destroyed, and it is believed one thousand of the rioters had fallen.

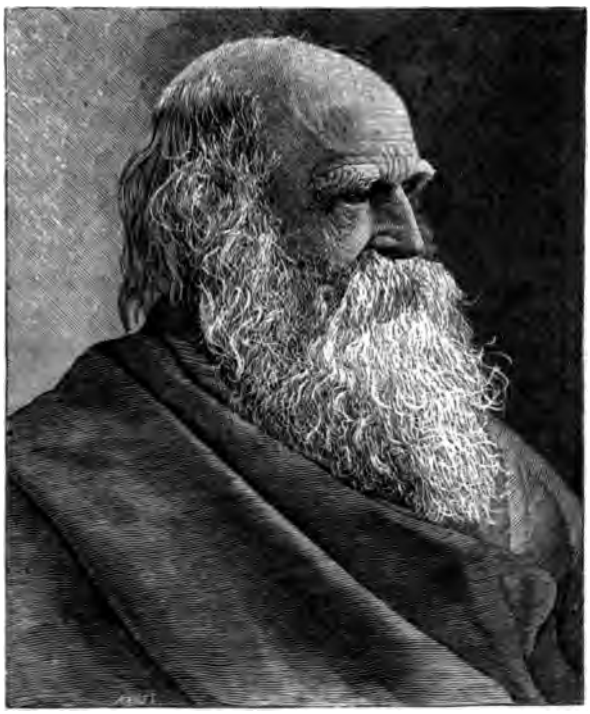
July 11.

July 16.

On the 19th of the following October the corner-stone of the New York Academy of Design was laid, in Twenty-third Street, corner of Fourth Avenue, which cost some two hundred thousand dollars, chiefly contributed by wealthy citizens who were lovers of art. The edifice was built of white Westchester County marble banded with gray stone, and presents a capricious but beautiful blending of the white and gray. William Cullen Bryant, for many years president of the New York Gal-

1863.

lery of Fine Arts (established in 1844), made a memorable speech on this occasion, in which he said: "For more than a third of a century the Academy has had a nomadic existence, pitching its tent now here and now there, as convenience might dictate, but never possessing a permanent seat. It is at last enabled, through the munificence of the citizens of New York — a munificence worthy of the greatness of our capital and most honorable to the character of those who inhabit it — to erect a building suitable for its purposes and in some degree commensurate with the greatness of its objects. When this institution came into existence I could count the eminent artists of the country on my fingers! Now what man among us is able to enumerate all the clever men in the United States who have devoted the efforts of their genius to the Fine Arts?"



William Cullen Bryant.

No figure has been more familiar to New York of the present generation than that of the poet and journalist, William Cullen Bryant. He was a short, slender man, yet such was the effect of his presence that few ever thought of calling him small. His life in the city, spanning fifty-three years, was identified with the rise of authorship, and American literature recognizes in him one of its greatest founders and most famous builders. His natural gifts were successfully trained and cultured. He was satisfied with nothing less than the widest and deepest study of poetry in all literatures, young and old, in all languages and schools; thus he kept his verse in perfect finish for sixty successive years. His active and practical pursuits kept him meanwhile in full sympathy with every-day affairs; and the dignity, beauty, and purity of his private character endeared him to society. He occupied the front rank among distin-

guished Americans, and his name is a household word wherever the English language is spoken. During the last decade prior to his death in 1878, no citizen of New York was oftener called to preside in public meetings, to pronounce welcomes to honored strangers, or speak at literary and charitable festivals; and his refined intellectual face, in its setting of white hair and full beard, was as well known, particularly in the higher social circles of the metropolis, as his name.[1]

Details of the civil war occupy too wide a space for insertion in this volume. The high purpose and noble liberality of New York, foreshadowed by the early movements, continued even to the end. **1864.** The great sanitary fair, opened on the 5th of April, which netted up-

[1] The following autobiographical letter from William Cullen Bryant, dated March 5, 1869, will be treasured with interest. The original, in his own well-known hand, is in possession of the author, and is printed verbatim: "I was born in Cummington, Massachusetts, November 3, 1794. I began to write verses early, and at the age of ten one of my poems was published in the county paper — the *Hampshire Gazette*. At the age of thirteen a poem of mine, entitled 'The Embargo, a Satire' was published at Boston, which the next year appeared in a second edition with other poems. After leaving college I studied the classics and mathematics awhile, but about that time wrote my poem entitled 'Thanatopsis.' I am not quite certain whether this was in my eighteenth or in my nineteenth year, probably the latter. I then began the study of law with Judge Howe in the neighboring town of Worthington, and completed it at Bridgewater in the office of the Hon. William Baylies. I was admitted to the bar in 1815. I practiced law in Plainfield one year and at Great Barrington nine years. 'Thanatopsis' and one or two other poems were sent by my father in 1816 to the *North American Review*, and published. In 1821 I delivered at Cambridge, before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, a poem entitled 'The Ages,' which was published the same year, along with several smaller poems. In 1820 I wrote several poems which appeared in the *Boston Literary Gazette*. In 1825 I removed to New York and became one of the editors of a monthly entitled the *New York Review*. The same year I was temporarily employed in the *Evening Post*, a situation which became permanent the next year. The *New York Review* was merged that year in the *United States Review*, published both at New York and Boston, in which I was associated with Mr. Charles Folsom of Cambridge. It lived but a year. In 1827 and the two following years I was associated with Mr. Gulian C. Verplanck and Mr. Robert C. Sands in an annual publication called the *Talisman*, consisting of miscellanies written almost exclusively by us three. In 1832 I published a collection of my poems in New York, which has since been re-published in many enlarged editions. I went abroad in 1834, returning in 1836. I went abroad again in 1845, and a third time in 1849, and on returning published a volume entitled 'Letters of a Traveler.' In 1852 I went to Cuba, and the same year again to Europe, extending my journey to Egypt and the Holy Land. I made a fifth voyage to Europe with my family in 1857, when I visited Spain and Algiers, and on my return published a volume entitled 'Letters from Spain.' In 1864 I published a separate volume of verse entitled 'Thirty Poems.' In 1867 I again visited Europe, when I traveled in Spain for the second time.

"I was married in Great Barrington in the year 1821 to Miss Fanny Fairchild of that place. She was taken from me in July, 1866. I have held no public office except some small local offices in Great Barrington, except that I was one of the electors at large of the State of New York at Mr. Lincoln's first election as President. I have now been forty-four years a journalist."

wards of a million of dollars for the relief of the soldiers, and the re-election of Lincoln to the Presidency were the chief events of 1864. The assassination of Lincoln in April following, just as his work was finished,

1865. and the enemies of the Republic suing for peace, and the attack upon the Secretary of State, William H. Seward of New York, and his son, both of whom were wellnigh murdered, struck the New York heart with keenest anguish. The news came at half past seven

April 15. in the morning, and before ten business was entirely suspended, stores were closed, except where a half-door was left ajar to accommodate persons seeking mourning, and the whole city was draped, from the most sumptuous edifices to the humblest tenements. A few days later, and the citizens tenderly received the sacred remains of the martyred

April 25. President, with bowed heads and streaming eyes. On the afternoon of the 25th the funeral party was escorted to the depot on its way to Illinois by a procession five miles long, and an immense assemblage in Union Square listened to funeral orations from George Bancroft the historian, and William Cullen Bryant. Presently the heroes of the war were on their homeward route. They had accomplished vast results. But they came not as they went, with gay colors and full ranks: they had poured out their blood in rivers, and left their dead in multitudes. No braver men had gone out to battle for the Union than the soldiers of New York.

One of the special outgrowths of the war was the Union League Club, now seventeen years of age. It originated in 1863 with a few prominent gentlemen, chief among whom was the distinguished scientist, Dr. Wolcott Gibbs, grandson of Oliver Wolcott. At a meeting held at his residence in East Twenty-ninth Street, January 30, a committee was appointed to report a scheme of organization whereby a body of influential citizens should discountenance and rebuke by moral and social influences all disloyalty to the Federal government — and impress upon the public mind that this was a Nation, not a confederacy. On the 21st of February a constitution was adopted, with seventy-six signatures. Five hundred names were quickly enrolled, and this membership represented the merchants, scholars, clergymen, lawyers, scientists, artists, and citizens — in short, the substantial worth of New York. Among those conspicuous in formation of the club were Hon. Murray Hoffman, Dr. Cornelius R. T. Strong, Rev. Dr. Henry Bellows, George C. Anthon, Dwight, Horatio Allen, Dr. John C. Dalton, Rev. J. Hoppin, William Cullen Bryant, Robert H. nnell. The first president was Robert B. n Sturges. Among the early vice-presi-

dents were William H. Aspinwall, Charles King, Francis B. Cutting, George Bancroft, Alexander T. Stewart, Moses Taylor, Dr. Willard Parker, John C. Green, and James W. Beekman. And upon its pioneer executive committees were George Griswold, George Cabot Ward, Robert Lenox Kennedy, John Jay, grandson of the chief justice, William E. Dodge, Jr., Theodore Roosevelt, and James Boorman Johnston. The club has now over one thousand resident members and nearly five hundred non-resident members. An elegant new edifice is in process of erection in Fifth Avenue, corner of Thirty-ninth Street. Its president in 1880 is our recent Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish.

The Century Club, an association of authors, artists, and men of letters, was founded in 1847, and in 1857 entered upon its existence as a corporate body. Its chief founder was William Cullen Bryant, who died its honored president. Its roll of membership, numbering six hundred, includes some of the most distinguished names in the metropolis — not only in poesy, art, and literature, but in statesmanship and jurisprudence. It has a fine club-house in Fifteenth Street, near Union Square, a collection of paintings, and a library containing principally works on art. Among the many other flourishing and noteworthy clubs are the Knickerbocker, exclusive and aristocratic, of which Alexander Hamilton, grandson of the statesman, is president; the Manhattan, which originated during the Presidential canvass of 1864, and to which none but Democrats are eligible; the Travelers, which had for its principal object, at its inception in 1865, the reception of noted travelers, as its name indicates, and their introduction to the public; the Lotus, organized in 1870, to promote social intercourse among journalists, literary men, artists, and members of the theatrical profession; and the St. Nicholas club, founded in 1875, of which the members must all be descendants of families who dwelt in New York prior to the Revolution. Its president at the present time is Frederick De Peyster, who is also president of the New York Historical Society, and among its trustees are George G. De Witt, Edward F. De Lancey, E. Livingston Ludlow, Augustus Schell, Eugene Schieffelin, Benjamin L. Swan, Herbert C. Pell, Robert G. Remsen, John Treat Irving, John Schuyler, Benjamin H. Field, James W. Beekman, Bayard Clarke, and Abraham K. Lawrence.

The common schools of New York have multiplied from the one Free School described upon a former page into three hundred and five. The children now taught in them exceed two hundred and sixty-three thousand, at a yearly cost to the city of three and one fourth million dollars. The College of the City of New York, established in 1848, gives completeness to the grand system by which the children of parents in all grades of

society may acquire a finished education, second to none in general excellence. The Normal College for young women registers about sixteen hundred pupils, and the curriculum includes Latin, physics, chemistry, German, natural science, French, drawing, and music. It is a model school. The edifice, one of the most complete structures of the kind in this country, is situated in Sixty-ninth Street, near Lexington Avenue. It is built in the secular Gothic style, and has a lofty and massive Victoria tower. It cost three hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and the expense of the institution is one hundred thousand dollars per annum. An eminent statesman said, in 1839: "History furnishes no parallel to the financial achievements of New York. It has sustained the expenses of its own administration, and founded and endowed a broad system of education, charitable institutions for every class of the unfortunate, and a penitentiary establishment which is adopted as a model by all civilized nations." With the manifold improvements since that time in our public school system, it is no matter of wonder that Austria, Prussia, France, and England have borrowed and adopted many of its vital features.

In addition to the public schools, the city abounds with excellent private seminaries and schools; there is hardly a block without one or two. All the leading institutions of this character are in charge of accomplished educators — and are admirably supported. The Charlier Institute, for boys, is an example. It is a romantic story, the career of Elie Charlier, who built up a flourishing school and erected an elegant structure overlooking Central Park, at a cost of over four hundred thousand dollars, without calling upon the public for the slightest money aid. He was drilled in the famous college at Neuchatel, in Switzerland, and arrived in the city nearly thirty years ago, with letters of introduction and a cash capital of thirty-six dollars. One of his letters was to the mayor, James Harper, who said to him, "Young man, in this country we are all busy, and we all help ourselves. Use my name for reference if you wish, and go ahead." The advice was followed. Young Charlier opened a school with seven scholars; and, without trustees or corporation, or funds from charity or State, his untiring industry and vigilant attention to details resulted in a success without parallel in the history of private educational institutions.

In Fifth Avenue, overlooking Central Park from the east, and occupying nearly the whole space between Seventieth and Seventy-first streets, ands the Lenox Library, a massive and unique stone structure which tains one of the most extraordinary collections of printed books and uscripts on the globe, the peer, in some important particulars, of the h Museum and the National Library at Paris. It is the noblest of

a long series of benefactions for which New York is indebted to James Lenox. He was a son of the rich New York merchant, Robert Lenox, and highly educated and cultured, with discriminating judgment, he spent a long life in collecting the rarest books, paintings, sculptures, and ceramics which money could buy. The building and its site, the interior fittings and furniture, and the precious treasures within its walls are all his gift — representing not less than a million dollars. In 1870 the institution was placed upon a footing with others of a similar nature by an act of incorporation, nine trustees being authorized to receive all such property from Mr. Lenox as he might please to consign to their keeping. Among the riches of this library are a large number of specimens of the first products of the typographic art, illustrated manuscript copies of Bibles of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Shakespeariana, Americana — and the most famous and precious of all books, the Mazarin Bible, the first book ever printed with movable types.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art occupies a structure some half a mile above Lenox Library, in Central Park, near Fifth Avenue, which is but a small portion of a projected gigantic series of buildings for the use of the museum. The movement which resulted in this institution for the art culture of the community was initiated at a public meeting for consultation on the subject, November 23, 1869, when a special committee of fifty gentlemen was appointed; this committee was afterwards increased to over twice its original size, including the principal patrons of art among the wealthy citizens, together with some of the leading artists. The act of incorporation bears date April 13, 1870. Contributions from a variety of sources have laid the solid foundation for an art museum which in course of time will take rank with the older and more famous institutions of the same character in the leading European capitals. In ancient antiquities it is already superior to any of them. The remarkable archæological collection, gathered by General Di Cesnola during several years of exploration among the ruins of the island of Cyprus, consists of over ten thousand objects. Under his directorship these, together with the other and varied collections, were admirably arranged in the new building; the museum was formally opened by the President of the United States, March 30, 1880. The Egyptian obelisk, dating backward to the time of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, is now being erected in Central Park, opposite the Museum of Art, the expenses of the remarkable undertaking being defrayed from the private purse of one of New York's public-spirited citizens.

The Museum of Natural History, which dates from 1869, occupies a new fire-proof edifice in Manhattan Square, upon the western side of Central Park, nearly opposite the Museum of Art; the corner-stone was

laid by President Ulysses Grant, June 2, 1874, and the museum formally opened by President Hayes, December 12, 1877. The building, however, like that of the Museum of Art, is only a single wing of an immense mass of buildings to be erected in the future. The first purchase for the museum was the Veneauz collection of natural history specimens, the next the Elliot collection of the birds of North America, and the entire museum of Prince Maximilian of Neuwied. The intention is to establish a post-graduate university of Natural Science, at which students from all parts of the world may find as full collections of specimens as are to be found at London or Berlin. The first president of the museum was John David Wolfe, a gentleman of æsthetic tastes and liberal culture, who made many valuable gifts to various institutions.[1] His daughter, Miss Catharine L. Wolfe, has presented the Jay collection of shells which occupy the desk cases in the center of the hall in the lower story, besides other handsome donations.

The public-spirited citizens who have contributed individually and collectively to the development of New York are legion. The practical philanthropy of Peter Cooper, who has given the labor of a long life to the advancement and diffusion of scientific knowledge, is seen in the six-story brown stone edifice at the junction of Third and Fourth Avenues, at Seventh Street. It was built by him in 1857, at a cost of six hundred and thirty thousand dollars, and endowed with one hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the support of a free reading-room and library — which now contains about fifteen thousand miscellaneous works. The scheme of the Cooper Union includes free schools of science and art, both day and evening. The expenses of the institution are some forty-five thou-

[1] John David Wolfe married Dorothea, daughter of Peter and Catharine Griswold Lorillard, and had one daughter, Catharine Lorillard Wolfe. Elenora Lorillard, sister of Mrs. John David Wolfe, married Captain Spencer, U. S. A., and their son, Lorillard Spencer, married Sarah I. Griswold, daughter of Charles C. Griswold, and niece of the Sarah Griswold who married John Lyon Gardiner, of the manor of Gardiner's Island; Elenora, daughter of Lorillard and Sarah Griswold Spencer, married Virginio Cenci, Prince of Vicovaro, the Grand Chamberlain to the King of Italy. (See pp. 612, 639.)

The Lorillards have for a century occupied a high place in the business and social world of New York. There were three brothers, Peter, Jacob, and George, in partnership, and the firm is still continued by their descendants. Peter, son of Peter and Catharine Griswold Lorillard, married Catharine Griswold, daughter of Nathaniel L. Griswold, of the great "China" house of W. L. & George Griswold. Their children: 1. Catharine, married James P. Kernochan (son of Joseph Kernochan, president of Fulton Bank), and has Catharine, Perigond, and James; 2. Mary, married Henry Barbey, of Geneva, Switzerland; 3. Eve, married Colonel J. Lawrence Kip, son of Right Rev. Bishop William Ingraham Kip, of California; 4. Pierre, married Emily, daughter of Dr. Isaac E. Taylor; 5. Jacob; 6. George L; 7. Louis L., married Katharine Livingston Beekman, daughter of Gilbert L. Beekman.

sand dollars per annum, derived chiefly from the rental of stores and offices in the building, together with the income of the endowment fund. In the Woman's Art School two hundred and fifty receive gratuitous instruction yearly, and are fitted for teaching, engraving, designing, illustrating books, coloring photographs, and other congenial and remunerative employments.

The Young Men's Christian Association, established in 1852, occupies a handsome architectural structure erected in the style of the French Renaissance in Twenty-third Street, corner of Fourth Avenue, in 1869, at a cost of five hundred thousand dollars. The reading-room has some four hundred papers and magazines, and the library twelve thousand well-chosen volumes. It has also a gymnasium, bowling-alley, baths, class-rooms, parlors, musical privileges, and a concert-hall. Four branch organizations each sustain religious meetings and lectures. A well-known philanthropist has recently purchased a farm in New Jersey and placed at the disposal of the officers, to provide a home for unemployed men in needy circumstances. The Young Women's Christian Association, incorporated in 1873, to promote the temporal, social, mental, moral, and religious welfare of young women, is in successful operation upon a similar basis, with a well-appointed reading-room, a circulating library of five thousand volumes, and an employment bureau. The Mott Memorial Library, the Libraries of the Geographical and Genealogical Societies, and the Library at the City Hall are among the public collections of books with which the city abounds.

Among the many private picture-galleries of value are those collected by Marshall O. Roberts, August Belmont, agent of the Rothschilds, and Alexander T. Stewart, the great merchant whose colossal fortune was acquired by making trade a study and a science. He came to New York from Belfast, Ireland, in 1823, at the age of twenty, and having just been graduated with honors from Trinity College, readily obtained a situation to teach the modern languages and mathematics in a school in Roosevelt Street — where Fletcher Harper, of Harper Brothers, was a pupil. He soon opened a small store, and at the end of half a century died the richest merchant in the world. His fifty millions balanced the fifty millions of William B. Astor, who inherited a fortune and had only to invest wisely, like all great land-holders, to double and treble it. Stewart ranked next to Astor as a city real-estate owner. During the Irish famine, in 1847, he sent a ship filled with provisions as a gift to his native country. After the Franco-German war he sent a steamer to Havre with flour for the sufferer in manufacturing districts; and when Chicago was desolated by fire in 1871, he gave fifty thousand dollars.

Cornelius Vanderbilt, whose long and dazzling career terminated in 1877, is supposed to have left at least one hundred millions. His achievements are among the most romantic and extraordinary in history, and are connected with the interests of millions of human beings. He was born on Staten Island, in 1794, and while transit from one point to another was slow and vexatious, and the air full of the new theories about the use of steam, his brain was alive with unformed notions and scientific uncertainties. He was thirteen when Robert Fulton made his first successful experiment. The significance of the invention took deep root in his mind and grew with his growth. He went into business for himself as a steamboat-builder in 1829. In 1857 he began to invest funds in railroad stock. Twelve years later and one thousand miles of track were under his control. Among his great public works was the freight depot in Hudson Street, on a site which cost a million dollars. He built a steam vessels, and hundred masters of the railroad came one of the tinent — his millions system of the continent, affecting every industry. He had thirteen children, and his numerous descendants reside chiefly in New York.



Elevated Railways.

The latest herculean undertaking of New York has been the erection of elevated railways through the streets. The project had been in agitation a full dozen years before its successful issue in 1878, and neither the Erie Canal nor the Croton Aqueduct encountered more fierce and determined opposition. Horse-railroad companies and property owners brought suits and laid injunctions at every step. Charters were declared unconstitutional, and cases were carried from tribunal to tribunal. When the

battle was at last won, the helpless and hopeless community cried out in agony that the noise would kill business, the unsightly objects destroy the beauty of the city, and the moving of trains in the air frighten horses and endanger human life. The long and narrow conformation of the island renders only few lines necessary, and obviates in a great measure the perils arising from frequent junctions and road-crossings. The success of the enterprise was much greater than the most sanguine ever thought of predicting. The noise quickly blended in the general din, the new sense of convenience displaced that of deformity, and the brute creation mildly observed and passed on, as if beyond surprise at any modern improvement in the city of New York. The disadvantages of dwelling in Harlem were at once removed, and the increase of handsome buildings in that portion of the metropolis within the last twelve months indicates the influence of the elevated roads upon the prosperity of the city.

The great bridge across the East River between New York and Brooklyn commenced in 1870, is still in process of construction. The whole length will be six thousand feet, and the width includes space for a comfortable promenade, two railroad tracks, and four wagon tracks. It is so high that navigation will not be impeded. The cost has already greatly exceeded the original estimate for the entire work.

The drainage and sewerage of the metropolis have from first to last occupied distinguished attention. The swiftness with which a dense population has spread over the island has prevented the execution of many projects which would have added greatly to the comfort and health of the city. But the fruits of experience are being turned to advantage in innumerable particulars. The leading sanitarian of the country, and the only civil engineer who has ever given us a complete topographical map of Manhattan Island, showing all its original water-courses, and the necessity for proper drainage, is General Egbert L. Viele, a descendant of the Knickerbocker family — not that of romance, but the genuine family founded by Herman Jansen Knickerbocker, who settled in New York when the metropolis was a little fur-station, and married the daughter of Von De Bogert, surgeon of the Dutch ship *Eendragt*. In one of the generations of this family, Herman Knickerbocker, a judge and member of Congress in the time of Madison, was a man of wit as well as fortune, and extremely fond of practical jokes. He was an intimate friend of Washington Irving, whose genius immortalized his name — and it has since become a generic term by which the descendants of the original Dutch settlers are designated. Viele was the author of the State public health measures, resulting in the organization of a Board of Health in 1866, which consists of the health officer of the port, the president of the

police, and two commissioners, one of whom must have been for five years a practicing physician; it is invested with extensive powers.

The Fire Department force numbers, in 1880, about eight hundred and fifty. The old volunteer department ceased to exist in 1865; at that same time steam fire-engines were universally adopted. Three commissioners control the department and enforce all laws in relation to the sale and storage of combustibles. About six hundred fire-alarm boxes are distributed through the city, and the keys are carried by policemen and firemen, while a key is also deposited near every alarm-box — its location designated upon the box itself. Some forty-two steam-engines, four chemical engines, and other paraphernalia for extinguishing fires afford a curious contrast to the leathern fire-buckets used prior to 1730— when the first fire department was organized, and two small fire-engines ordered from London " by the first conveniency."

The public and private markets of the city have kept pace with the demand. Washington Market occupies an almost square block, bounded by Washington, West, Fulton, and Vesey streets — and the sidewalks are roofed. The spectacle within is one of interest, particularly in the holiday season. The great produce depot and distributing center of the country — the termini of scores of inland transportation lines, and where hundreds of vessels are constantly discharging cargoes, are alongside. Fulton Market is famous for its fish; and about a dozen other public markets are under the direction of the superintendent. With the establishment of the district telegraph system, and the introduction of the telephone into general use, New York seems prepared to overcome every inconvenience in the way of magnitude. Messenger boys are ready at a moment's notice to execute any commission; and business men converse with ease in different localities. Various landmarks have passed away; and property has changed hands and risen in value, in a ratio, which, if fully described, would seem like the vagaries of imagination.

One of the dark passages through which New York has recently passed was in 1872, when the citizens of both political parties combined against the public plunderers who had for years controlled the city government. A committee of seventy was chosen, and the leaders of one of the most remarkable conspiracies ever aimed at municipal integrity brought to justice. The following year was marked by a severe financial panic.

The part played by New York in the history of the country needs no eulogy. Facts speak eloquently for themselves. When our future shall be the past, it will be remembered that eight premiers of the nation have been of New York birth and ancestry, each performing his duty nobly and well in times of peculiar moment. Neither will it be forgotten that New

York has furnished eight Vice-Presidents — more than one third of the number since the birth of the nation — and two Presidents. Of eminent statesmen whose services have been of national importance and whose names and fame are known of all men, no State presents a better record. The city and State are virtually one; and the world has seen few social structures with a foundation of more breadth and solidity. In tracing the origin, rise, and progress of New York we have aimed at something more than a mere recital of events. Political quarrels have their uses, and wars and tumults furnish entertainment and instruction. But when we would learn the true spirit of a community we must become intelligent as to the material of which it is composed. We have studied the successive steps by which a wilderness island has been transformed into a brilliant and powerful metropolis, its boundless wealth, opinions, and people flooding the whole continent; and now with a glimpse of the noisiest and busiest thoroughfare in America — built upon the site of the savage pathway — we turn the final page of this work.

MARTHA J. LAMB.



Bird's-eye Glimpse of Broadway



GREATER NEW YORK AND VICINITY.

1. Manhattan Island.
2. Westchester Co.
3. Brooklyn and Suburbs
4. Staten Island.
5. Jersey City and Hoboken.
6. Newark.
7. Elizabeth.
8. Paterson.

CHAPTER LI.

1880–1896.

EXTERNALS OF MODERN NEW YORK.

By Mrs. Burton Harrison.

Continuation of the General History. — "Thumb-Nail" Sketches. — Method of Treatment. — "The Capital City of America." — Results of "Greater New York" Movement. — Complications. — Advance in the Arts. — Development of Architecture. — Criticism of Street Paving and Street Lighting. — Department of Street Cleaning. — Blizzard of 1888. — Centennial Celebration of Washington's Inauguration as President. — Washington Memorial Arch. — Centennial Celebration of the Supreme Court of the United States. — Columbian Celebration. — Naval Parade. — Grant Birthday Dinner. — Naval Exhibition. — Street-car Disturbances. — Increased Facilities for Travel. — Surface Improvement. — Cleopatra's Needle. — Completion of the Brooklyn Bridge. — Contemplation of other Bridges. — New York Harbor. — Statue of Liberty Enlightening the World. — "The New Colossus." — New System of Docks. — Immigration. — Marine Passenger Traffic. — Telephone System. — System of Incandescent Electric Lighting. — Development of Electricity. — Military. — Fire Department. — Police Force. — Municipal Machinery. — Post Office Department. — Educational Institutions. — Churches and Mission Houses. — Domestic Life. — Hotels and Restaurants. — Charitable Work. — Clubs. — Amusements. — Acquisitiveness in Pictorial Art. — Collections of Rare and Fine Art. — Libraries. — Hospitals. — Valediction.



Corner of Nassau and Wall Streets.

IN bringing down to date the general history of New York since 1880, at which point the able and conscientious chronicle of Mrs. Lamb came to a halt, it has been found possible to touch, within the limits of a single chapter, upon only such salient features of a great city's rapid strides in civilization as may prove interesting to the casual student of the time.

For the same obvious reason, want of space, it has been decided to tell the story of the last fifth of the century by "thumb-nail" sketches of the various departments of the city's work, and by a brief summary of progress in social

development, rather than attempt to recite incidents chronologically and separately. We shall mention externals, chiefly, — things that catch the eye. With the deeper issues of religion and morality; with details of the fluctuations of society attributable to reinforcements from abroad and from other quarters of our own country; with meditations suggested by the fact that, as Guizot once said of the relation of France to the rest of Europe, all institutions of civilization must pass through New York before they are accepted elsewhere in America; with suggestions for the future to be found in centralizing here the influences of literature and art; with accounts of our struggle for great wealth, and with what is to be learned from the dropping out of public consideration of those who do not maintain it; with the annals of political abuses and party warfare; with the fret and fever of speculation, and financial questions of the hour; there will be no attempt to deal. It is enough to try to outline only the most noticeable, to a looker-on, of the modal differences between the New York of fifteen or sixteen years ago, and the metropolis of to-day. To quote one of the final utterances of Mrs. Lamb's volume, "we must let facts speak for themselves," and leave inferences to be drawn by the reader.



New Street.

Although still lacking in the fine proportions of a finished work of art, from which light and leading in what is best can be equally had in every quarter of our great country, New York, to-day, has taken upon herself many of what must be the final aspects of the capital city of America. Early in this year 1896 her nominate borders included nearly two millions of inhabitants; from her haunts of commerce, finance, and the professions, many thousands of others, workers here by day, overflowed into suburban regions to sleep, — and of these multitudes it is estimated there were more than as many again as the actual dwellers within the fringes of the town. It is claimed that, with Greater New York an accomplished fact, there will be a resident population of more than three millions, making ours the second city of the world in magnitude; and that, unless an unexpected change occurs in the tendency of population to these western shores, New York will, before the Twentieth Century is well upon her shining way, surpass in numbers her only rival, London.



Fifth Avenue at Madison Square.



Madison Cottage, an Inn Standing in 1857 on the Site of the Present Fifth Avenue Hotel.

Just how the questions, sentimental, historical, financial, and geographical, involved in the matter of consolidating Brooklyn and the adjacent country towns with New York are to be adjusted, is at the present writing undecided. But the late considerable increase in variety and numbers of those who claim citizenship in the metropolis has certainly induced a corresponding animation in her intellectual progress. At no time has the curious mosaic of nationalities that make up our community given such abundant evidence as now of growth in culture, and in a capacity for transmission through influence and example to the country at large of what it has acquired. This essential of a dominant city is here asserted, first, because, in looking back at the time before the sixteen years to be recorded, it seems to have been the thing most noticeably absent. Material advance, the grosser rewards of successful efforts in business, had then already been attained. But New York, not so long ago regarded by observers as primarily and merely "a centre of commerce, a sovereign of finance," has now a rating in the domain of the arts, beginning with architecture, that may well kindle civic pride in her inhabitants.

In earlier days, her most prosperous burgher was content to live in a brick or brown-stone barn, unlovely of exterior; and of such dwellings, set in long welded rows, Fifth Avenue was composed, save for a few hotels and churches, the public squares and the old Reservoir, St. Patrick's Cathedral, the white marble Stewart house (now the Manhattan Club), the Whitney house, and some new apartment houses, affording rare but pleasing breaks in the monotony. But the first revelation of the beauty of art in an individual dwelling house, one that produced a thrill of satisfaction in the observer of such things, was the French château designed by Richard M. Hunt and built of light-gray limestone, for W. K. Vanderbilt, which, taken all in all, is still the best we have yet seen here. It was to Hunt, who died in 1895, that New York and America owed their real modern advance in architecture. We experienced the influence of France — the only country with a school of architecture — for the first time when he had completed his studies in Paris and returned to New York. Other instances of his work here are the Lenox Library, the Tribune Building, and the Astor and Gerry houses in upper Fifth Avenue; and we shall have occasion to mention more. Most of the architects since Hunt, who have made a lasting mark upon their time, have been either his pupils or pupils of the Paris School of Fine Arts where he was their forerunner. Post, Ware, Van Brunt, and Gambrill were his pupils. McKim and White were pupils of Hunt's pupils, as well as of the School at Paris; and the greater number of the

men of prominence and ability now practising are of the Paris School. Ware has become the chief of the excellent Department of Architecture in Columbia University, and has there shown himself an admirable instructor, exercising an influence long to be felt.

For the imprint of George B. Post's hand upon Fifth Avenue it is natural to point to the elaborate, picturesque, and at the same time cheerful dwelling of Cornelius Vanderbilt, whose beautiful iron gateway opens upon the Plaza. Down town, many office buildings command admiration for Post's art, — among them the Mills Building, the Produce Exchange, the Times Building, the Cotton Exchange, the World Building, and a twenty-five-story structure now in process of erection, to be called the St. Paul Building, where the *New York Herald* so long had its newspaper offices. It was Post who introduced here the "steel-cage construction" exhibited in our much-discussed and many-storied office buildings of this end of the century. But that what he and his contemporaries have accomplished is not to be seen on the outside only, of the new structures for occupancy by men of business, appears in the fact that not only lawyers and architects enjoy to-day offices where regard is shown for comfort and health in surroundings, but even printing-offices are light and salubrious, and an editor's sanctum is attractive to all the senses that demand good treatment as a guarantee for well-being.

The work of McKim, Mead, & White, together with that of Hunt and Post, stands in the front rank of artistic achievement in America. Among the numerous examples of the genius of this firm scattered about our city and suburbs, the beginning of their best work was the block of Villard Houses in Madison Avenue, opposite the Cathedral, designed upon the simple and classic lines they have since made famous. More recent erections, several of which are mentioned in detail in the course of this chapter, are the Washington Arch, the Madison Square Garden, the Metropolitan Club, and the designs for the new quarters of the Universities of Columbia and of the City of New York. These charming conceptions, with the Boston Public Library, may be taken as the finest examples of the intention of their methods. At Sixtieth Street and Fifth Avenue the white apparition of the Metropolitan Club rests the eye and refreshes the spirit after contemplation of some of the flamboyant hotels and houses in that neighborhood; and the first impression in its favor is strongly re-inforced by going through the iron *grillage* of its admirable colonnade, opening on a semi-circular court, to view the grand interior of the Club, notably the entrance hall, sheathed throughout with richest marbles.

C. C. Haight has contributed to New York the present buildings of

Columbia College, several great hospitals, the new buildings of the Trinity Corporation, and a number of private houses. Renwick, Aspinwall, & Russell have been made famous by St. Patrick's Cathedral and Grace Church and its new buildings, — all specimens of the pure American Gothic as introduced by the late James Renwick.

R. H. Robertson is the architect of the beautiful building of the American Tract Society, of (with Rowe and Baker) the United Charities, and of the Mohawk Building, as well as of St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church and the Corn Exchange Bank. Bruce Price has sent his fancy finely soaring aloft in the twenty-story tower-like building of the American Surety Company, — that rises, pierced by innumerable windows, opposite Trinity Church, — and is also known for designs of many attractive private houses in and near New York and elsewhere.



Broadway, near Wall Street.

George Fletcher Babb, assistant for many years of Russell Sturgis, upon the retirement of that eminent architect and art critic from professional affairs went into partnership with Cook & Willard. Babb is said, upon high authority, to be "naturally more of an artist," and to have "more feeling for delicate and beautiful detail, than any one yet born on this side of the water." The work of his firm, and that of C. W. Clinton, is favorably known in many quarters of the town.

The late Joseph M. Wells, an architect whose ability was of the highest order, made, when an assistant of McKim, Mead, & White, all the drawings for the Villard houses and the Century Club; and, indeed, his hand was seen in all the best work of that firm.

The talent of Carrére & Hastings, who also began their labors as pupils of McKim, Mead, & White, is brilliantly known throughout the country in the Ponce de Leon Hotel at St. Augustine, Florida. Thomas Hastings is an able exponent of architectural art as a lecturer, also. Their success has been emphasized here in the Mail and Express Building, the Edison Building, and in designs for many private houses.

H. J. Hardenburg, the architect of the Waldorf Hotel, is erecting the new Astor Hotel adjoining it. The great Savoy Hotel, twenty stories high, and of an Arabian Nights magnificence within, is also his work;

and so are the American Fine Arts Building in West Fifty-seventh Street, and the new Manhattan Hotel.

N. Le Brun & Sons have supplied the fine Metropolitan Building that covers the site of the late S. L. M. Barlow's residence, the Home Life Insurance Company's Building, and many school-houses and fire-engine houses.

Of Ernest Flagg's clever work, some of the most pleasing examples are St. Luke's Hospital, the Scribner Building, and the new St. Nicholas Skating Rink, — the latter the resort of smart society in New York when debarred by freezing weather from its usual diversion of driving in the Park. The Postal Telegraph Building, by Harding & Gooch, is a striking structure, — as is also the Ayer Building at Broadway and Leonard Street. The Greenwich Savings Bank and New York Clearing House are particularly attractive specimens of R. W. Gibson's work. The Manhattan Life Insurance Building speaks for the taste of Kimball & Thompson. Delemos & Cordes are to be credited with the huge emporium of Siegel & Cooper, covering nearly a city block; and F. L. V. Hoppin, a pupil of McKim, Mead, & White, whose drawings of the New York State Building at the Chicago Fair were conspicuously good, has done strong and original work in private houses. The Metropolitan Opera House, so large a factor in the æsthetic joys of our day and generation, was designed by Cady, the architect also of the Museum of Natural History, and of the Shoe and Leather Bank. Carnegie Music Hall, with its great auditorium and minor theatre, and many rooms and studios above, was the work of William B. Tuthill; the Colonial Club is Henry Kilburn's. To Cyrus Eidlitz, in addition to many another architectural success familiar in our streets, is due credit for the charming Savings Bank at Twenty-second Street and Fourth Avenue, the Racquet Club, and the great unfinished building for the Bar Association.



Exchange Place.

Enough among the recent erections in New York have been cited to give a fair idea of the march of good taste and refinement fast removing us from our share of the reproach of that middle period of vulgar and lifeless architecture, that babel of styles seen among English-speaking races everywhere, which, alas! replaced the simpler

Columbia College. St. Luke's Hospital. Cathedral. N. R. Bridge.



Bird's-eye View looking south from General Grant's Tomb.

and delightful methods of Colonial times in America. Whilst our island, in all its chief business and home localities, is dotted intermittently with such fine creations as have been named, it is to the upper parts, those regions not so long ago apparently forgotten by the gods, that we may look for the grouping of the most stately edifices upon appropriate grounds.

The trend of great wealth toward occupancy of the eastern side of Fifth Avenue, above Fifty-ninth Street, is unmistakable. Already that quarter displays a series of palaces, varying in architectural merit, but imposing in general effect. Thence, undoubtedly, Fashion will rule coming generations of New Yorkers; and, with its broad open space in front, looking into the boscage of the Park, its free air and sunshine, its facilities for reaching with ease the new drives of the town, the locality must be called a wise selection for those who can afford to enjoy it. In the Boulevard, a continuation of Broadway, and on Eighth Avenue west of Central Park, enormous apartment houses and many handsome dwellings have appeared.

To the mausoleum at the northern end of Riverside Park, where General Grant is interred, will soon be added the attraction of a monument befitting the fame of the great soldier it commemorates. Riverside Drive, unsurpassable in its views of the Hudson and Palisades, is already dotted with substantial houses of solvent citizens.

As far north as the new localities designated, and as far south as old Washington Square, which has lost none of its prestige as a fashionable quarter, New Yorkers are already forced to pursue their weary way, to include in their social intercourse the people who live at these opposite extremes or along the lines between them.

It is to be wished that the glowing tale of New York's external progress could be continued to include praise for our street paving and street lighting. In the first particular, although in some parts greatly improved, and in many parts soon to be still further improved, by the laying of asphalt, our city is open to sharp criticism. Upon what should be our best thoroughfare, Fifth Avenue, owing to the incessant jar from the passage of vehicles over stones, conversation is not possible, otherwise than at a strained and fatiguing pitch of the voice. It is not to be wondered at that a visit to Paris, London, or Washington, where wheels run noiselessly over smooth pavements, is regarded by New Yorkers as a "rest." In many of the side streets, and in the lower part of the city especially, driving is rather a punishment than a luxury. The irregularity of, and the dirt harbored by, these old pavements make them a

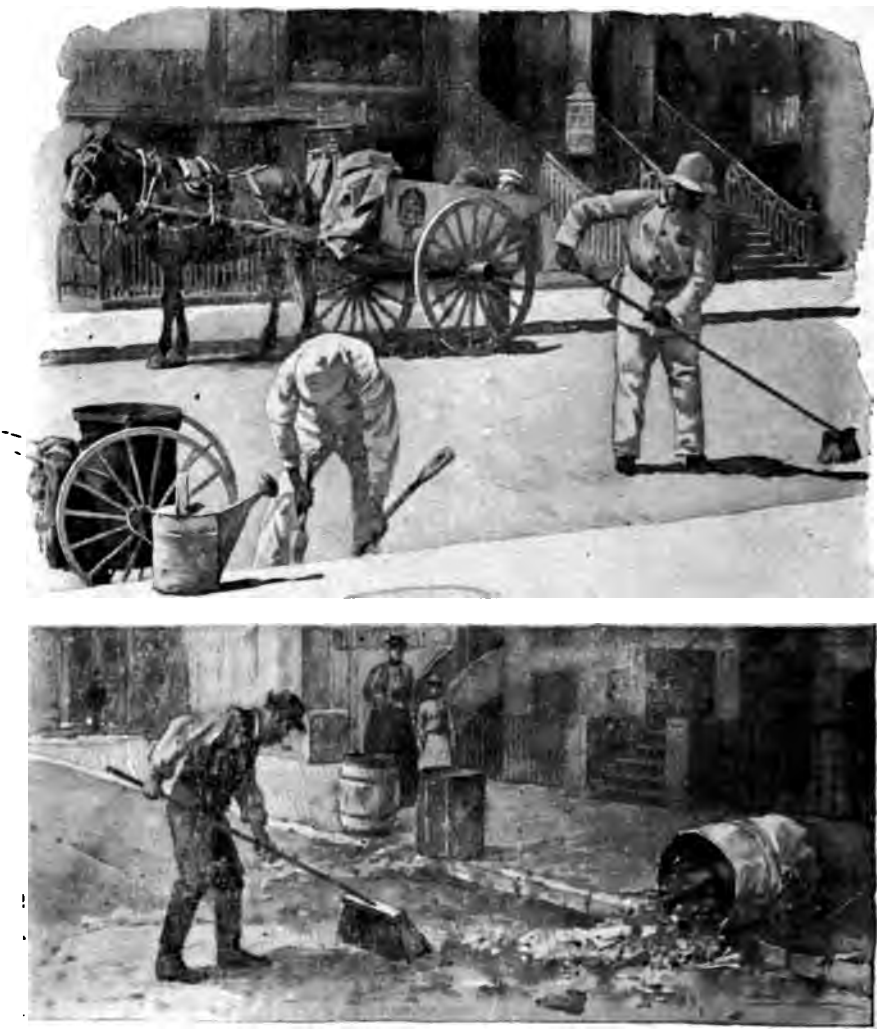
blot upon our civilization which no beauty of sky or of soaring architecture can remove; no effort on the part of householders to make attractive the outside of their homes can avail to secure for us pleasing streets, when the pavements are so unsightly and uncomfortable. The total sum of asphalt laid in New York up to the end of 1894 was 62.34 miles; the amount laid and under contract since is 7.55 miles. For the benefit, if not for others, of those who take to bicycles and now form so large a part of our locomotive population, several more of the avenues running north, to connect with the resorts of the annexed district, are to be made smooth with this material; and a few years may see the existing occasion of our present complaints much ameliorated.

In the lighting of our streets, we are still, in some portions of the city, behind many towns of yesterday throughout the country; and the traveller abroad now sees the historic haunts of Europe, and even places in the storied and dormant East, better illuminated by electricity. This is certainly remediable, and, we hope, is soon to be changed. It is here commented upon because, whilst, to be true, no picture may be drawn without shadows, the shadows we live in, for lack of street lights, are a necessary feature of any picture even approximately true of New York in our time.

Such as our streets are, their condition was far worse until the Department of Street Cleaning passed into the charge of Col. George E. Waring, Jr., in January, 1895. For many years, press and citizens had been protesting in vain against the want of cleanliness in our thoroughfares, and the fact that, except Broadway and Fifth and Madison avenues, most of those in populous districts were encumbered every night, and during all the twenty-four hours of Sundays, with standing trucks to the number of more than sixty thousand. The questions arising naturally in every man's mind, Why should these things be? and What has become of the money appropriated to better them? received no answer.

Colonel Waring, fortunate enough to secure at the outset of his endeavors the services of a number of well-educated and well-prepared young men, many of them graduates of technical schools, and all full of enthusiasm for their work, judiciously placed these aids in various positions of responsibility under him. By persistent effort, and by conscientious attention to the minutiæ of his important office, the new Commissioner, little by little, succeeded in putting his Department into its present satisfactory condition. A marked feature of the new *régime* has been the reform in the character of the working force. To bring this about, the men employed were made to feel that their retention depended entirely upon themselves, — that, if they worked and behaved

well, they would be kept; if the reverse, no power or "influence" of politicians or of any one else would enable them to hold their places. This understood, the character of the force was changed as if by magic:



New York Street Cleaning under the Old and the New Regime

such removals and new appointments as were made were in individual cases, and only after careful examination; and the muster of twenty-five hundred men, working efficiently to-day, is practically that of two

years ago, with only such differences as proper discipline must effect The matter of costuming the workers in white duck suits and caps although the subject of satirical comment by the casual critic, is useful for many purposes, — keeps the men more easily under observation, and is even gratifying to many of them, because it identifies them with one of the most popular reforms in recent years; though others are still to be found who resent any uniform as a badge of servitude no American should tolerate. The four hundred and nineteen miles of paved streets on the island, and in the annexed district across the Harlem River, are all swept once a day, three fourths of them twice daily; the streets of considerable traffic, three times a day; and some streets in the tenement-house districts, even five times a day.[1] Regarding the expense to the city of this notable reform, it is of interest to know that the cost of all the work of the Department, including the removal of snow and ice, amounted, for the year 1895, to three cents per week for each member of the population.

The appropriation for 1895 for the Department of Street Cleaning, with an allowance from the Board of Health added, amounted to $2,831,131.96, for the five items of administration, sweeping, carting, final disposition, and rent of premises, scows, &c.; and of that amount there remained at the end of the year an unexpended balance of $126,-152.77. The expenditure in 1895 for removal of snow and ice was $217,829.83. The outlay of this busy Department, all items added, for that year, was in excess of the most expensive of the years preceding; but the service rendered to the public was greater in a much larger percentage of increase, and no expenditure by the municipality in our time has been more cheerfully provided for by the tax-payers. Not the least, perhaps the most considerable, of the blessings for which we must be grateful to Colonel Waring's administration is to be found in the fact that he has demonstrated it to be possible to conduct the affairs of the municipality with which he has been intrusted not only with the best results but by the best methods of an efficient business enterprise. It is to be hoped that such a demonstration will make it possible to maintain the morale and efficiency of the Department under his successors.

In March, 1888, the streets were for some days seriously encumbered by an extraordinary snow-fall, which passed into local tradition under

[1] The gatherings of this industry, being street sweepings, ashes, garbage and refuse, amount to 2,500,000 tons per annum. The force at the command of Commissioner Waring is about 1,400 street sweepers, 700 drivers with horses, and some 200 other men in various capacities, bringing up the total *personnel* of the Department to about 2,500, as already stated.

the name of "The Blizzard." Several casualties resulted, among them the death of Roscoe Conkling, an ultimate consequence of exhaustion incurred by trying to force his way through the snow-drifts in Broadway and in Union Square during the progress of the storm. For a time the wheels of busy life were virtually blocked; and photographs of certain localities taken at the time suggest rather the glaciers of the Alaskan mountains than the familiar thoroughfares of New York.

On April 30th, 1889, the beginning of the centennial celebration of Washington's inauguration as President lent to our streets a splendor of



Washington Arch.

animation rarely seen here. The order of exercises was, in brief, as follows: At sunrise, salutes of artillery were fired, and at 9 o'clock religious services were held in various churches, — one at St. Paul's Chapel, to which we have made reference elsewhere. Beginning at 9.45 o'clock, commemorative speeches were heard upon the steps of the Sub-Treasury,

from President Harrison, Hamilton Fish, and Elbridge T. Gerry, the latter the chairman of the Centennial Committee; Clarence W. Bowen read Whittier's poem, "The Vow of Washington;" the oration was delivered by Chauncey M. Depew; a prayer was offered by the Rev. Dr. Storrs. At 10 o'clock was put in motion the military parade, the largest and most brilliant array of troops seen in New York since war times. The head of the column started from Wall Street and Broadway, to wend its way up-town to Madison Square, where, passing under a triumphal arch of spring flowers, it was reviewed by the President and Cabinet, a host of other civil and diplomatic dignitaries looking on. In the evening there was a dinner at the Metropolitan Opera House, given by the Centennial Committee to the President; and, by the general public, German Singing Societies were heard in an open air concert in Madison Square. From dawn till midnight the streets were alive with throngs of people in gala dress and humor. The air resounded with the clash of joyous military music. Flags took the April breeze with daring color; the dull house fronts and prosaic buildings of commerce were ablaze with bunting; and windows along the line of march everywhere were crowded, many having been sold for the occasion to the highest bidders, — one of them fetching $150 for occupancy during the two parades. The extravagant enthusiasm of English people over the processions at the Queen's Jubilee was surpassed by New Yorkers agog over the Washington Centennial. On May 1st, when a great industrial parade was marshalled in like fashion before the President, the scenes of the preceding day were repeated.[1]

During the evenings following these two days of unceasing excitement the world was out-of-doors, and fire-works witched the eye with bedazzlement. It is safe to say that, at the final close of the proceedings, most weary citizens dropped into bed satisfied to relegate the celebration of even Washington's glory to the distance of another hundred years.

An imperishable monument of this strong and genuine outburst of New York's regard for the greatest of Americans is the Washington Memorial Arch, finished in 1891, designed by Stanford White, and standing on Washington Square facing the lower end of Fifth Avenue.

[1] On April 29th there had been a Centennial Ball at the Metropolitan Opera House, with a quadrille of honor in which Mrs. Gerry, Mrs. Morris, Mrs. Cruger, Mrs. De Peyster, Mrs. Gracie King, Mrs. Van Rensselaer, Miss Schuyler, Miss Livingston, and Mrs. Webb represented, in this pageantry of modern days, some of the names of old New York. During the same week a fine Art Loan Exhibition of historical portraits and relics was on view at the Metropolitan Opera House.

The present permanent structure, built of marble, by popular subscription, to replace a temporary arch made for the celebration and the parade, is a noble addition to the architectural embellishment of the town, symbolizing in its perfect proportions the strength and symmetry of the ideal of our republican government shaped by Washington. It has fitly been called a "poem in stone," and is destined for all time to lift the thoughts of observers into the ethereal regions of pure art.

On February 4th, 1890, the Supreme Court of the United States held its centennial celebration in New York, bringing together a remarkable assemblage of famous jurists and laymen. At the exercises in the Metropolitan Opera House, Chief Justice Melville W. Fuller and Associate Justices Miller, Bradley, Harlan, Gray, Blatchford, Lamar, and Brewer, were present. In the evening, at a banquet at the Lenox Lyceum, more than eight hundred guests were seated. On this occasion James C. Carter of the New York bar was toast-master, and speeches were made by Justice Harlan, Senator Evarts, Joseph H. Choate, Rev. Dr. Wm. R. Huntington, President Seth Low, and others.

In October, 1892, the patriotism of New Yorkers again expressed itself in a mammoth "Columbian" celebration, which lasted for several days. This began with a procession of fifty thousand school-children, including Indians from the schools at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. On the second day, the harbor was the centre of attraction, with a naval parade of all the available war ships of the United States and of foreign nations, attended by numberless other craft. On the 12th of October occurred a military procession in which forty thousand men marched from the Battery to Fifty-ninth Street between sidewalks black with jostling crowds, and house fronts of which every window showed a muster of holiday faces. In the evening Madison Square was illuminated, and hundreds of thousands of watchers patiently kept their places along the line to view a night-parade, with allegorical floats, and figures fantastically garbed, its numbers swelled by five thousand riders of bicycles.

In the spring of 1893 New York was again astir with tumultuous excitement over a naval parade instituted for the entertainment of foreign visitors in war-ships. An international flotilla, gathered at Fortress Monroe, Virginia, and consisting of English, French, German, Dutch, Italian, Russian, Spanish, Argentine, Brazilian, and other men-of-war, sailed thence for the harbor of New York, where they were met and made welcome by an American squadron under Rear Admiral Gherardi.

assembled in their honor. On April 27th, amid the roar of many guns, President Cleveland reviewed this fleet at anchor in the Hudson River.

It was a gray day, lighted by the frequent flashes of powder from salutes, when, in the afternoon, the review began. As the United States Steamer "Dolphin," with the President on board, passed between two long lines of foreign and American battleships, cannon were fired from their decks in swift succession; shrouded with smoke wreaths, the yards were covered with thousands of sailors and marines; and whistles from the observation fleet sounded shrill above the mighty and continuous roll of drums. Of chief interest in the naval array were the little caravels of Spain, reproductions of Columbus' fleet, which, in compliment to America, had been towed across the Atlantic by the Spanish ships of war. At the Grant birthday dinner that evening, at the Waldorf Hotel, speeches were made by the Duke of Veragua, a lineal descendant of Columbus, by General Horace Porter, and by each, in turn, of the foreign admirals, — or by orators selected by several of the more diffident of them to respond to the toasts to their nationalities and commands. Later on, the same evening, occurred the naval ball at the Madison Square Garden, where President Cleveland, the foreign guests, and eight thousand citizens were present.

It was reserved for the 28th of April to present to New York one of the most striking and unique of spectacles, — that of four thousand brawny tars and gallant marines from the foreign war ships, armed men of nine nationalities, parading in peace, but in arms, in military array and under command of their own officers, through the streets of this republican and commercial metropolis. From the reviewing stand with the mayor each admiral saw his blue jackets and soldiers march by him. From Forty-second Street to City Hall a double wall of crowded spectators surveyed the scene, and every window and housetop was alive. That day was followed by a banquet given by the Chamber of Commerce to the city's guests; and the officers of all the ships were afterwards entertained at the University Club.

There have been, from time to time, strikes instituted and conducted in the city of New York by the "Knights of Labor" or other organizations of working-people, to secure larger pay and shorter hours or other amelioration of their relations to employers. The one the general public suffered the most inconvenience from, and felt the most direct interest in, was the great strike at the end of January, 1889, by employees of surface street-car companies. January 29 very few cars were

running, the employees of thirteen companies had quit work by direction of the leaders of their associations, and the car tracks were in places obstructed; more than six thousand men were on strike. Next day more cars were running, with new drivers and conductors who were not members of the associations; but the police were kept busy protecting them and repelling riotous demonstrations, — the companies declining all overtures for compromise or treaty with the strikers, and adding every day to the number of cars in actual but not very satisfactory service, with inexperienced men in charge. In the collisions between the mobs and police, heads were broken and other injuries inflicted; but no considerable amount of property was destroyed, and only one life was lost. February 5, when the disturbances had continued for a week, the leaders called the strike "off," having obtained no concessions, admitting a crushing defeat for the labor organizations, and leaving their men to the mercy of the employers. No part of the National Guard had been ordered out. The police force had proved equal to the occasion, and had handled it with discretion.

In 1892 there was a great strike by the railway employees in the extensive yards at Buffalo, under direction of the "Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association." It began August 3, and continued three weeks; at first only two hundred men were out, but accessions to their number soon made them too strong for the local police, and all traffic through Buffalo was suspended. By the 14th, incendiaries were at work, and during that and the following day great numbers of railway cars, many of them loaded with valuable freights, and large amounts of other railway property belonging to one or another of several different companies, were destroyed. On the 15th, the local civil authorities finding themselves powerless to deal with the situation, troops were by the Governor ordered to the scene. The first of the regiments arrived on the ground on the 16th, under command of General Doyle. On the 18th the entire National Guard of the State was put in motion, and Buffalo soon became a camp of some eight thousand armed men; though, instead of immediately being over-awed by the troops, the numbers of the strikers continued for a time to increase, and it was repeatedly necessary to disperse the mobs at the point of the bayonet. Firing was several times unavoidably resorted to, but only two or three lives were sacrificed. The regiments from the city of New York attracted general attention by the fulness of their ranks, their gallant appearance, cheerful bearing, excellent discipline, and admirable efficiency. Such a demonstration was said to be costing Erie County $50,000 per day, and there was a loud protest by tax-payers against prolonging the uproar and the continued

presence of the soldiery. On the 24th the leaders of the affray called the strike "off," confessing defeat for the switchmen.

In January, 1895, occurred a memorable strike by employees of the trolley street railway lines in Brooklyn, for which the police were soon found inadequate. On the 18th the Second Brigade of the National Guard, made up of Brooklyn regiments, more than two thousand men, was put in motion. On the 20th (Sunday) the First Brigade, from the city of New York, was called out. General Fitzgerald's order was given at 7.30 P. M., and by midnight only one regiment had not reported for service. All were speedily marched to the scene of disturbance. On the 21st, 4,261 men of the First Brigade, out of a total of 4,624 on the rolls, were on duty, — including a nearly full array of the young gallants of Troop A of cavalry. That day there were several firings in the streets of Brooklyn, and many conflicts with the rioters. On the 22d serious fighting occurred at the corner of Halsey Street and Broadway, where the Seventh Regiment was repeatedly engaged, and, exasperated by the showers of stones and bricks from the roofs, delivered three volleys at the mob. At 11 o'clock that night Colonel Appleton, at the head of Company K, made a determined charge, and a number of the crowd were wounded with the bayonet. Again at midnight there was another charge. On the two days next following, like demonstrations were necessary. On the 25th the strike was on the wane. Much property had been destroyed; among the strikers some lives had been lost, and wounds were many. The casualties to the troops were few, except that there was much suffering from the cold and inclement weather. The strikers had failed of success; the railway companies had yielded nothing. On the 28th the commotion had ended, and the First Brigade was ordered home, with great praise from all observers of their excellent conduct throughout.

In 1880 was opened the West Shore Railway, which, following the west bank of the Hudson River nearly as far as Albany, extends to Buffalo, and has gone into the control of the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company.

In 1886 the Rapid Transit Company of Staten Island made that beautiful suburb of New York more easily accessible by boat to New Brighton and trains connecting Arrochar and Bowmans.

Throughout the annexed district, north of the city, trolley-cars and elevated trains flash incessantly. Since 1891 the Suburban Rapid Transit Company, crossing at the northern end of Second Avenue, carries passengers swiftly and comfortably far beyond the Harlem River. Street-

car lines also intersect this now much settled region, which even the impedimenta of building materials and machinery encumbering the thoroughfares have not been able to divest of its old attraction. In the neighborhood of Port Morris the deserted mansion of Morrisania, rebuilt by Gouverneur Morris in 1799 and until recently occupied by his grandchildren, now rears its solitary tower above verandas overgrown with unpruned roses and honeysuckle. The old elms that shaded its lawn remain; but the lawn itself is cut in two on the water front facing Randall's Island by the long black railway bridges, over which speed noisy trains belching smoke and cinders, to and from the station of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad at Mott Haven. This ancient dwelling, that in the days following the Revolution gave hospitality to so many foreign visitors of distinction, and to Americans who helped in the shaping of the nation, has shared the fate of other landmarks of its kind, and is overtaken by the encroachment of a growing city which the barrier of a river could not keep in check.

Cable-cars, at first disapproved of by New Yorkers upon their introduction in Broadway in 1894, and afterwards in Third Avenue, are now found to be an indispensable addition to the city's comfort. Looking up Broadway the curious spectacle is presented of an apparently continuous line of roofs of cars occupying the centre of the thoroughfare, — so close together do they run to supply the needs of traffic. A branch line of the cable-cars, diverging from Broadway at Twenty-third Street to run along Lexington Avenue to the upper part of the island, has proved a boon to thousands of passengers otherwise unprovided for, and has come to be accepted as a necessary outgrowth of the development of New York, despite the continuous roar of the as yet imperfect machinery. A new line of horse-cars, running along Thirty-fourth Street from river to river, has just passed through the ordeal of bitter opposition encountered by all such enterprises from householders disturbed by its advent; and, like all such additions to our facilities for travel in the streets, is found a thing of necessity. But when the most is said for the various modes of conveyance for the public in the streets of New York to-day, the trains of the elevated roads are still overcrowded, the cable-cars are jammed, the horse-cars jog along packed with people inside and out; and the shabby old omnibuses that survive in Fifth Avenue only, — and are not an example of "survival of the fittest," — to be a blot upon the moving traffic of the street, are at times filled to repletion with crumpled people. We have not yet reached the period when the able-bodied citizen who, not commanding the services of a carriage of his own, and being economically inclined, designs to get from point to point of his city, and

objects to be jostled by his fellows huddled together like pigs on their way by rail to market, can do better than make the journey afoot. The high rates charged for public cabs and carriages are a virtual prohibition upon their use for most people; the well equipped hansoms, attractive in appearance, now multiplied in Fifth Avenue and about the uptown parks, are still too dear for the conveyance of persons of moderate means; and even those two-wheeled vehicles, unless furnished with rubber tires,



Vanderbilt Dwellings and Fifth Avenue Stage.

afford, on our roughly paved thoroughfares, not the most restful experience for weary and nervous humanity.

Few aspects of surface improvement in New York of late years present a more picturesque and gratifying result than the work accomplished by the Department of Public Parks. The total area over which the jurisdiction of this department extended in 1881 was 1,194 acres. In 1896 it covers almost five times as much space. Of the parks added to the city in this time, we have Jeannette Park, so called in honor of the heroic sufferers of the ship of that name in the storied Arctic expedition. This occupies the site of old Coenties Slip, and comprises nearly an acre. Rutgers Park, formerly Rutgers Slip, is another water-

side garden, redeemed from the squalor of down-town, and about half an acre in extent. At Mulberry Bend, near the region historic in crime and degradation once known as the Five Points of New York, an expanse of grass and shrubs and sunlight will soon supplant rookeries of tenement-houses already torn down to give it place; around it are gathered chapels, mission-schools, manufactories, and the homes of decent working folk, who will enjoy with their children the privileges of its precincts. At Corlear's Hook, with a water front on the East River, south of Grand Street, 8 acres have been taken over for park purposes. The East River Park at Eighty-fourth Street has been enlarged by the addition of more than 8 acres. About 20 acres have been condemned for a park along that river, between One Hundred and Eleventh and One Hundred and Fourteenth streets; still on the east side, another but smaller park has been established in a crowded locality between Pitt and Sheriff streets on Stanton; and yet another is located on Hester and Norfolk streets to give new life to a like region of squalor and misery; a small park of the same intention is about to change the character of much such a neighborhood on the west side of the town, between Twenty-seventh and Twenty-eighth streets, Ninth and Tenth avenues; and at Seventy-second Street and the Boulevard a little wedged-shaped bit of greensward lends its cheerful note to the surroundings of macadam and brick and mortar. Washington Bridge Park, of 20 acres, will be a fitting setting for the beautiful structure that gives it a name.

Of the New Parks acquired by the city in 1888, the possession is one upon which not only the lover of *rus in urbe*, but every intelligent citizen, must heartily congratulate himself. They are of inestimable value to the appearance and health of the annexed district; and when, one day, the pleasure-seeker of the future shall speed on his wheel or in his electric carriage along the miles of perfect driveway that connect them, he will lift up his voice in praise of the wisdom and foresight that placed these covetable suburbs at his disposal.

Van Cortlandt Park, where 120 acres have been set aside as a parade ground for military exercise, covers 1,132 acres in all, of which, from most of the drives, all the visible area seems forest-clad. It is full of nooks of sylvan beauty, and still enshrines the Van Cortlandt dwelling-house, an interesting relic of old aristocratic New York.[1]

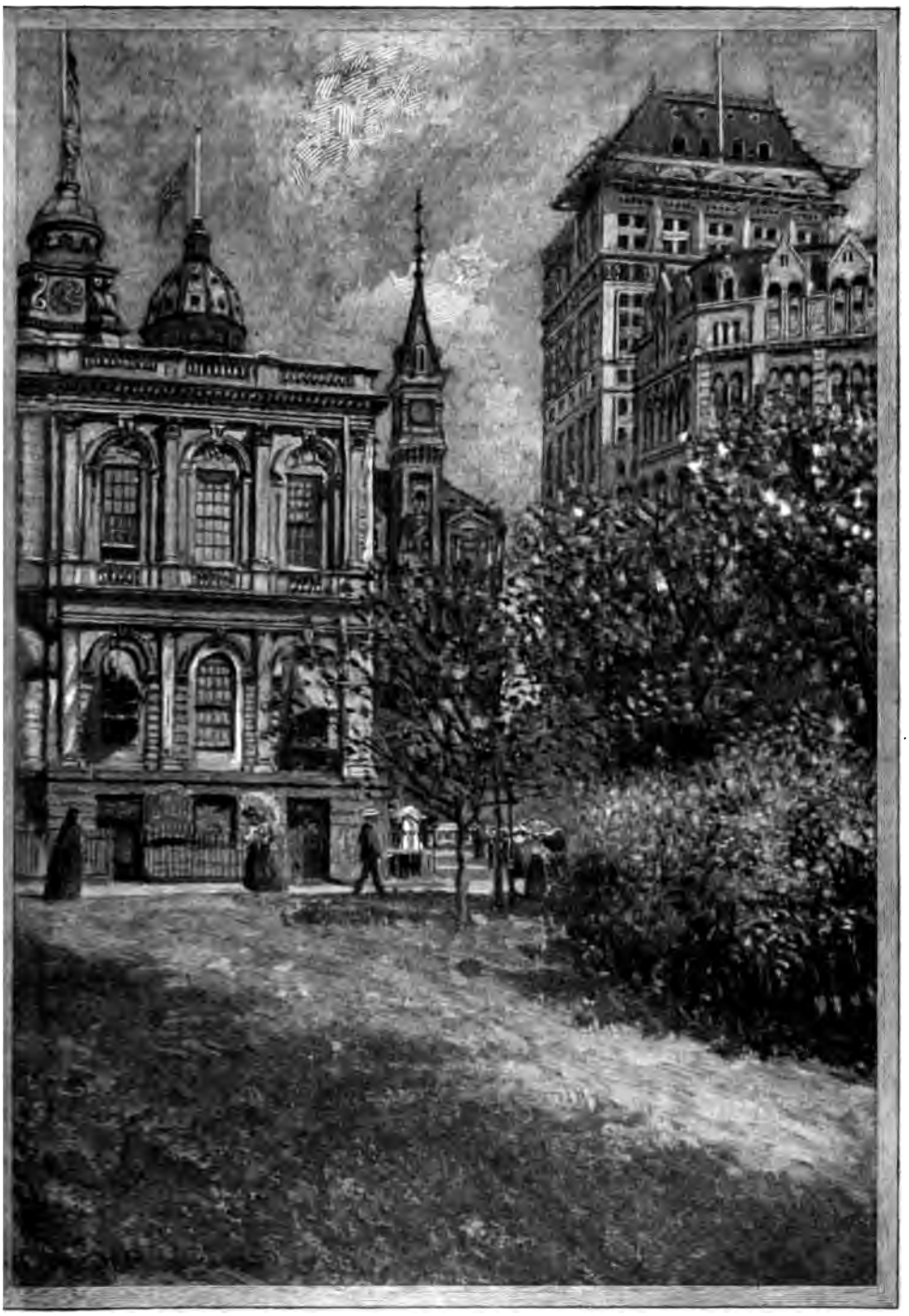
[1] This house was built in 1748 by Frederick Van Cortlandt, the great-great-grandfather of its last owner, Augustus Van Cortlandt. The property was bought, in about 1690, by Frederick's father, Jacobus, from his father-in-law, Frederick Philipse, Lord of the Manor of Philipsburg, now Yonkers. The country all about the house having been debatable ground during the Revolution, the generals on both sides, including Washington and the French generals, were there at different times. An interesting fact in connection with the house is

Bronx Park, taking its name from the little river whose course for many a mile is shaded by trees of the virgin forest, has 662 acres. Pelham Bay Park, beautifully situated, abundantly wooded, its shores laved by the sparkling waters of the Sound, and still adorned with picturesque villas, many of them abandoned by their former owners who found themselves called upon to surrender their dwellings for civic necessity, contains 1,756 acres. A point of special attraction to this vicinity is found in the building and grounds of the Country Club, within and near whose trimly kept enclosure a number of wealthy and fashionable New Yorkers have elected to make their homes for all the year round, in villas and cottages built and equipped with all the taste of modern art and all the nicety of modern fittings. The club-house, a centre of reunion for these and remoter neighbors, as well as for members who live in New York, is charmingly designed and placed. Winter and summer sees it frequented by parties arriving by coach or drag or train. With golf-links, tennis-courts, and other opportunities for the sports men and women share in, its maintenance is a good illustration of the increased habit of country life among the classes of our community to-day.

Crotona, having 141½ acres; Claremont, 38 acres; St. Mary's, 12 acres, — are smaller parks north of the Harlem River. Bronx and Pelham Parkway; a strip 600 feet wide, connecting the two parks most easterly and containing 95 acres; Mosholu Parkway, connecting Bronx and Van Cortlandt Parks and covering 80 acres; and Crotona Parkway, connecting Crotona and Bronx Parks and covering 12 acres, — are destined, at some future day, to be broad, magnificent avenues, linking together the localities indicated by one continuous chain of perfect roadways and walks.

In 1880 the Riverside Drive was completed. This superb addition extending for nearly three miles along the east bank of the Hudson River, beginning at Seventy-second Street, and commanding views of the river below and the Palisades beyond, is a conspicuous ornament of New York; and the Riverside Park will be more attractive when the recently authorized widening shall have been made, by filling in the land under water to provide a broad stretch of greenery between the railroad

that William IV. of England was a visitor in his early youth, when serving as a midshipman under Admiral Sir Robert Digby, who was an admirer of one of the Miss Van Cortlandts of that day, and used to bring the young midshipman with him occasionally. Two wooden eagles presented to their ancestor by Admiral Digby, who had captured them from a Spanish privateer, are still in possession of the Van Cortlandt family. By vote of the Park Commissioners the care of this mansion has been given to the Colonial Dames of New York, who are to preserve the rooms in, as far as possible, the original condition, — using some of them as a museum for Colonial relics.



The Dome of the World Building.
The City Hall.
The Tribune Building.
The American Tract Society Building.
The Times Building.

VIEW IN CITY HALL PARK.

Bronx Park, taking its name from the little river whose course for many a mile is shaded by trees of the virgin forest, has 662 acres. Pelham Bay Park, beautifully situated, abundantly wooded, its shores laved by the sparkling waters of the Sound, and still adorned with picturesque villas, many of them abandoned by their former owners who found themselves called upon to surrender their dwellings for civic necessity, contains 1,756 acres. A point of special attraction to this vicinity is found in the building and grounds of the Country Club, within and near whose trimly kept enclosure a number of wealthy and fashionable New Yorkers have elected to make their homes for all the year round, in villas and cottages built and equipped with all the taste of modern art and all the nicety of modern fittings. The club-house, a centre of reunion for these and remoter neighbors, as well as for members who live in New York, is charmingly designed and placed. Winter and summer sees it frequented by parties arriving by coach or drag or train. With golf-links, tennis-courts, and other opportunities for the sports men and women share in, its maintenance is a good illustration of the increased habit of country life among the classes of our community to-day.

Crotona, having 141½ acres; Claremont, 38 acres; St. Mary's, 12 acres, — are smaller parks north of the Harlem River. Bronx and Pelham Parkway; a strip 600 feet wide, connecting the two parks most easterly and containing 95 acres; Mosholu Parkway, connecting Bronx and Van Cortlandt Parks and covering 80 acres; and Crotona Parkway, connecting Crotona and Bronx Parks and covering 12 acres, — are destined, at some future day, to be broad, magnificent avenues, linking together the localities indicated by one continuous chain of perfect roadways and walks.

In 1880 the Riverside Drive was completed. This superb addition extending for nearly three miles along the east bank of the Hudson River, beginning at Seventy-second Street, and commanding views of the river below and the Palisades beyond, is a conspicuous ornament of New York; and the Riverside Park will be more attractive when the recently authorized widening shall have been made, by filling in the land under water to provide a broad stretch of greenery between the railroad

that William IV. of England was a visitor in his early youth, when serving as a midshipman under Admiral Sir Robert Digby, who was an admirer of one of the Miss Van Cortlandts of that day, and used to bring the young midshipman with him occasionally. Two wooden eagles presented to their ancestor by Admiral Digby, who had captured them from a Spanish privateer, are still in possession of the Van Cortlandt family. By vote of the Park Commissioners the care of this mansion has been given to the Colonial Dames of New York, who are to preserve the rooms in, as far as possible, the original condition, — using some of them as a museum for Colonial relics.



The Dome of the World Building.
The City Hall.

The Tribune Building.

The American Tract Society Building.
The Times Building.

"IEW IN CITY HALL PARK.

tracks and the river. Farther north, beginning at One Hundred and Seventy-first Street and extending to One Hundred and Eighty-fourth, another and beautiful section of the river front has been appropriated for Fort Washington Park, to include about 40 acres of hillsides admirably adapted to park uses and already well supplied with a growth of large trees. On the more elevated stretches, in the middle space between the Hudson and the Harlem, title has but now been acquired for St. Nicholas Park, between One Hundred and Thirtieth and One Hundred and Forty-first streets, of an area of 30 acres; and for Colonial Park, nearly half as large, between One Hundred and Forty-fifth and One



The Mall, Central Park.

Hundred and Fifty-fifth streets, east of Bradhurst Avenue. In 1894 work, now nearly finished, was begun upon the Harlem River Driveway, 150 feet wide, running along the water's edge from One Hundred and Fifty-fifth Street to Fort George. Morningside Park is a beautiful area of high commanding ground north of One Hundred and Tenth Street; near it are to arise, for the glory of the city in all time, the new Cathedral of St. John the Divine, the new buildings of Columbia University, Barnard College, and the new St. Luke's Hospital.

Of the minor improvements and additions to Central Park, continually going on, the sum is considerable; and New York's chief pleasure-

ground is to-day, in its perfected beauty of driveways, lawns, and bosky woodlands, shrubbery, flowers, and gleaming bits of water, more finished to the eye than the celebrated public parks of any European capital. Great trees it may never possess, owing to the thin soil and abundant rock near the surface; but even now there are pleasing illusions to be had of sylvan solitudes that shut out the encompassing brick and stone and marble of the streets and avenues on either side, and every year adds perceptibly to the umbrageous effects without which no sense of rural joy is possible in a landscape.

Costly additions to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and to the Museum of Natural History, have been made from time to time, and are still in progress.

The most important single incident of the decoration of Central Park was the erection with appropriate ceremonial, on a knoll facing the Metropolitan Museum of Art, of the Egyptian monolith commonly called "Cleopatra's Needle," sixty-nine feet high and weighing two hundred and twenty tons, made of the rose-red granite of Nubia, and presented to the city through the Department of State at Washington, by Ismail Pacha, the late Khedive. The history of the obelisk is epitomized in the inscription upon the medals struck to signalize the occasion and then awarded to the best one hundred of the scholars of the public schools: "Presented to the United States by Ismail Pacha, Khedive of Egypt, 1881; quarried at Syrene, and erected at Heliopolis by Thotmes III.; re-erected at Alexandria, under Augustus; removed to New York through the liberality of W. H. Vanderbilt, by the skill of Lieut.-Commander Gorringe, U. S. N."

The official presentation of this splendid relic from the cradle of old-world civilization took place on February 22, 1881, when the monolith was unveiled in the presence of a large gathering of enthusiastic people. John Taylor Johnston presided; there was prayer by the Rev. Dr. Howard Crosby; a hymn written by Richard Watson Gilder was sung; and an address, offering Egypt's gift to the New World, and made by Senator Wm. M. Evarts, was responded to on the part of the city by Mayor Grace. Mr. Vanderbilt was unfortunately absent because of an illness. Algernon Sydney Sullivan presented, in behalf of the Numismatic and Archæological Society, to Lieutenant-Commander Gorringe, a silver medal commemorative of his achievement.

At Battery Park, in what was formerly the emigrant's landing-place upon his arrival on the shores of America, the Park Department has now in process of completion a valuable and interesting aquarium, at an outlay of between $200,000 and $300,000 already expended, which, when finished, will rival the famous Aquarium at Brighton in England

In the summer of 1895, under authority of an act of the Legislature, the Commissioners of Public Parks set aside and appropriated for the uses of a Botanical Garden, 250 acres near Williamsbridge, embracing the most lovely portion of Bronx Park, and extending to and across the Bronx River. Although many years must necessarily elapse before this enterprise can be considered complete, to have it undertaken under such auspices is a step to be heartily applauded by New Yorkers.[1]



Brooklyn Bridge, crossing the East River.

The 24th of May, 1883, saw the completion, and the formal opening to general use and traffic, of one of the noblest achievements in all the world of engineering skill, — an enterprise begun fourteen years before, — the great work of the suspension bridge over the East River, connecting Brooklyn with New York. Upon this occasion a cortège — including the President of the United States and Secretaries Folger and Frelinghuysen, with Mayor Edson of New York, and accompanied by Governor Grover Cleveland and Lieutenant-Governor Hill — went on

[1] It is estimated that the cost to the city of the land for the new parks acquired in 1888 has been $9,969,603.04; and in this connection it is interesting that the original cost of the Central Park (now, according to Mayor Gilroy's estimate, to be valued as mere real estate at $200,000,000) was only $5,000,000. In 1856 the valuation for taxation of the 12th, 19th, and 22d wards, where Central Park lies, was $21,875,230; in 1894 the valuation for taxation of the same area was $660,968,516.

foot across the beautiful structure that hangs, like a spider's thread for lightness, across the river, high enough to permit the passage beneath of the loftiest masts of ships. These dignitaries were met at the New York tower by Acting-President Kingsley of the Bridge Trustees, and by General Jourdan with his staff; conducted thence to the entrance of the Brooklyn tower, they were there received by Mayor Seth Low of Brooklyn. A full holiday on that side, with parades of the military and a half-holiday in New York, gave opportunity and inclination for public expression of satisfaction in an event generally esteemed the precursor of an ultimate union of the two cities under one municipal organization. Speeches of presentation and acceptance, of felicitation and good fellowship, were exchanged between all the officials; a reception to the President, with a dinner and fireworks, followed in the evening; and a great day thus closed, pleasurable to all concerned.

The largest scheme of engineering enterprise and genius New York is likely to see attempted during the next decade, is, now that questions as to powers and rights have been adjudicated in the Su-



Proposed North River Bridge at Twenty-Second Street.
(From Engineer's Drawing.)

preme Court of the United States, apparently assured of accomplishment, — the North River Bridge, projected to cross the Hudson River from Twelfth and Bloomfield streets in Hoboken, above the houses and at right angles to and over the river to Tenth Avenue and Twenty-second Street in New York. Railway trains crossing it are to land passengers within a few hundred feet of Madison Square. The approach in New York will be connected on a level with the Sixth Avenue Elevated Railroad at Twenty-second Street, and thence rise as it nears the river Connections in New York will also be made with the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad at Thirtieth Street and Ninth Avenue, and through it with the railway system of New England. Connections in New Jersey will bring it into relation with the entire railroad system of the remainder of the continent to the westward. The, at first sight insurmountable, obstacle to any bridge in this quarter was the long supposed necessity for piers in the river, requiring three hundred feet or more of foundation, and not only prohibitive in cost but creating an insufferable impediment to navigation. The bridge, as now designed, will be built by a corporation under an Act of Congress, supplemented by State legislation; it has been designed with great boldness, but has received deliberate sanction of engineers of the greatest repute, and is possible because of recent improvements in the subservient arts. It will be of a single span of nearly or quite thirty-two hundred feet in length, with two decks and a capacity for fourteen railway tracks, in addition to promenades. It is expected to afford accommodation for local electric cars; for suburban trains to enable residents of the hill-country of New Jersey to cross to New York for theatre or opera, for example, and to return the same evening without inconvenience; for freight-trains, and for express trains for general travel. This gigantic structure, one thousand to thirteen hundred feet longer than the present Brooklyn Bridge, is not to be, like that, a suspension bridge. The plan is for something of the nature of a braced arch; but, instead of being erect and in compression, the arch is to be inverted or suspended from the towers, and in tension. It will be swung of course, high above the shipping in the river below; and no pier will obstruct any of the uses of the water. There will be no restrictions as to the working speed over the bridge; all traffic may be as rapid as over an ordinary solid road-bed. The architectural features will make it as attractive to the eye as the Brooklyn Bridge; and the importance of this addition to the facilities of life in New York is not to be measured by the scant space devoted to it here in these few brief sentences.

Another scheme is for a bridge of a somewhat different kind, authorized by an Act of Congress to cross the Hudson River from at or near the westerly end of West Sixty-fifth Street; and the engineer's plans for that enterprise, also, have recently received official approval.

Actual construction of a bridge for railways and for general traffic is now about to be commenced by a company under a charter granted by the State, at or near East Sixty-fifth Street and Lexington Avenue in New York, to be extended across Blackwell's Island and the East River to Brooklyn, as an outlet to neighboring territory and to the system of railways on Long Island. After years of litigation, the Court of Appeals has recently finally affirmed the authority for that enterprise; and, as capital has been already enlisted, there should be no further considerable delay in completion of the structure.

To relieve the embarrassing congestion already experienced, at certain hours every day when the crowds are greatest, in travel on the present Brooklyn Bridge, and to be built and, like the one now in use, to be controlled, by the two (then probably united) municipalities, a second public bridge has been authorized, and is to be very soon realized, between New York and Brooklyn, from Corlear's Hook at right angles to the East River. The engineers are now engaged in the preliminary work of preparation for the foundations.

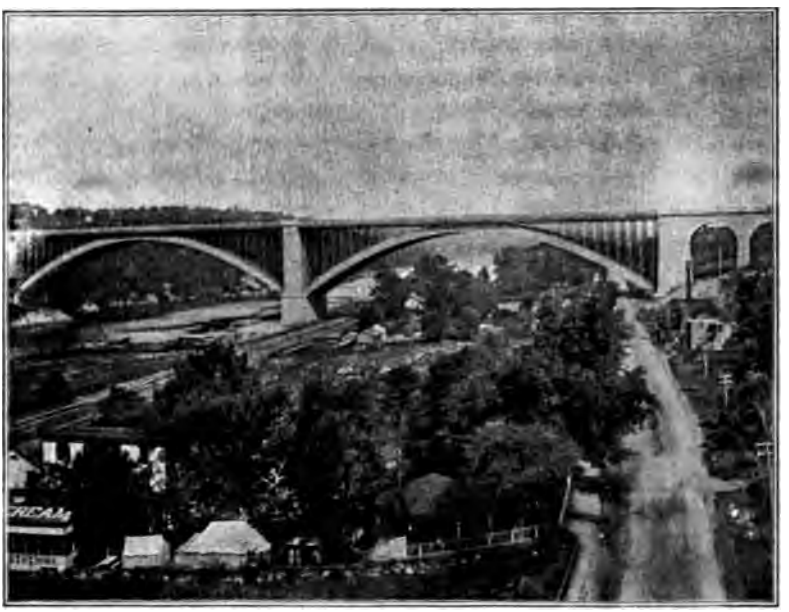
In 1882 the shafts on the New York side of the projected tunnel to run under the Hudson River, and to debouch in or near Washington Square, were begun; but this work is still among the mysteries of Mother Earth; the public is afforded no information with regard to it.

Crossing the Harlem River from One Hundred and Eighty-first Street and Manhattan Avenue to Aqueduct Avenue, the most beautiful link of our island with the mainland is Washington Bridge, completed in 1889. The lovely curves of the central spans rising a hundred and thirty-five feet above high-water mark of the silver shining stream, the substantial effect of the granite abutments and parapets, and its total length of 2,384 feet, make of this structure a sight imposing and memorable to him who looks upon it, — a notable work of art.

High Bridge, a short distance below Washington Bridge and carrying the old Croton Aqueduct, has long been a conspicuous and striking object in the landscape at this point. And instead of McCombs Dam Bridge, the ancient wooden structure, always out of repair, over which New Yorkers of the last generation rattled in their carriages on the way to Jerome Park races, is soon to be seen a new bridge over the Harlem, so stately and magnificent that few of its kind will venture to assert a

claim for notice in competition with it. In furtherance of this public improvement, the viaduct over One Hundred and Fifty-fifth Street from St. Nicholas Place was opened in 1894 by the Department of Public Works.

A new and improved drawbridge for the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company, and to provide for all the traffic of the Grand Central Station at Forty-second Street, is now nearly completed across the Harlem River at One Hundred and Thirty-fourth Street and Park Avenue, at an elevation of twenty-four feet above the high water of spring tides. Of the other bridges across the Harlem, that at One Hundred and Thirtieth Street and Third Avenue has



Washington Bridge, Harlem River.

longest been familiar to visitors to and dwellers in the Annexed District and Westchester County, but is soon to give place to a new structure elevated to the level of the one just mentioned, to facilitate the uses of the water by river craft. The Suburban Rapid Transit Railway, now a part of the general system of the Manhattan Elevated Railway Company, and the Harlem River Branch of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad, share the use of the excellent and high drawbridge extending from the northern end of Second Avenue.

In January, 1895, a drawbridge was opened by the Department of Public Works over the Harlem Ship Canal at the junction of Spuyten

rocky ledges in Hell Gate, in the East River, near Astoria, that since the earliest days of New York have been the dread of navigators forced to plunge into the swirling and treacherous currents around them, was finally cleared away. This event, widely advertised to occur, was anticipated by many citizens with apprehension of danger to the foundations of their homes; and preparations were made for it, not a few families on the east side of the town leaving their houses and resorting to the streets or open squares until the explosion should occur and the worst be realized. All, however, passed without an appreciable tremor in the soil of Manhattan Island south of Central Park; and, under the direc-



Bartholdi's Statue of Liberty, Bedloe's Island.

tion of General John Newton, the engineer of the United States in charge, nine and a half acres of rock were safely and totally demolished, — the agencies used for the purpose being 280,000 pounds of dynamite and rack-a-rock cartridges, in great chambers hollowed in the solid reef, with only a thin roof left overhead to be by the explosion dropped into the excavation.

August 5, 1884, was laid upon Bedloe's Island, until then a military post, half a mile to the westward of the Battery in the upper bay, the corner-stone of a pedestal designed by Richard M. Hunt, our great architect, for the colossal copper statue of Liberty Enlightening the World

This work of the French sculptor Bartholdi, presented to America at a cost of $200,000 furnished by popular subscription in France, was afterwards placed upon Hunt's appropriate pedestal, provided for it by subscriptions and by other efforts of our patriotic citizens, — a large share of the success of the enterprise being due to the *New York World.* The completion of the work was celebrated here October 28, 1886, by a brilliant parade of troops, including regulars and regiments of the National Guard and an array of the Fire Department, reviewed in Madison Square by the President of the United States, with members of his Cabinet and of the diplomatic corps, the Governor of New York and his staff, M. Bartholdi himself, M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, Admiral James of the French Navy, General Pelissier and General Sheridan, surrounded by an encompassing assemblage of other distinguished people. The ceremonial of the actual unveiling of the statue was somewhat impaired by a fog. Upon that occasion Rev. Dr. Richard S. Storrs made the prayer opening the exercises, Count F. de Lesseps made an excellent speech in his native language, and the oration of formal presentation was delivered by Senator Evarts; after which the ropes controlling the canvas over the colossus were loosened by M. Bartholdi, David H. King, constructor of the pedestal, and Richard Butler, the Secretary of the American Committee. The imposing figure of the statue was exposed to such view as the fog allowed, amid the boom of cannon from men-of-war, cheers of the multitude, and the clash of military bands. President Cleveland accepted the gift of France in a felicitous speech, and there were remarks from the Minister of France to America to prelude the spirited Commemorative Address, made by Chauncey M. Depew. A benediction from Bishop Potter brought the proceedings to a close. October 29th a reception was given at the Chamber of Commerce to our French visitors. The occasion was further commemorated by poems written by Whittier and Stedman, and by an ode by Emma Lazarus, first read in public by F. Hopkinson Smith at the opening of an Art Loan Exhibition in New York, in aid of the Pedestal Fund, some months before the unveiling.

This statue, at present adorning the entrance to the inner harbor of New York, is much larger than was the Colossus of Rhodes; the figure is one hundred and sixty-two feet in height, and from the top of the pedestal the head-dress reaches an elevation of three hundred and twenty-six feet. The pedestal is a rectangular shaft placed in the parade of the star-shaped granite fortification known as Fort Wood. The weight

forty-eight thousand tons. The work of con-

er the supervision of Gen. C. P. Stone,

engineer-in-chief. The tiara upon the head, and the torch carried aloft as a beacon in the right hand, are illuminated by electricity.

Because it admirably embodies the spirit of the statue, we append the sonnet written by Emma Lazarus.

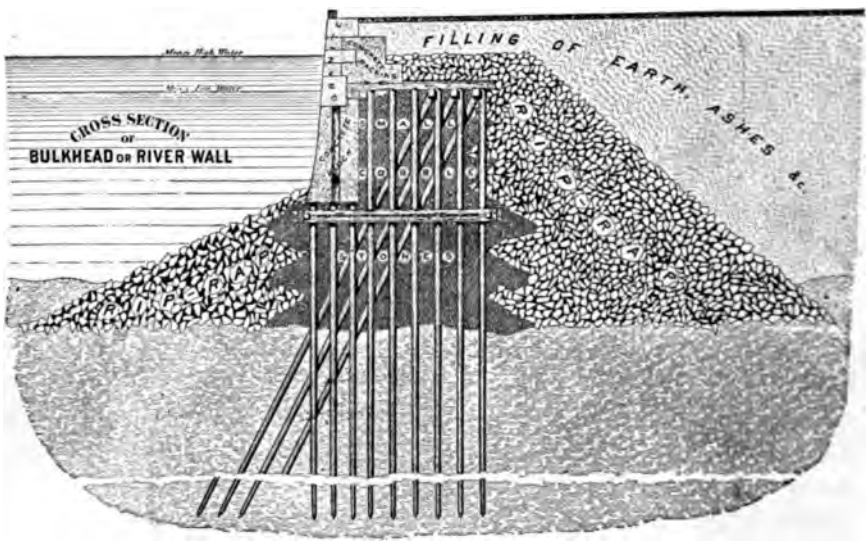
THE NEW COLOSSUS.

Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame,
With conquering limbs astride from land to land,
Here at our sea-washed sunset gates shall stand
A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame
Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name
Mother of Exiles. From her beacon hand
Glows world-wide welcome; her mild eyes command
The air-bridged harbor that twin-cities frame.

"Keep, ancient lands, your storied pomp!" cries she
With silent lips. "Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses, yearning to breathe free;
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore, —
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost, to me.
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"

The piers and docks on the East River are the special resort of sailing vessels, though steamers also are frequently to be seen there; they have many warehouses near by, and enjoy such convenience of access to ports on Long Island Sound as makes them of great value always. By using the Harlem River as a highway for traffic between the Sound and the localities on the North River above Spuyten Duyvil, twenty-five miles of crowded navigation around the Battery are saved, and the perils of disturbing tides and currents there are escaped; the Harlem itself, however, with all of its actual and possible advantages for many and great uses, has a narrow channel, and is already spanned by so many drawbridges as not to be available for larger craft. Of the water front of New York the most important portion is to be found on the North River, where, with a width of more than three thousand feet between pier-head lines, with a current less rapid and more regular than in the East River, with abundant depth, a straight course, and an unobstructed connection with the Lower Bay, ample room and opportunity are afforded for vessels of every class and size. Foreign commerce is now chiefly conducted with steamships controlled and navigated by great corporations or other associated capitalists, who have severally great fleets, with regular and frequent days for sailing. The prosperity of New York

depends, first of all, upon foreign commerce; and to provide the best possible facilities for ocean steamers is the leading idea in the new system of docks. Methods of construction have been necessarily determined by the physical conditions. At the Battery, rock is found at about fifty feet below mean high water, but along a considerable part of the line to Fifty-ninth Street it is as much as two hundred feet deep at the pier-heads. Over that rock is a great mud deposit, having, practically, no carrying capacity, and so yielding as to allow any weight resting upon it to sink. The wharves and piers to be there constructed were necessarily to be adapted, therefore, to what has been called "mud flotation;" the problem was not only unusual, but of great difficulty;



Bulk Head Plan of Construction.
(From the Engineer's Drawings.)

and the solution proposed, and thus far carried out with great success, by George S. Greene, Jr., who since 1875 has been the engineer-in-chief, acting under the commissioners governing the Department of Docks, has received the highest commendation of the most competent critics. His work, by the use of piles with a filling of stones between, surrounded by rip-raps, and carrying platforms of heavy timbers which support large concrete blocks that serve as foundations for the masonry on which rest the structures above the water level, has been pronounced by engineers of the first rank to be not only entirely satisfactory in results, but remarkable for originality. There is said to be no known better form of construc-

tion, which promises sufficient permanence of fitness for the purposes it may be required to meet to justify a resort to it with larger cost; and not the least of the merits of the method now employed by the Dock Department is found in the fact that, for the rapid increase in length of the ocean steamers of these latter days, it allows, without unreasonable cost, for an extension of piers which easily accommodate the longest ships now afloat. These structures are among the most notable of the public improvements that characterize our time. There is a length of several miles from the Battery northward specially adapted to piers for great ocean-going craft; not all of it belongs to the city as yet, but less than fifteen per cent of that space is now required for the special uses it seems particularly intended for; and means can readily be found to divert to other localities the occupants of much of the remainder, — so that we have every probability of provision in the future for an enlarged demand for accommodation of the traffic on which New York, as a competitor with other Atlantic ports for the world's commerce, is based.

The docks and piers of all great maritime cities are interesting to the observer; those of New York, though lacking in some of the solidity and striking effect upon the eye elsewhere to be found, are supremely endowed with the characteristics of animation, variety, and color conferred by the types of many nations continually in motion upon them. The United States Bureau of Immigration, now occupying quarters at Ellis Island, a little way from the shore of the Battery, receives all intending citizens of the New World who come in the steerage into New York Harbor, carefully inspects them, provides for the ailing or distressed, and establishes communication with their friends, but passes them only when assured they meet the provisions of the law excluding convicts, paupers, lunatics, idiots, those suffering from loathsome diseases or likely to come upon the public for their charge, also polygamists and contract laborers.

During the ten years from 1880 to 1890 inclusive, the total number of immigrants arrived in the United States, not including arrivals from Mexico and the British American Possessions, was 5,246,613, or about one-third of the total immigration into this country for the seven decades since 1820. During the twelve years from 1881 to 1892 inclusive, the total immigration to the United States was 6,430,016, or 38.71 per cent of the total immigration for the seventy-two years from 1821 to 1892, which was 16,611,060. The year of the largest immigration was 1882, when the number of arrivals reached 788,992. In the calendar year 1893, 229,370 alien immigrants arrived at the port of New York. One of

the noticeable characteristics of the westward tide of late years has been the increasing number of comers from Southeastern Europe and from the Mediterranean region of Asia; an interesting addition of that kind to our population is a colony of Armenians, some hundreds of whom are established in and near Greenwich Street, where they have a church and clergy of their own; the newly arrived may frequently be seen on the streets in Oriental costume; the leaders among them are merchants importing and dealing in fabrics of the East, familiar with a remarkable assortment of



Immigrants Landing.

languages, but using Arabic chiefly in their contracts and correspondence with each other.

Among the leading nationalities of Europe, Germany has led numerically in the aggregate of arriving immigrants: followed, in the order here given, by Ireland, England, Norway and Sweden, Italy, Russia and Poland, Austria-Hungary, Scotland, China, Switzerland, Denmark, and "all other countries." In late years, with Germany still at the head, the order of the list has shifted to Russia, Italy, Sweden and Norway, and

Ireland. A large proportion of the entire immigration is made up of unskilled laborers, and a larger proportion consists of those having "no definite occupation." The professional class claims a very inconsiderable share of these numbers. The largest amount of money brought into the country, in thrifty provision for their new life, has been by immigrants from France, — Switzerland, Wales, and Germany following in the order given; those from Hungary, Italy, or Poland have brought the lowest average amount. Russians have revealed the widest variations in financial conditions. Some of these have been Hebrews once prosperous in affairs; driven from home by persecution, after converting their property and estates into such money as they could be sold for, several among them have brought as much as $25,000 each; but the vast majority sailed to America on tickets furnished by the Baron de Hirsch Fund, and with only such small sums in pocket as that fund supplied to them. The exodus of these unfortunate Jews to the United States greatly increased in 1895; but the stream of their immigration is now turning toward the late Baron de Hirsch's colony in Argentina, South America. It is complained in California that the Chinese spend in the country little or nothing of their wages. By Italian bankers in New York as much as $25,000,000 to $30,000,000 in an average year is sent back to Italy, of money earned here by rarely overpaid Italian laborers and remitted to their friends at home. A like drain upon us is established by the influx of natives of the Dominion Provinces and Newfoundland; of these "birds of passage" as many as 100,000 persons come into the United States annually in search of work, and 50 per cent of them return as regularly to their homes when the open season has ended, carrying for expenditure there the savings of their gains from our soil. It is interesting to note that of this mass of alien people who swarm at our landing-place for immigrants in New York, those most desired by employers throughout the country are British, German, Swiss, and Scandanavians, who soon become thrifty citizens; the Poles, Huns, and the Latin races are not commonly offered as high wages, and are not in demand except for special occupations, or in some of our Southern States where climate is in their favor. But wherever the immigrants may be desired, it is certain that those from the cities of the old world prefer to remain in New York, which the rapacious among them justly regard as the best field for money-gathering at the expense of hapless citizens. Among domestic servants this class is particularly in evidence, with a result disastrous to the peace of many homes, and gravely threatening to the future conduct of household life in our metropolis.

Viewed, however, from the standpoint of one who observes the pic-

turesque, when the newly arrived immigrants are landed upon the lower skirts of our city, the medley of color, the babble of various tongues, the admixture of races, can be equalled nowhere in the world. They come from Europe, Asia, South America, the West Indies, Africa, islands of the Atlantic and Pacific, many in their native garb, often carrying up Broadway queer outlandish luggage which tells a story of squalor in haunts of a life far away and otherwise unknown to us. One may see there bands of Russian Jews hairy and haggard, clothed in archaic garments of woollen stuffs once white, blending with a troop of light-hearted Portuguese from the Azores, beribboned, wearing pointed hats, carrying guitars and cages of canary birds, followed by an uncouth procession of sturdy folk from Iceland, clad in sheep-skins much the worse for wear; and in a little while these melt away to be succeeded by others, who in turn are absorbed into the vast population distributed on the great bosom of our broad and fruitful land, that has room and maintenance and opportunity to spare for all.

Of this great throng, those who remain in the city of New York are not of one mind as to becoming American citizens; there are here to-day as many as fifty thousand adult male inhabitants, of foreign birth but entitled to be naturalized upon application, who have never renounced their allegiance of birth to assume the character and privileges of citizenship. But the fact that native Americans, born of parents each of whom was also a native, are in the minority not only of citizens entitled to vote but of those who actually do vote at any of our elections, shows what a rendezvous this is for the nations of the world, and reveals the necessity for the vast expenditures we shall have occasion presently to refer to, of public moneys raised by taxation every year to support and extend our common-school system. To maintain and develop our republican institutions, based upon the wide foundation of universal suffrage, the first requisite and guaranty is education of the masses to equip them for an intelligent exercise of the franchise which selects the representatives and determines the policies of a great democracy. It is in our common schools that the immigrants of tender age, and the children of those who have already attained to years of maturity when they arrive, are fitted for the duties and responsibilities of participation in affairs of government dependent upon the free ballot of all; and upon the equal opportunity here afforded for comfort and prosperity insured by the sufficient rewards of industry bestowed with intelligence we must rely for escape from the terrors elsewhere attendant upon what has been aptly called a "cultured proletariat."

The proposed renovation or rebuilding of piers, the promise of roof-

gardens on top of some of them, the Aquarium at the Battery already so nearly complete, and the additional parks to be provided along the rivers, inspire the hope that what is now lacking in external finish of our water front will be supplied in the near future.

The passenger traffic of our mercantile marine, for others than the hordes of immigrants we have been speaking of, increases enormously. The "first-class" accommodation of the Atlantic liners, great and small, knows no diminution of patronage, is more in demand in each succeed-



Proposed New Piers and Arriving Steamers.

ing year. Belonging to the thirty companies in active operation, there are between eighty and ninety steamships now on the ocean ferry in constant service. So even is their general average of time made and speed sustained, of comfort, of care for passengers, that the winter voyage is no longer dreaded by timid travellers, and in many cases is selected by those experienced at sea. To Americans whose business or pleasure calls them abroad it is no uncommon thing to make the crossing several times in the year; and among families it is now a common method of seeking a summer holiday to "go to Europe." The new arrangements of the "North German Lloyd" and "Hamburg American

companies, for regular steamers sailing direct between New York and Mediterranean ports, have met with signal success. The excursions made by some of their boats, going from and returning to New York within three months, have been much frequented; the appointments of these steamers include many of the privileges of luxurious yachts, and at a reasonable rate of charge.

But, in these days of dependence upon foreign shipping for such service, the event most notable to New Yorkers, in the late history of passenger ships crossing the Atlantic, is the establishment of the new "American Line" in 1893, when the Stars and Stripes were hoisted upon the steamers "New York" and "Paris." Southampton is their English port. On the 22d of February of that year President Harrison, several members of his Cabinet, and an assemblage of well-known citizens, attended, by invitation of the International Navigation Company, on board the "New York," when those two leviathans of the deep were formally transferred from the British flag. Since that time, two new American-built ships of proportions quite equal to theirs, the "St. Paul" and the "St. Louis," have been added to their fleet.

Other favorite lines of swift passenger steamers of to-day are the "White Star," with the "Teutonic" and "Majestic," for England; the "Cunard," with the "Lucania" and "Campagnia," for England; the "Hamburg-American," with the "Fuerst Bismarck" and "Augusta Victoria," for England and Germany; the "North German Lloyd," for England and Germany; and the "Compagnie Générale Transatlantique," for France. Still other lines for European ports there are, abundantly supplying the necessary comforts and security for passengers, though of a somewhat slower rate of speed. But in June and July, when the exodus of holiday seekers sets out from New York, it is hard to secure so much as a single vacant berth on any of them, if arrangements have not been made weeks before.

The telephone system of New York is the largest and most complete of its kind. In the first quarter of this year 1896 it consists of 15,000 subscribers' stations; 12 central offices, the most important of them in fire-proof buildings specially constructed for the purpose; 38,000 miles of underground wires in the streets; and about 3,500 miles of overhead wires in the regions not yet closely built up. The entire system belongs to and is operated by the Metropolitan Telephone and Telegraph Company, organized in 1880 to take over the earlier systems established by two rival corporations claiming under patentees engaged in litigations ended only by the consolidation of interests. At that time the aggregate

number of telephone subscribers was only 2,800; all the wires were overhead in the streets, supported by cross-arms upon huge and unsightly wooden posts, of great height, set in the soil at the curbstones of the pavements, where the posts were sometimes as much as two feet in diameter at the street level, obstructing not only the view along but the uses of the highways; and the service was in many respects unsatisfactory. In the winter of 1881 the entire system of wires was wrecked by a sleet storm; again in 1888, 1889, and 1891, severe damage was wrought by like disturbances. To-day the wires, elsewhere than in the suburbs, are in subways under the streets. In changing from overhead and grounded circuit working to underground and metallic circuit working, the plant and system have been entirely reconstructed by an investment of additional capital, and with great improvement in general efficiency. The equipment of every kind is of the best; the great switch-boards, for example, in the central offices, are marvels of inventive and mechanical genius; and all subscribers may have "long distance" connections, enabling them to converse with callers even in Chicago or farther West. The daily connections number 150,000, and are handled with an average delay, from subscriber's call to subscriber's answer, of less than 40 seconds, though seven-tenths of the connections pass through two central offices. Such a service is nowhere equalled; nowhere in Europe are the customers so exacting, or the telephone administrations so alert in adopting improvements in appliances or methods. The New York Company has nearly 1,300 employees; about 1,100 of them always at work in construction, maintenance, and operation of the system, the others engaged in the executive and general offices. The total yearly traffic handled is 36,000,000 of messages, and is rapidly increasing because of the impetus received from the adoption of what are known as "message rates" in force since June, 1894, — rates offering a schedule, not of uniform tariff for all subscribers alike (whether one uses his telephone frequently or not) as heretofore, but of charges rising from a minimum for 600 messages per annum, in accordance with one's actual use of the service.

Not less remarkable is what has been accomplished by the three existing New York systems of electric lighting. The Mount Morris Electric Light Company, with two stations, reaches from One Hundred and Eighty-fifth Street, on the west side, to Fourteenth Street, and pervades the entire area of the city south of there; it supplies a high tension direct current to 1,200 arc lights and an alternating current to 25,000 incandescent lamps, but is now engaged in greatly increasing

the capacity. The United Electric Light and Power Company employs the Westinghouse methods, and furnishes both lighting and power; it has four stations, with a capacity of 120,000 lights, having now installed 75,000 incandescent lamps and 2,000 arc lights. The Edison system is on a much larger scale. The old Pearl Street station, where Edison was said to work twenty-five hours out of twenty-four, sleeping only during odd hours and on piles of tubing, whilst developing his ideas for lighting and his underground system of conductors, is now no more; instead of it we have the huge building of The Edison Electric Illuminating Company on Duane and Pearl streets, one block east from Broadway, where the main station and general offices are found.[1]

It has come to pass in the last sixteen years that our dwellings may be equipped throughout with devices for availing ourselves of electricity as the most versatile and useful of domestic servants. The bells that announce a visitor are rung by an electric button at the front door; the rooms and halls are lighted by electricity; seated comfortably at home we talk to our friends, the country over, by the electric telephone, and recognize their voices, as they do ours, at distances of a few feet away or of more than a thousand miles; if we need a messenger, a policeman, or the Fire Department, the summons is given by a touch that sounds an electrical signal in a central office, whence a response is

[1] This is the largest electric lighting company, and this building the largest electric supply station, anywhere to be found. It has room for 28,000 horse power in steam machinery, — one-third already installed. In the operating room on the ground floor are the huge generating units, the largest of their kind, each a great 2,500 horse power engine with a dynamo revolving at either end of the shaft. Two stories above is the boiler room, extending from one street to the other; and still above, nearly a hundred feet in the air, are the coal bunkers, containing two thousand tons or more of coal, elevated mechanically from the street, where it is first automatically weighed; from the bunkers the coal is delivered by gravity through weighing chutes in front of the boilers below. The company's offices occupy the upper floors; and this building, which dates only from 1891, is not only interesting within for its mechanical and electrical appliances, but striking without for architectural features, — all the ornamentation appearing in forms that speak of electricity in the arts, lamps, armatures, etc., instead of ordinary decorative devices. A newer station on Twelfth Street, east of Fourth Avenue, shows even more novel details, including turbo-generators (with French steam turbines) of 300 horse power, and a large storage battery plant. And there are other stations in Twenty-sixth Street, near Sixth Avenue; in Thirty-ninth Street, near Broadway; and elsewhere. All feed into one common network underneath the streets, intended to supply a great part of New York with electric current for light, power, heating, and other purposes. This underground system includes more than 200 miles of Edison tubing or 600 miles of copper conductors, supplying continuously at present about 6,000 customers with more than 225,000 incandescent lamps, about 3,000 arc lamps, and more than 13,000 horse power in motors, — not [illegible]ng some sixty or seventy large buildings to which current is furnished during a part of [illegible] This is the equivalent of more than 460,000 ordinary incandescent lamps. [illegible]allation is at Chicago, with an equivalent of about 325,000; and [illegible]t of 250,000.

promptly made by sending him we have called for; the coal bins may be left empty, — the cooking can be done and the house may be warmed by electricity; if an invalid requires a passenger elevator for reaching another floor of the premises, electricity will supply the motive power; revolving electric fans furnish a cooling breeze in the most sultry weather, for whatever part of the house desired, and at any hour, day or night; and we are told that very soon we may be able to remain at home and enjoy the lightest note of the prima donna at the opera. From basement to roof we can have the services of this all-powerful but now subjugated agency; it will fetch to us from without many of the pleasures heretofore to be had only by going abroad for them ourselves; and, with this one assistant in place of many, our comforts of living are such as were never before dreamed of.

The regiments of the National Guard in New York contain between seven and eight hundred officers, and between twelve and thirteen thousand enlisted men. The efficiency of these citizen soldiers in answer to the call of duty has, happily, not been recently put to the test, — except in the cases of the riots in Buffalo and those in Brooklyn, already described in these pages; but their appearance and conduct upon those two occasions, as well as the general spirit of enthusiasm for and fidelity to their organizations, are worthy of all praise. In 1880 the Seventh Regiment moved into the first of the series of new and substantial armories that now ornament the town. This is a striking stone building, richly decorated within, erected at Park Avenue and Sixty-sixth Street, under the direction of Col. Emmons Clark, with funds raised by the subscriptions of friends. In 1883 an Armory Commission, created with members designated by the Legislature and later extended to include other public functionaries, began the work of providing armories for other regiments, and with excellent results. The Eighth Regiment Armory is at Park Avenue and Ninety-fourth Street; and on the same block a fine armory and amphitheatre for cavalry exercise has been supplied to Squadron A. The Ninth Regiment is soon to be appropriately housed at Fourteenth Street near Sixth Avenue; the Twelfth is already established at Sixty-first Street and Columbus Avenue; the Twenty-second at Columbus Avenue and Sixty-seventh Street; and the Seventy-first has recently gone into occupation of the imposing castellated building of gray stone that arises at Thirty-fourth Street and Park Avenue, — where the Second Battery is given the basement floor on the level of Thirty-third Street.

The Naval Battalion of New York City, mustered into service in 1891,



Police Parade.

minds as no words can, do not half tell to others the tale of service we enjoy, in all seasons and at all hours, from these ever-ready guardians. In the freezing nights of winter, when other citizens, aroused by the clangor of engine and hose carriage through the street, turn drowsily in bed, these brave and well-trained men are alert and on duty, speeding to danger as fast as their horses' gallop can carry them. Over and again the daily newspapers record acts of daring and self-sacrifice by them that are worthy of the greatest heroes of any age; and to the admirable perfection of the discipline, the excellent performance of their machines, and the atmosphere of watchfulness and efficiency that accompanies them, every passer's tongue can testify. A general conflagration, such as once devastated New York and recurs elsewhere at intervals not over-long, seems to be now impossible here; great fires are very rare; the aggregate of losses on even five thousand occasions when the men are called out is astonishingly small. Organized as it now is, our Fire Department is a model for *personnel*, equipment, drill, and results.

The wardens of our crossings, the conservators of law and order in our streets, the men of the Police Force of New York, deserve special consideration. Recent statistics show that, whilst our population has been increasing during recent years at an average rate of about fifty thousand per annum, the number of patrolmen added to the list has been actually at the rate of but one officer for seven hundred new citizens. Even with the accessions lately called for by the Chief of Police and demanded by the Commissioners, the force will be less in proportion to population than that in any of the large European cities. And yet, by night or day, except for casual beggars and a semi-occasional desperado hazarding highway robbery or other assault upon a lonely wayfarer in some unfrequented spot, who shall say the dweller in New York does not take the road and ply his avocations undisturbed; that his home is not well guarded? Burglaries, nearly always magnified by the press and general report, are fewer than might be looked for in a wealthy metropolis, the rendezvous of adventurers from every quarter of our own country, overrun with continually arriving immigrants from abroad without occupation or resource; and the quiet of our chief thoroughfares after nightfall, in comparison with those of other great cities where the hum of humanity never ceases, is remarkable. For a present population of nearly two millions, we now have one chief of police, 23 captains, 154 sergeants, 37 detective sergeants, 174 roundsmen, 3,651 patrolmen, 73 doormen, 15 surgeons, and 28 matrons in charge of stations and for the care of women and children. On Broad-

way an officer is stationed at every street-crossing from the Battery to Forty-second Street, charged with the duty of rendering assistance across the cable-tracks, where perils are always lurking. These men — fine, stalwart fellows, generally good-humored and always efficient — are there on duty from eight A. M. to six P. M., with an hour off at midday. At what are called the special "danger points" of Broadway, additional men are in service. In 1895 Theodore Roosevelt became President of the Board of Police Commissioners, the rest of the board consisting of Avery D. Andrews, treasurer, Frederick D. Grant, and Andrew D. Parker. These gentlemen assumed the control of police affairs at a crisis of deplorable political confusion and general demoralization among the higher officers of the Department; and the past ten months bear witness to the installation of a system of rigidly honest and non-partisan appointments, promotions, reductions, and details. Under the vigorous and uncompromising sway of Mr. Roosevelt the war against crime, and against corruption in the Department itself, has been carried on effectually. And there is now nowhere to be found a police force better prepared for the duties laid out for such an establishment.

Another question vitally concerning our community may, for the conclusion of this brief glimpse at some of the municipal machinery that affects our lives of every day in New York, be summed up as follows:

The total number of applications received in 1895 by the Board of Commissioners of Excise, for licenses or for transfers of licenses to sell liquor, was 12,070; and of such applications granted there were 11,029, from which the sum of $1,790,530 was received for excise fees. Of this total revenue for the year, $134,290.27 was applied to the expenses of the Board; $300,000 — a fixed annual amount — went to the Police Department Pension Fund, which without this would be speedily bankrupt; $75,000 — also a fixed yearly charge — was handed over to the Fire Department Relief Fund; $500,000 was contributed to the General Fund for extinguishing the city debt; and more than $700,000 was distributed, as usual during many years, among benevolent or charitable institutions for the support of the city's poor or unfortunate, recruited chiefly from those addicted to the intemperate use of the liquors licensed to be sold, — whose relief these moneys were applied somewhat upon the principle ed in by the rustic who cures his wounds by plastering them hair of the dog that bit him.

the past nine years, nearly four thousand applications for new places have been rejected by the Board.

apter goes to press, an Act of the Legislature, but just ap-

proved, has made radical changes in the laws heretofore regulating excises and the traffic in liquors, not only in the city of New York but throughout the State. Such things have heretofore been of local concern; they all now pass under State control. One feature of the new law is a diversion to State uses of some of the funds heretofore applied only within the bounds of this municipality.

In 1895 twenty-two square miles were added to the area of New York by annexation. The postal needs of that territory had been supplied by six small offices; three were abolished, and the remainder consolidated with the New York Post Office as branch stations. A comparative statement of operations of this office for the years 1880 and 1895 gives a fair idea of the increase of work there performed. Of clerks employed in 1880 there were 700, of letter carriers, 470. In 1895 there were 1,796 clerks, and 1,360 letter carriers. Of branch stations there were 14 in 1880; we have now 24. In 1880 there were no sub-stations; to-day of these convenient stopping-places, where the citizen may buy a money order, receive money on an order, register letters and parcels, and transact other business, there are 49. Of the 200 postage stamp agencies, where stamps and envelopes are to-day sold in quantities sufficient for the needs of the purchaser, there were none in 1880. The gross annual receipts of our Post Office in 1880 were $3,584,785.73; in 1895 they were $7,254,974.19, and the net revenue was nearly double what it had been fifteen years earlier. Letters and postal cards delivered daily by carriers in 1880 were 196,807; in 1895 they reached the daily aggregate of 953,850. Of regular newspapers and periodicals mailed at the New York Post Office as second-class matter, there were, in 1880, 17,326,455 lbs.; in 1895, 59,193,174 lbs. Letters sent to and received from foreign countries in 1880 were 24,317,541; in 1895, 52,100,830. In the latter part of 1885 the special delivery system was established in New York, and in 1886 the number of special delivery letters sent or received



Postman.

amounted to 60,124; in 1895 such letters numbered 544,486. These figures illustrate the rapid growth of the postal needs and service of the city. They do not limit or express the unfailing satisfaction of our citizens in the executive ability of the officers of this agency of government, or in the fidelity and promptness, in all weathers, of the gray-coated messengers who speed from house to house in the local service of the Department. Whatever else halts in the forward movement of life, the postal service goes on with the regularity and efficiency of a mighty machine, of special adaptation to the work it must do.

In 1889 Columbia College sustained the loss, by death, of Dr. F. A. P. Barnard, at a good old age, who for twenty-five years had been president, — a man of brilliant mind, accomplished in many branches of science and learning, a devoted, experienced, and successful educator. In 1890 Dr. Barnard's place was filled by President Seth Low, who had already been mayor of Brooklyn, and there had made an excellent reputation as an executive and administrator, — a young and enlightened and public-spirited citizen, by education and tradition and by singular special aptitudes eminently fitted for his position. This was the beginning of an era of prosperity and growth, which, with the co-operation of many others, and President Low's recent large contribution from his own well furnished and liberal purse for the erection of buildings upon the new and extensive site selected to the northwest of Central Park, promises to see Columbia become one of the greatest of universities. In 1889 the novel and important departure was here made of admitting women to an opportunity to secure an education of scope equal to what had been long afforded to men; and Barnard College, named in honor of the late president, who had always fostered the idea of bringing such an institution within the periphery of Columbia's direction, was founded. A temporary building for college purposes was secured in Madison Avenue, and a board of trustees soon commenced an active campaign to provide for their students — young women of refinement, intelligence, and ambition, residing most of them in their own homes in New York — the privileges of education on the same lines with their brothers. The entrance examination, the course of studies, and the degrees awarded, are substantially the same for either sex; and although entirely distinct from Columbia, Barnard is now officially enrolled as an additional cohort under the same flag. With the guidance of Dean Smith, it is growing in numbers, strength, and repute among kindred institutions. Before very long the faculty and scholars will be transferred to a new build-

on Barnard grounds, contributed by Mrs. A. A. Anderson, a faithful and director in the cause.

In the matter of such education for women, it is here appropriate to mention what has been accomplished by Mrs. Joseph H. Choate, one of the founders and the president of the little group of earnest workers who formed the Association here for the Higher Education of Women. The first achievement of her modest but well directed and persistent efforts for the intellectual equipment and advancement of her sex was the Brearly School for girls; the establishment of Barnard College has been the logical sequence.

One of the associates with Mrs. Choate in most of her work in this direction has been Mrs. Francis P. Kinnicutt, to whom it was reserved to be distinguished by successful efforts for the reform of local methods of street cleaning, which finally opened the way, first to legislation for, and afterwards to organization of, much-needed improvements we have mentioned as now conducted by Colonel Waring.

And as an example of what can be done by a woman of aptitude and training, in even the most difficult of the sciences, we must speak here of Mrs. Draper, of New York, widow of the late Dr. Henry Draper whose death in 1882 left this lady to devote herself and her fortune to prosecution of his efforts to their final and remarkable fruits now attained. She had been her husband's faithful and skilful co-adjutor in astronomical research, and in the arts that record and preserve the results of the observations he made a specialty. He was the first to photograph the lines of a stellar spectrum, a feat he achieved in 1872; and before he died he had carried his work so far as to photograph the stars of the first magnitude. After his death, telescopes and other instruments and apparatus they had used at their observatory at Hastings-on-Hudson were removed by her to the Harvard Observatory at Cambridge; some of them, with additions, went thence to California, and by another journey to Arequipa in Peru, where she now maintains a station at a great altitude in the clear atmosphere of the mountains, under charge of an efficient staff sent there from Harvard University to complete the undertaking Dr. Draper had begun of photographing all the stars and classifying them according to their spectra. A catalogue of ten thousand stars, including those of the tenth magnitude, has been already published; and others are in preparation. She is still pursuing the work with unabated zeal. And, conceding to Professor Pickering and his accomplished assistants all the praise they well deserve for such additions to the world's knowledge of the heavens, the fact remains that to Mrs. Draper and to her devotion to the memory of her distinguished husband these astonishing results are chiefly due.

Among other changes, Columbia in 1890 reorganized the Law School

and established a School of Philosophy; two years later there was added a school for Pure Science. But perhaps the most valuable group of recent manifestations of the spirit of this rapidly increasing university has been made in connection with the medical department, as shown by the three Vanderbilt buildings, — the College of Physicians and Surgeons, the Sloane Maternity Hospital, and the Vanderbilt Clinic and Dispensary. And in the near future the array of new buildings on the Morningside Plateau, near the Cathedral, to be erected under direction of McKim the architect, will place New York in enjoyment of enduring examples of the best academic architecture.[1]

In 1890 a meeting of gentlemen interested in transferring the site of the University of the City of New York from Washington Square subscribed three hundred thousand dollars for that purpose, representing fifty-four contributors; the amount was applied to the purchase of twenty acres of ground on an eminence to be known henceforth as University Heights, beyond the Harlem River, between Fordham and Morris Heights. The student of Mrs. Lamb's History will recall her record of the establishment of the first seat of this institution, in 1833–1835, in Washington Square, "at what was then a considerable distance from the city." The same phrase applies now to the locality chosen for the present site, where temporary quarters are already in occupancy and some permanent structures have been erected. The general plan of the buildings is in especial charge of Stanford White, a graduate; and the dominating edifice of a quadrangle lined with stately halls will be a library with classic portico and a dome, into which the architect will breathe the living spirit of his art. A University Residence Hall, to balance the present Hall of Languages, is to be of grayish yellow brick with pink granite and Indiana limestone, the roof of Spanish tiles. The whole eastern extremity of the plateau on the Heights is to be made into a college close. There will be a ground for athletics, to be called "the Ohio Field," the gift of members of the "Ohio Society of New York." A University Boat House, on the bank of the Harlem River near at hand, will further provide for the athletic training of the youths so fortunate as to occupy the new buildings, and who cannot but gather from them

[1] It is now established that this plateau was the scene of the Battle of Harlem Heights during the Revolutionary War; and that fact gives to the new site of Columbia University an association of great historic interest. The researches of recent years have brought to light contemporary accounts of that battle not known to Mrs. Lamb when she described it on pp. 127 *et seq.* of Volume II. of her History; they correct what had been generally accepted on the subject until a date subsequent to her recital, and determine the locality as Knowlton.

something of a perception of true art, so potent a factor in the development of taste. The ægis of this institution has sheltered the Woman's League for Political Education, under whose auspices six classes of women have completed the course of study in elementary law founded by the League. Chancellor Henry W. McCracken is the present head of this university, and to his devotion, energy, and sagacity, much of recent progress is due.

A transformation pleasing to the public eye, and significant of an attempt by her people to provide the Protestant Episcopal Church in New York an equipment requisite for the agencies of civilization in these latter days, is the change in the appearance of the old General Theological Seminary at what used to be called Chelsea. A number of brick and stone buildings in the style of many English colleges, of imposing front over which Japanese ivy has been weaving a verdant web to conceal the look of newness that generally detracts from architecture of our day, have arisen to take the place of the gloomy and uncomfortable old structures that occupied the square until recently. Green lawns and neat railings surround Hobart Hall, with its fine space and finish, the handsome chapel and the commodious and attractive quarters for professors and students.

In 1884 Union Theological Seminary removed from University Place and took possession of new buildings in Park Avenue. The trial of Prof. Chas. A. Briggs, by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, for heresy, is one of the prominent and disturbing incidents of this seminary's history in later days.

The College of the City of New York, following the example of others, is also soon to move northward, to occupy new buildings upon the high ground above Harlem, a site chosen because of accessibility from all parts of both the old and the new districts of the town, and recently acquired after the passage of an Act of the Legislature authorizing the trustees to make the purchase. At no time in its history has this college been in a more prosperous condition — though the cramped quarters in Lexington Avenue on Twenty-third Street have retarded its growth. In 1896 there are between seven and eight hundred students in pursuit of the regular classical and scientific four years' courses leading to degrees; in the different departments of the sub-freshman class there are six hundred; and the number of the faculty, professors, instructors, and tutors, exceeds fifty. This institution is the highest stage for young men of our common-school system. It is supported by a yearly appropriation of (heretofore) $150,000 from the city, and is to maintain its present character as a college. Its aim is to carry the education of a

penniless boy from the public schools to a point where, upon graduation, he may be fitted to enter any professional or scientific school in the country, as well equipped as any youth who has paid his way through another college of first instance. The president is and for many years has been General Alexander S. Webb. The Normal College at Park and Lexington avenues, intended specially for training female teachers, provides an education for girls from the public schools quite as advanced and thorough. It has in 1896 a president, Dr. Thomas D. Hunter, 44 professors and tutors, with 1,877 pupils in attendance; a subordinate school has a superintendent and 26 teachers, with 1,039 scholars on the register.

The design made for the building for the future headquarters of the Board of Education itself is admirably appropriate; and behind its dignified façade will be prosecuted during another century the good work of this indispensable department of our local government.

The number of public schools supported by the city in 1880, including grammar and primary schools and those for negroes, was 120, with 2,831 teachers and an average enrolment of 125,193 scholars. In 1896 there are 147 schools, 4,183 teachers, and an average enrolment of 186,622 scholars. The appropriation of public moneys by our local authorities for the city schools in 1896 is $5,679,302.59; and in addition to this astonishing sum, levied and raised here by taxation for maintenance of our local system, the city of New York will be this year (and every year) called upon and taxed by the Legislature at Albany for not less than in 1895, as a contribution by us to the support of the common schools elsewhere in the State. That State tax paid by the city in 1895 amounted to $1,818,820.26, — exclusive of all our other burdens called State taxes.

A feature of our common-school system of later days is the active interest in it displayed by women of the educated, and what are mistakenly called the "leisure," classes of society; and women are now always to be found among the members of the Board of Education.

Among private schools of the higher grade for boys, that have won the confidence of New York by their steady maintenance of the best methods of instruction, combined with hygienic care for their pupils, are those of Arthur H. Cutler, who has contributed to the different universities here and in New England a long list of names from among the representative families of New York, — and the Berkeley School, has a fine building in town and athletic grounds in the suburbs. ion schools, of as high grade, for girls, are the Brearly already d, occupying a fine building in Forty-fourth Street, and the the Misses Ely, beautifully situated on Riverside Drive.



St. Luke's Hospital.

The Cathedral of St. John the Divine.

These have been selected for mention as examples of their kind.

The enthusiastic work accomplished by the New York Kindergarten Association among the poor children in many parts of the town is well known. Of reform schools, manual training schools, art-schools, colleges for music, industrial schools of numerous varieties, institutions for teaching the blind, schools for the deaf and dumb for mental or physical culture, and commercial colleges, the ranks are many and full. Another important institution is the New York Trade School, founded and for a time conducted by the late Colonel Richard Auchmuty of New York and Lenox, which has been further and liberally endowed by J. Pierpont Morgan. And our list is not complete without reference to the widely extended and sagacious labors of Miss Grace Dodge in behalf of the working-girls she has associated together for mutual improvement, or without recalling the Young Women's Christian Association, which has this year held a mass meeting at Carnegie Hall to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of its founding. Since 1873, when it began work with one room and one teacher, this beneficent society has grown until, in 1896, it has and occupies two great buildings, supports a Bible class with an annual attendance of 5,000, and has gathered a library containing 25,000 volumes; in addition to many other enterprises, it maintains classes in which are taught, to more than 2,000 girls, stenography, typewriting, millinery, and other useful arts.

By the Margaret Louisa Home, a temporary abode for refined and self-supporting women, given to this association by Mrs. Elliot F. Shephard, one of its founders, as many as 5,000 women have been housed, at least 2,000 young women have been educated, and in 1895 more than 2,000 girls and women were secured situations of remunerative employment.

Some idea of the new churches scattered chiefly over the upper end of Manhattan Island, and an indication of the variety of creeds they represent, proves, if proof were needed, that New Yorkers expend their money, and freely, not alone upon their own habitations of material comfort and selfish enjoyment, or upon any of the things we have already spoken of.

Of special interest to Episcopalians, among the nearly or quite one hundred churches and chapels where the ministrations of that church occur, is the projected Cathedral of St. John the Divine, on Morningside Plateau, of which the corner-stone was laid on St. John's Day, December 17, 1892, by the Bishop of the Diocese. That the increase in the numbers of the

cultured and wealthy among the members of the churches makes such a building possible here, and at a time when the old world is finding its venerable and storied shrines difficult to maintain, is certainly remarkable. The new cathedral, to be built after plans by Heins & La Farge, the architects to whom it was awarded in competition, will be an enormous cruciform church, set east and west, with its apse on the edge of the hill overlooking the whole city of New York, Long Island Sound, the Hudson River, the Palisades, and a large part of Westchester County beyond the Harlem. This imposing pile, to be built at an outlay of millions, and to cost more millions in the support of it and of its staff of clergy as they carry on their work, will present to the eye the effect of a cluster of seven towers, the central one dominated by a spire, the two towers flanking the main entrance on the west front being higher than the others; to the instructed there will appear symbolisms of religious sentiment and teaching in many a significant portion of the mighty structure.

Grace Episcopal Church, in Broadway, by James Renwick, architect, took upon itself in 1880 the additions of Grace Memorial House, Grace House, and Grace Chantry, thus completing an ecclesiastical assemblage of Gothic art that, with the new marble belfry seen and admired the whole length of lower Broadway, is cherished by all New Yorkers of proper sentiment, and of no matter what religious faith, as a thing of rare beauty. In 1883, when the Rev. Dr. Henry C. Potter was consecrated to be Bishop of the Diocese of New York, the Rev. Dr. Huntington became the rector of Grace Parish.

In old St. Paul's Church, of Trinity Parish, was celebrated at nine A. M. on April 29, 1889, a special religious service attended by Benjamin Harrison, President of the United States, and several members of his Cabinet, in commemoration of the service held there one hundred years before, when George Washington was present, immediately following his inauguration as the first of our Presidents. The most recent of the several off-shoots of old Trinity, under the Rev. Dr. Dix, the rector, is St. Agnes Chapel, in West Ninety-second Street. The interior, with its chancel of green-tinted marbles, communion rail of pure white marble, and windows of Tiffany glass, is very striking.

St. George's Church has added to itself St. George's Memorial House, given by J. Pierpont Morgan in memory of the late Mr. and Mrs. Charles Tracy, containing accommodations for clergy, school classes, clubs, reading-rooms, gymnastic exercises, and a library. With his well-selected corps of assistants the Rev. Dr. Rainsford there conducts a numerous and various list of associations continually and intelligently occupied

with the welfare of the poor or suffering in a great part of the town the training of the young, and the general betterment of social conditions, as well as with the religious instruction and support of a numerous congregation.

In like fashion St. Bartholomew's Church has widened its borders, and under direction of the rector, the Rev. Dr. Greer, has completed a commodious parish house, the gift of Mrs. William H. Vanderbilt and her son Cornelius Vanderbilt, whence are administered the many discriminating charities and other beneficent enterprises of a busy and populous parish.

Calvary Church, occupying for fifty years the same ground, has, with church and chapel, Galilee and East Side buildings, the equipment that enables the clergy to carry on a remarkably useful work throughout the fifty crowded city blocks that constitute their special territory. In 1896 the rector, the Rev. Dr. Satterlee, was consecrated to be Bishop of Washington.

The Church of the Ascension — surrounded by an enclosure of green turf at Fifth Avenue and Tenth Street, a pleasant sight for wayfarers in that staid and well-ordered quarter — was improved within by decorations of the chancel, where the art of Stanford White, St. Gaudens, and Maitland Armstrong combined to make a rich setting for La Farge's picture of the Ascension presented by two parishioners, the Misses Rhinelander. Of this church the Rev. Dr. Percy Grant is the rector in 1896.

Upon St. Thomas' Church, built in 1870 by Upjohn, have been conferred recent embellishments of the interior, including a golden reredos by St. Gaudens, and chancel cartoons and organ decorations by La Farge. The rector in 1896 is the Rev. Dr. Brown.

New and costly churches are the Holy Trinity, in Harlem, built after designs by William Potter; St. Michael's, in Amsterdam Avenue, by R. W. Gibson; Christ Church, in Seventy-first Street, by C. C. Haight; All Angels, in West End Avenue; St. Zion and St. Timothy; St. James; St. Andrews; and St. Luke's, on Washington Heights, by R. H. Robertson, a chapel of Trinity Parish. Its rectory is the historic home of Alexander Hamilton, described on page 482, Vol. II., of Mrs. Lamb's History.

The Collegiate Reformed Dutch Protestant Church has established itself in a large new structure in the Flemish style, designed by R. W. Gibson, in West End Avenue.

The South Reformed Dutch Church is installed at Madison Avenue and Thirty-eighth Street, in a redecorated building.

Since 1883 the Rev. Henry Van Dyke, an eloquent speaker and widely

known as a *littérateur*, has occupied the pulpit of the Brick Presbyterian Church in Fifth Avenue.

In the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, which has for its pastor that eminent divine the Rev. Dr. John Hall, there have been no changes to record here, save those of a continuing growth in power and usefulness. The Fourth Avenue Presbyterian Church has been called upon in late years to lament the loss of Rev. Dr. Howard Crosby. In 1880 the Rev. Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst succeeded to the charge of the Madison Square Presbyterian Church, with a mission and church house in Third Avenue. The Park Presbyterian Church has moved into its new building in Amsterdam Avenue; and in that avenue also may be found the new edifice of the West End Presbyterian Church. The Rutgers Riverside Presbyterian Church is established on the Boulevard, and a new Edgehill Chapel has been finished at Spuyten Duyvil.

The Methodist Episcopal Church has a new place of worship in Madison Avenue. Calvary Church, of that denomination, has a new and spacious edifice; and the Park Avenue Church, after various removals, has been substantially established also in that avenue, still farther north.

Among the Baptist churches, and indeed among all the churches in New York, one of the most distinguished examples in architecture is the Judson Memorial Church, in Washington Square, after designs by McKim, Mead, & White, in memory of the heroic missionary who first carried Christianity to the wilds of Burmah, and, after imprisonment and torture for his faith, died at sea, to find a resting-place in the Indian Ocean. The style is the florid Renaissance, and the beautiful campanile suggests those belfry towers that, once seen against the sky of Italy, remain forever imprinted upon the observer's memory. Calvary Baptist Church, whose pastor is the Rev. Dr. MacArthur, has a new building; and other Baptist churches have been renewed and remodelled.

St. James Lutheran Church is in possession of a tasteful and artistic new building.

To the interior of All Souls Unitarian Church has been contributed a fine bas-relief in bronze, by St. Gaudens, of the late Rev. Dr. Henry W. Bellows. The Church of the Messiah, of which the Rev. Robert Collyer is still the inspiring and beloved pastor, has moved from its old quarters in Park Avenue.

Noteworthy events in the late history of the Roman Catholic Church in New York, of which the Most Rev. M. A. Corrigan is now the Archbishop, are the celebration by Cardinal McCloskey in 1884 of the fiftieth year of his priesthood; the death in 1885 of that revered and scholarly

prelate; and the opening of the new Catholic Club, of which the president is Frederic R. Coudert. The growth of this communion has kept pace with the increase of our population. During the years that elapsed between 1880 and 1896, 91 new churches and 40 schools have been erected. The number of priests has increased from 384 to 620; the number of charitable institutions, homes, hospitals, etc., from 28 to 40; the number of members, from 600,000 to 800,000. Amongst the enterprises brought to completion during this period are the building of the Mission of the Immaculate Virgin in Lafayette Place, and its country house at Mount Loretto, Staten Island. In the two are more than 2,000 inmates. Amongst the hospitals recently built may be mentioned St. Joseph's, at Yonkers, Seton Hospital for Consumptives, at Spuyten Duyvil, and St. Joseph's Home for Incurables, at One Hundred and Forty-third Street and Brook Avenue. The Orphan Asylums on Madison Avenue and Fifty-first Street have been enlarged at an expense of more than $400,000. In remarking that the graceful towers have been added to St. Patrick's Cathedral, it is pleasant to remember that Renwick, the architect, now dead, survived to see his beautiful Gothic work thus completed. The new seminary at Dunwoodie for the education of theological students has been built at an expense of nearly a million of dollars. In 1886 the Rev. Dr. McGlynn was temporarily suspended for taking part in the political canvass of Henry George as "Labor" candidate for mayor; when he refused to obey the summons to Rome by the Sovereign Pontiff, he was punished in 1887 with excommunication. The incident attracted wide attention. On his repentance he was restored to priestly functions by Monsignor Satolli, Delegate Apostolic, in December, 1893. Shortly afterwards his reconciliation was completed in an audience given by Pope Leo XIII.

The German Hebrew Synagogue in Madison Avenue, and the new Temple Beth-El at Fifth Avenue and Seventy-sixth Street, with its great gilt-ribbed dome and many times repeated arches of gray limestone, are familiar to all.

To these new places of worship we have specified, and others to be seen, and to those already long established before the date this chapter begins with, add dispensaries, training-schools, houses of mercy, summer homes, and shelters, together with a strong array of forces of deaconesses sisterhoods, brotherhoods, preachers in many languages, volunteer nurses and visitors to the poor, all quietly and untiringly at work to do the bidding of their respective churches in every part of the territorial limits of the town, and, if these be evidence, religion is more in touch now with the daily life and perennial needs of humanity than at any time in the history of New York.

Of the new mission houses, three are of imposing size and proportions,—one of them, the Church Missions House, in Fourth Avenue, built with subscriptions made throughout the country, and belonging to the Protestant Episcopal Church at large in America. Here are established the Board of Foreign and Domestic Missions, the offices of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, the Church Temperance Society, the Parochial Missions Society, and the Girls Friendly Society; and there is room for more. The others are the Methodist Mission House, in Fifth Avenue, containing offices, a bishop's room, chapel, library, printing-office, and shops for the sale of the books and pamphlets published by the Methodist Missionary Society of New York; and the new Presbyterian Building, also in Fifth Avenue, at Twentieth Street.

In the scholastic shades of quiet Lafayette Place, opposite the Astor Library, was instituted the Diocesan or See House of the Diocese of New York. The old dwelling converted to its present uses now wears an appearance befitting its dignified function. It contains offices for the Bishop, the Arch Deacon of New York, the Presiding Bishop of the Church, the Standing Committee of the Diocese, and the Secretary of the House of Bishops, together with Hobart Hall, reception and reading rooms, and sleeping quarters for members of the Clergy Club. Few of those attentive to the march of events in latter-day New York can be unaware of how large a part has been played in the right shaping of public opinion upon important civic questions of the hour by the utterances that have issued from the Diocesan House whenever Bishop Potter has found the crisis such as impelled him to lift his voice.

In methods of domestic life, whether in flat, apartment, the modest home of the every-day citizen, or the sumptuous dwelling of plutocracy, New York is in most particulars abreast of, and in many details beyond, the standard of older civilizations abroad. The time has passed when the reproach of voluntarily abandoning our homes for the easier life of hotels to which the transient public resorts, could fairly be brought upon us as a community. The tendency of intelligent and influential people in New York, who have any choice in the matter, is all toward dwelling within one's own four walls, toward being a householder and an employer of domestic labor. Naturally, the strangers within our gates, those whose incomes will not allow considerable rentals, the solitary unattached individuals who prefer to live alone, seek flats, boarding-houses, and in some cases hotels. The legions of cheap "flat" houses with showy exteriors, high-sounding names, and rooms so telescoped together that progress in them is like walking through a train of Pull-



Bank for Savings. National Academy of Design. Corner of the Church
Tower of the Madison Square Garden. Miss ons House
Fourth Ave. Presbyterian Church Calvary P. E. Church.

FOURTH AVENUE LOOKING NORTH FROM SOUTHEAST CORNER OF TWENTY-FIRST STREET

man cars, appear to fill but measurably the wants of our neighbors of those categories.

A few apartment-houses are rationally constructed with a view to the comfort of occupants; and as numbers of our population must be tenants perforce of part only, not the whole, of a house, ingenuity is taxed to combine in these premises sleeping space and stowage enough for an ordinary family, with living-rooms of reasonable size, where conveniences meant to supply to the housekeeper what is lacking in her domestic service are cleverly inserted. But for the large middle class of home seekers — that majority of our dwellers who are the worthy reliance of American civilization — the problem of comfortable housing is not yet fully solved. Of the best apartment houses, the Navarro flats in Fifty-ninth Street, the Dakota, and others of their kind, are too elaborate and costly to be considered by any but wealthy people. Architecturally, and in interior comforts, they leave little to be desired. Where the limits of a man's family and the length of his purse will admit consideration of them, very charming are the newest "family" hotels, — differing from similar accommodations of early New York as a fair etching differs from a chromo. In suites, often disconnected from the main corridors, are beautifully furnished bedrooms, private baths, a dining-room, a drawing-room, a library, a nursery, and servants' rooms, including all necessary provision and scope for a well-ordered home. From each suite a dumb waiter connects with the kitchen of the hotel, and electric bells bring prompt service of the bounties of the table prosperous Americans of to-day deem indispensable. This is indeed living made easy; but, it must be said, the cost is quite proportionate to the privileges enjoyed.

A feature of modern New York is the transformation, at the hands of ingenious and tasteful architects of the younger school, of the commonplace old houses of that recently universal pattern consisting of two or three rooms opening out of a narrow hallway, the same plan repeated to the top story of the domicile. In our days, within those uninteresting shells, by the elevation of floors and otherwise, the relations of stairways, windows, walls, chimney-places, are changed, renewed, and refitted in conformity with the demands of taste and knowledge. The result is often an agreeable variety, an exposition of different individualities of taste, that seems every year to increase in frequency.

The "great" houses of the decade are in all respects palaces, vying with those of the richest of the nobility of any capital in Europe, but in many particulars more desirable as living-places, and always adapted to the strict requirements of modern comfort and sanitation. The mode of life of their fortunate possessors has apparently touched the high-

water mark of luxury held in check by understanding. Upon their changes of mind or mood await a large staff of servants trained in old-world methods, equipages, horses, yachts, and private cars for railway travel. Beside some of their entertainments, those recorded by Mrs. Lamb as illustrating the fashionable display of the earlier part of the half-century read like village festivals. And it is much to be regretted that this enormous increase of lavish expenditure in New York among a few is taken by the American public as a model for social practices among the many. The countless homes of New York where culture and hospitality go hand in hand, yet where there is no display, are lost sight of in the blaze of plutocratic magnificence. The country at large, which reads the "society column" of a metropolitan newspaper, prefers rather to be led by the few possessors of fortunes of fifty millions of dollars each, than by the large number with incomes varying from ten thousand dollars to fifty thousand dollars a year.

To cite an instance of the increase of one of the minor luxuries of living, it is claimed that at least ten millions of dollars are annually expended in New York for the flowers used in decoration of houses and churches, and at funerals. We consume here the product of scores of acres of greenhouses. The supply of violets alone reaches the number of fifteen millions of blossoms yearly; and for roses, carnations, and orchids the demand is proportionately large. On the occasion of the marriage of the Duke of Marlborough with Miss Vanderbilt, the interior of St. Thomas Church, where the ceremony was performed, was made into a vast bower, so prodigal of smiling bloom that the ecclesiastical character of the edifice was almost hidden from view; and this lavish example was followed by other families during the winter of 1895–1896.



Commodore Vanderbilt.

Of the great hotels recently opened to the travelling public, the wonder of new comers to New York, favorable examples are the Waldorf, New Netherlands, Savoy, Plaza, Holland House, Grenoble, Majestic, Imperial,



The Plaza Hotel. The Metropolitan Club. The Netherland Hotel. The Savoy Hotel.

and Renaissance. In these attractive structures, nothing heretofore devised that can dazzle the eye or tickle the imagination of their inhabitants with a sense of ownership has been omitted; but the new Astor Hotel, now building at Thirty-fourth Street and Fifth Avenue, may develop features as yet unexpected by outsiders, and surpassing all the rest. Since, however, there are about a thousand hostelries in New York where the traveller may choose a place to take his ease, it would be manifestly impossible to attempt any further discrimination between them in these pages. Of restaurants, Delmonico's and Sherry's, — where, alternating with the ball-rooms of the Waldorf, are held the most fashionable semi-public entertainments of society, — and the Café Savarin in the Equitable Building, are in the van of a long line, of every grade and standard. At most of the principal hotels, and in every style and variety of restaurants, the food fires of man are kept alight in liberal and satisfactory fashion. With the best of chefs, and an unsurpassable market to draw upon, this is not to be wondered at. A greater variety of fruits and vegetables can be found at any time in season here than anywhere else, — so wide a range of climate supplies us by swift steamers and quick railways. But it must be confessed that the service of our restaurants, and indeed of our hotels of the first rank, could be bettered to harmonize with the resplendent surroundings they exhibit. The waiters too often employed are an avaricious and ill-mannered class of foreigners, who treat all patrons alike by supplying the least amount of civility with almost insolent expectation of the largest possible tip, and who occupy themselves over-much with the attempt to be lavish of iced-water as the only concession they can take the trouble to make to a diner of American antecedents.

Of the methods of life of that larger, less-known class of our fellow-citizens who live upon "nothing in particular" a year, and are herded together in rooms chill during our freezing winters and hot in our tropic summers, there is a less cheerful tale to tell. By the Charity Organization Society we are informed that, during the nine or ten years past, nearly one hundred and forty thousand families have been registered as worthy of charitable help because they could find no work for wages. The efforts of this society in gathering facts concerning the actual condition of the poor, and in extending intelligent aid to their necessities, is well known. It has ten local committees, covering Manhattan Island; the central office is at Twenty-second Street and Fourth Avenue, in the United Charities Building, a hive of industry in good works, where well selected representatives conduct the several branches of registration, relief, sanitary work, fresh air work, and furnish access to public baths.

This handsome edifice, built in 1891–1893 by John S. Kennedy at a cost of more than seven hundred thousand dollars, and by him dedicated as a gift to the uses of various charitable societies which occupy it, houses also the Children's Aid Society, the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, the New York City Mission and Tract Society, and other beneficent associations.

Among other recent enterprises for the aid of the needy in New York may be mentioned Trinity Church Association, the Down-Town Relief Bureau, the Bowery Mission and Young Men's Home, the Cremorne Mission, St. Joseph's Day Nursery, the Bartholdi Crêche, the Little Mother's Aid Society, St. Christopher's Home, near Dobb's Ferry, the Working Girl's Vacation Society, the Riverside Rest Association for forsaken and degraded women, St. Joseph's Night Refuge, the Florence Crittenton Mission for Fallen Women, the Margaret Strachan Home, the House of the Holy Comforter, the Actor's Fund of America founded by A. M. Palmer, the Seaman's Christian Association, the Spanish Benevolent Society, the Norwegian Relief Society, the Hungarian Association, the Jewish Immigrant's Protection Society, the Polish Benevolent Society, and the Greek Benevolent Society.

An interesting and much talked-of work has been the University Settlement Society, established of recent years in the heart of the city for the purpose of bringing men and women of education and intellectual resource into contact with working-people, and with children of the laboring classes, upon terms of cordial intimacy and fraternal equality; it has extended its roots in many directions, and directs a variety of well thought-out schemes for profit or entertainment to the poor of the tenement house districts.

The College Settlement, also started of recent years, has now two houses in town and one in the country, all conducted by women for bettering the condition of young working-women. Their kindergarten classes in wood-carving and designing, cooking and sewing, and for teaching other useful arts, have been signally successful.

Particular attention is challenged and deserved by plans for two well-arranged and attractive hotels intended to be soon opened especially to accommodate respectable working-people who cannot afford the prices demanded by ordinary caravansaries; one of them will shortly be built in Bleecker Street, on the site of homes of good society in New York of three or four generations ago. They will be a practical beneficence of D. O. Mills, after designs by Ernest Flagg; and, with lodgings, they are to provide baths, free reading-rooms, and a restaurant to supply good food at moderate rates.

To our already liberal list of examples of charities established since 1880 should be added the Young Women's Home of the French Evangelical Church, the Leo House for German Catholic Immigrants, the Lutheran Pilgrim House, the Evangelical Aid Society for the Spanish work of New York and Brooklyn, St. Bartholomew's Chinese Guild, the Montefiore Home for Chronic Invalids, the Aguilar Aid Society, the Hebrew Sheltering Home, the Young Women's Hebrew Association, the Island Mission for Cheering the Lives of the Poor and Sick, the Needle Work Guild of America, the Christian Aid to Employment Society, the International



New and Old Tenement House Contrasts.

Telegraph Christian Association, the Italian Home, the Tenement House Chapter of the King's Daughters and Sons, the New York Society for Parks and Playgrounds for Children, and the Penny Provident Fund of the Charity Organization Society, — together with the Fresh Air Funds and Free Ice Funds of various great daily newspapers. The knowledge of such institutions multiplied in every quarter of the city, and diffusing on every side their efficient influence for good, while all of the older charities are still in full career of prosperous usefulness, warms the heart

with an admiration for this phase of New York's advance that is not to be displaced by any consideration of her more material achievements.

From among some hundreds of clubs the modern New Yorker resorts to for enjoyment of the society of his comrades, it is needful here to point out one or two only, architecturally and otherwise to be regarded as typical of recent progress. Of these the white marble palace of the Metropolitan Club at the corner of Fifth Avenue and Sixtieth Street is a distinguished example. The new Century Club House in Forty-third Street, built in the style of the Italian Renaissance, with a base of light stone and a superstructure of cream-tinted brick, its charming loggia dominating the main entrance, is, outside and in, in keeping with dignity tempered by animation, a characteristic of its distinguished assemblages. The Player's, in Gramercy Park, a club established by Edwin Booth in 1889, in a spacious residence of old New York, enlarged and refitted in most artistic fashion, accentuates in every part of it the strong individuality that conceived it. Expectation is now alert to admire the new home to be soon erected for the enlarged University Club at Fifth Avenue and Fifty-fourth Street. In the pleasant precincts of the Aldine, art and literature are at home in Bohemia. The scholarly little Grolier Club, with its repeated exhibitions of all that pertains to the high art of making or illustrating or binding books, is a distinct promoter of the best culture of our students of belles-lettres. The Association of the Bar of the City of New York is about to be transferred to a new and stately home in process of erection for it in West Forty-fourth Street. The Colonial Club, incorporated in 1889, has established itself in an elaborate building at Seventy-second Street and the Boulevard. Of the Union, Union League, Manhattan, Knickerbocker, St. Nicholas, Calumet, Lotos, New York, Lawyer's, Down Town, and other well-known clubs, as of the myriad minor associations for reform, culture, athletics, sport, good cheer, and the furtherance of special aims; of the college clubs, the yacht clubs, the military organizations, and political rendezvous, within the limits of New York, — an interesting chapter might be penned. The women's clubs are fewer, — Sorosis, by virtue of priority in date and in numbers, taking the lead of them. The working girls' clubs, and the boys' clubs, maintained in admirable activity by their founders and supporters, are growing in numbers and in usefulness.

Among others devoted to sport and recreation out of town, the American Jockey Club, the Turf Club, the New York Riding Club, the New York Coaching Club, the Driving Club, the Tuxedo Club, the Country Club, the Meadow Brook Hunt Club, the Richmond County Club, the

New York Athletic Club at Travers Island, the Crescent Athletic Club at Bay Ridge, and the St. Nicholas Skating Club are in vigorous existence.

The New York Yacht Club is known everywhere for many things that make it famous, but perhaps first of all as the custodian of the America's cup, won in English waters and brought here in 1851 by our renowned sloop of that name, and since then the occasion of many exciting and sometimes sharply contested races on this side of the Atlantic, in repeated attempts to take it away from us, — the latest, in the autumn of 1895, when the English challenger "Valkyrie III." was beaten by our yacht "Defender," as her nearest predecessor, "Valkyrie II.," had been in 1893 by our "Vigilant," and as every earlier challenger was by the American champion for the occasion.[1]

These races have elicited the eager interest of all the world; and the great fleet of steamers of every kind and size, loaded with tens of thousands of spectators, accompanying the yachts to sea, even when the wind had been directly on-shore and they have disappeared below the horizon, sailing twenty miles or more to windward, not only has mani-

[1] As our population has found so much pride and satisfaction in these recurring matches for the America's cup, it is not inappropriate to remind our readers here of the dates, contestants, and results, subsequent to the year 1880: —

"Mischief," centre board sloop, owned by Joseph R. Bush, representing the New York Yacht Club — and "Atalanta," centre board sloop, owned by Alex. Cuthbert, representing the Bay of Quinte Yacht Club, Canada — were matched for the best two races out of three; sailed Nov. 9th and 10th, 1881. Won by "Mischief."

"Puritan," centre board cutter rig, owned by J. Malcolm Forbes and others, representing the New York Yacht Club — and "Genesta," keel cutter rig, owned by Sir Richard Sutton, Bart., representing the Royal Yacht Squadron, Great Britain — were matched for the best two races out of three. Sailed Sept. 14th and 16th, 1885. Won by "Puritan."

"Mayflower," centre board cutter rig, owned by Gen. C. J. Paine, representing the New York Yacht Club — and "Galatea," keel cutter rig, owned by Lieut. Henn, Royal Navy, representing the Royal Northern Yacht Club, Great Britain — were matched for the best two races out of three. Sailed Sept. 9th and 11th, 1886. Won by "Mayflower."

"Volunteer," centre board cutter rig, owned by General C. J. Paine, representing the New York Yacht Club — and "Thistle," keel cutter rig, owned by James Bell and others, representing the Royal Clyde Club, Great Britain — were matched for the best two races out of three. Sailed Sept. 27th and 30th, 1887. Won by "Volunteer."

"Vigilant," centre board cutter rig, owned by C. Oliver Iselin and others, representing the New York Yacht Club — and "Valkyrie II.," keel cutter rig, owned by Lord Dunraven and Lord Wolverton, representing the Royal Yacht Squadron of Great Britain — were matched for the best three races out of five. Sailed Oct. 7th, 9th, and 13th, 1893. Won by "Vigilant."

"Defender," keel cutter rig, owned by C. Oliver Iselin, W. K. Vanderbilt, and E. D. Morgan, representing the New York Yacht Club — and "Valkyrie III.," keel cutter rig, owned by Lord Dunraven and others, representing the Royal Yacht Squadron of Great Britain, — were matched for the best three races out of five. Sailed Sept. 7th, 10th, and 12th, 1895. Won by "Defender."

fested the American appreciation of manly international sport, but has itself presented a wonderful spectacle never seen or possible elsewhere. Indeed, the taste for yachting has in the last ten years increased so much as to make it the favorite diversion of most of our wealthy men who have leisure for it. By them the science and art of seamanship are so thoroughly acquired that many owners of yachts are qualified to serve as regular ocean-going captains. And that something else than mere sport may be had from them is suggested by the fact that at the Navy Department in Washington is kept a careful list of such of them and of their yachts as may be useful in an emergency to the country in time of war. That they will cheerfully respond when called on for such service, we may be sure.



Yachting in the Lower Bay.

The Larchmont Yacht Club in Long Island Sound, the Seawanaka Corinthian Yacht Club at Oyster Bay, Long Island, the Columbia Yacht Club and the Audubon Yacht Club, and others, sustain interest in all things relating to life afloat. And with the houses of boating clubs the shores of the waters that clasp our city in their shining girdle are dotted at many points.

Bicycling, the enthusiasm of the day in New York ashore, has provision made for it not only by the city fathers, who are prudently preparing to cover with asphalt additional avenues that extend north and south on Manhattan Island, but by clubs and club-houses and many other agencies far and near. The New York Riding Club at Durland's, the New York Athletic Club in its new and admirable building, the University Athletic Club, and the Racquet Club enjoy

all the belongings and equipments of the best federations for athletic exercise anywhere to be found.

Significant features of the life of to-day are the marked expression of the taste for genealogical research, the study by New Yorkers of Americana and of their own forbears, and their desire to perpetuate the memory of the deeds and virtues of the founders of the Republic, which have given birth to many patriotic societies.

The Sons of the Society of the Cincinnati are first by right of historical distinction; after them the Sons of the Revolution, the Sons of the American Revolution, the Holland Society, Ohio Society, Mayflower Descendants, Daughters and Sons of 1812, New England Society, Southern Society, Society of Colonial Wars, the Colonial Dames of New York, the Colonial Dames of America, and the Daughters of the Revolution fall into line. The ranks of such patriotic associations are crowded; in the main they are representative, and always energetic. To no single person more than to the author of the History this imperfect account of the last sixteen years is designed to supplement, does New York owe its interest in bygones statistical and heroic. During Mrs. Lamb's long editorship of the "Magazine of American History," in her participation in the work of the Colonial Dames, and in the compilation of the History of the City of New York, her zeal, unselfishness, and fidelity to the best efforts to exploit the chronicles to which her life was devoted were beyond praise.

Of amusements, we are now presented in the columns of the daily press a list that proves conclusively the scope and number of the methods of entertainment behind footlights in New York.

Of theatres professedly dedicated to legitimate drama, Abbey's, Palmer's, Daly's, the Empire, the Fifth Avenue, the Lyceum, the Standard, the Broadway, the Star, the dainty Garrick, and the Herald Square come at once to mind. Through them filter, for the benefit of the country at large, the streams of novelties, of fads, of problematic plays, of plays that depress and plays that charm, in variety continually demanded by their patrons. But of other theatres of differing grades and kinds of merit, and of music halls and pleasure palaces, the number justifies the statement that New York and its vicinity pay five millions of dollars a year for the privilege of being regaled by stage performances.

Of late years, in addition to our own star and stock companies employing annually the talent of several hundred men and women, New York has had the attraction upon its boards of those incomparable artists,

Salvini, Coquelin, Duse, and Bernhardt. Irving and Terry, Mounet-Sully and Jane Hading, the Beerbohm Trees, the Kendals, John Hare and others of distinction have given frequent performances here; and apparently the crossing of the sea has been robbed of its terrors to good foreign artists in general by the assurance that they will carry back on return a consolatory store of American dollars. One cannot conclude this passing mention of theatres and actors of recent times without remarking upon the change of sentiment that has made possible the presence at a public performance, in a play-house, by professional players, of some clergymen and many most scrupulous church members. All things considered, the drama in New York was never better supported by the public of taste and intelligence than at the present day; and plays were never so well mounted and costumed, — though of the sentiment of many of them, during the last three or four years, much improvement is to be desired on the score of propriety.

In 1895 was finished and inaugurated at Broadway and Forty-fourth Street a monster music hall, styled by its proprietor "Olympia," where, on the same occasion and under the one roof, may be viewed spectacular opera and ballet, Vaudeville, and promenade concerts. At the old Academy of Music, embalmed with the memories of Patti, Nilssen, Gerster, Lucca, Kellogg, Hauk, Parepa-Rosa, Campanini, Capoul, Brignoli, Del Puente, and other idols of the public of their day, popular spectacular plays have held the stage for long runs; and in 1896 Walter Damrosch reintroduced to it a season of opera in German.

In size, situation, architectural beauty, and lavish provision for the multitudes it is intended to harbor, the Madison Square Garden, designed by McKim, Mead, & White, completes, with the Metropolitan Opera House and Carnegie Music Hall, the list of the most important places of amusement in New York. On its opening night, in June, 1890, at a concert conducted by Edouard Strauss, the main hall contained comfortably seventeen thousand people, and there are, in addition, under the same roof, the attractive Garden Theatre, a concert-hall, an assembly-room, and a café. In the amphitheatre, the chief glory of the building, are held yearly the horse show, — where New York's fashion and beauty first appears after return to town from the so-called holiday of summer, — the bench show of dogs, cattle-show, poultry-show, cat-show, exhibitions of flowers, great fairs and bazaars; and bicycle races, and other popular amusements of the better class follow each other in quick succession. Here, too, the circus and menagerie accommodate the crowds who frequent them; walking matches are seen, and other athletic events have been presented, — including the exhibitions of



Roof and Tower, Madison Square Garden.

boxing, euphemistically called "glove contests." On top of all is the great "roof-garden," where multitudes find relief and entertainment during the summer evenings elsewhere uncomfortably hot. Viewed from many points of the town, and from near or afar, the lovely tower of the Madison Square Garden, modelled from the Giralda Tower at Seville in Spain, and crowned with the Diana of St. Gaudens, whether seen by day in the clear atmosphere habitual to New York, or by night a-glitter with stars of electricity, is a continual pleasure to the eye.

In music, it is not too much to say that New York is the present goal toward which strains the genius of the world. The Metropolitan Opera House, built in 1881 with an enormous auditorium and stage, had passed through a number of seasons of brilliant production of grand and lyric operas, rendered by the foremost artists of the day, before the interior was burned in 1892. A year later the building had been renovated and made better and more commodious. The singing birds then and several times since recalled to perch and warble within it, have given to overflowing houses an exaltation of pleasure that has raised the standard of popular taste for music in an extraordinary degree. The musical education of New York, beginning with the concerts of the Philharmonic Society and those of Theodore Thomas, and progressing through the tuneful operas heard at the old Academy of Music, was finally at the Metropolitan Opera House put to the supreme test of the music-dramas of Wagner, first conducted here by Leopold Damrosch, and, after his death, by Anton Seidl. These operas, with Lili Lehmann, Brandt, Fischer, Alvary, Vogl, and other great artists in the casts, had ruled musical New York for a number of seasons, when Italian and French opera, under the management of Abbey, Schoeffel & Grau, for a time replaced them. Late years have seen the repeated triumphs of Jean and Edouard de Reszké, Victor Maurel and Pol Plançon, of Melba, Calvé, Nordica and Emma Eames.

In 1891 the good taste and public spirit of Andrew Carnegie provided for us the great Music Hall at the corner of Fifty-seventh Street and Seventh Avenue. In the large main hall of the building may be heard the concerts of the ever-vernal Philharmonic Society, of the Symphony Society directed by Walter Damrosch, and of the Oratorio Society also under his leadership, and frequently other excellent music. The Mendelssohn Glee Club has now its own club-house, and is still greatly enjoyed; its accomplished and esteemed leader, Joseph Mosenthal, died in 1896. Other musical societies of repute are the Rubenstein, a chorus of women; the Musurgia, which gives part-songs of men's voices; the New York Maennerchor, which in 1887 took possession of its new build-

ing in Fifty-sixth Street; the Arion, enjoying a fine establishment at Park Avenue and Fifty-ninth Street; and there are many more associations for vocal melody. With our other halls and opera-houses, with the many musicians who make their home here, the orchestras, the conservatories, the professors, the various opportunities for here learning and enjoying the best music, it would require many pages to deal properly. Every year has seen the arrival of great prophets of the divine art who had won fame abroad, — including Paderewski, Ysaye, Remenyi, Sarasate, Von Bulow, Joseffy, Josef Hoffman, Anton Hegner, and Vladimir de Pachman; and to the *début* of each has been accorded the welcome, both enthusiastic and comprehending, that furnishes the artist's most coveted reward. Of American operas, some of those by Reginald de Koven and Harry Smith have won the widest and most cordial recognition.

The recent spirit of acquisitiveness of works of graphic art in New York is remarkable not so much for its activity as for its nicety of choice. It is no longer the question with a buyer whether a picture is signed by Troyon, but whether it is a good specimen of Troyon's work. The old haste to accumulate without discretion, resulting in the association of many examples that could with benefit to our standard of art be heaped in a garret closed and shut out from the light of day, is superseded by growing deliberation, with intelligence in selection. Nor are paintings to-day secured as an investment or a speculation. Those who purchase them desire, as a rule, companions in their homes; and so, hanging by twos and threes upon the walls of beautiful houses all over the residential regions of the town where men of fortune have builded, one may find masterpieces of foreign art culled from the most treasured galleries of other lands. Over the tossing seas, in the holds of great ships that bring them safely to their destination, have recently come to find a sale in New York many world-renowned pictures Europe was loath to part with. For instance, in 1895 was sold here by the American Art Association the noble Vandyke, bought from Lord Caledon in England, of the Marchesa di Spinola and her daughter, at the price of fifty thousand dollars; in 1895 S. P. Avery secured abroad, and brought to his gallery in Fifth Avenue, the famous Turner showing St. Mark's Square at Venice on the occasion of a festa by night, the pride of the collection in England from which it came; this splendid example of that great painter's genius was sold recently in New York for fifty thousand dollars, and on the day it was disposed of to its present owner the dealer received for it [illegible] offers of the same amount. In a single

room of his house, crowded with other works of art and with curios, Henry O. Havemeyer has hung seven priceless Rembrandts, creating a shrine toward which the devotee of the great Dutchman as naturally tends as the admirer of Velasquez to the Museo of Madrid. William H. Fuller has made a superb collection of works of old English masters, and of the artists of the Barbizon school. J. Pierpont Morgan, Henry G. Marquand, Morris K. Jesup, Cornelius Vanderbilt, George Vanderbilt, D. O. Mills, Charles Stewart Smith, Charles A. Dana, Mrs. D. C. Lyell, J. D. Fletcher, Stanley Mortimer, J. H. Van Ingen, Alfred Corning Clark, B. Altman, Oliver H. Payne, Robert Hoe, James A. Garland, Charles T. Yerkes, Henry Sampson, George A. Hearn, C. T. Barney, Frederick Bonner, I. T. Williams, M. C. D. Borden, C. P. Huntington, W. C. Whitney, Miss Julia Cooper, A. S. Hewitt, J. W. Pinchot, — with A. A. Healey, John T. Martin, and I. C. Hoagland, in Brooklyn, — may be cited among the owners of notably fine and well-selected paintings, either assembled in galleries attached to their houses or displayed upon the walls of the living-rooms of their dwellings. Of other gatherings of treasures of art in New York the number is large. Monthly exhibitions of pictures during the winter seasons, at some of the leading clubs, notably those at the Union League Club, have been great educators in the pictorial art. Recent loan-collections to raise moneys for patriotic or charitable purposes, and the galleries at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, have given to the public the benefit of a rich array of the spoils of old-world æstheticism. Old prints, missals, and books — stained glass, laces, lacquer, musical instruments, miniatures, old porcelains, costumes, arms and armor — Oriental art in jades, fans, jewelry and silverware — old furniture, metal work, ceramics, crystals, coins, embroideries, enamels, etchings, rugs, tapestries and other textiles, are assembled to adorn the walls or cabinets of many a home in New York where an unobtrusive exterior gives little suggestion of the art of high merit maintained in the decoration within.

Of collections of curios, a few stand out conspicuous for excellence. Charles A. Dana is the owner of an exquisite assemblage of old Chinese porcelains where every example is a gem, usually of a solid color, and of interesting potteries. James A. Garland has a resplendent galaxy of Oriental porcelains, old blue-and-white, decorated pieces and eggshells; he has also the best of old Spanish embroideries, with rare crystals and rugs. Robert Hoe, in addition to famous books, has many valuable curios. Heber R. Bishop's wonderful muster of jades is second to none known. H. G. Marquand's house is a treasury of Oriental art. Mrs. A. A. Anderson has fine Chinese porcelains. B. Altman has a number

of the Oriental porcelains, crystals, and enamels from the Spitzska sale. Mrs. A. S. Hewitt has a well-chosen assortment of curios. Of miniatures old and new, Peter Marié, Valentine A. Blacque, and others have amassed attractive gatherings.

The names mentioned do not begin to cover the actual list of possessors of collections or of detached specimens of rare and fine art; and every year sees our wealthy citizens securing themselves abroad — or, what is often better, through intelligent and trustworthy intermediaries at home — some permanent adornment of houses where mere upholstery and modern decoration play no part.

It is a source of natural satisfaction to the chronicler of progressive culture in our day to be able to point to the brilliant portraits signed by such American names as Sargent, J. W. Alexander, Carroll Beckwith, J. Alden Weir, Daniel Huntington, B. C. Porter, Eastman Johnson, William M. Chase, and to the pictures by George Inness, Winslow Homer, Homer Martin, D. W. Tryon, John La Farge, Abbey, George De Forest Brush, Dewing, Millet, F. Hopkinson Smith, Abbott Thayer, and others, now seen in many of the homes of New York. And among women the art of Mary Cassatt, Cecilia Beaux, Rosina Emmet Sherwood, Lydia Emmet, Dora Wheeler Keith, and Mrs. Leslie Cotton has recently furnished pleasing examples of portraiture.

In the realm of sculpture the adornment of New York has been of late years enriched with the spirited figure of Admiral Farragut by St. Gaudens, in Madison Square; J. Q. A. Ward's "Washington," on the steps of the Sub-Treasury; his "Pilgrim" and "Shakespeare" and "Indian Hunter," in Central Park; MacMonnies' "Nathan Hale," in the City Hall Park; Kemeys' "Still Hunt," in the Central Park; and Bartholdi's "La Fayette," in Union Square. Many other statues, with monuments and fountains, are scattered throughout the city, chiefly in our parks, — expressing in some instances the homage for a departed great man of some other nationality, offered to our municipality by his admiring countrymen.

Of the other American artists of merit and fame who to-day niche themselves in and about the city, or hive like bees in handsome new "studio" buildings, the numbers are too considerable for separate mention here. At the spring and autumn exhibitions of the National Academy of Design, including those of the American Water Color Society; at the exhibitions of the Society of American Artists, of the Architectural League of New York, the Art Student's League, the Society of Painters in Pastel, or of the New York Water Color Society, as well as in many studios, the public has frequent opportunity to pass judgment

upon their work. A new temple of the arts here referred to was finished in 1892 at No. 215 West Fifty-seventh Street, and is now occupied by a combination of forces from several of the associations we have just named, and from others.[1]

[1] For a better understanding of the commercial aspect in art, which is, after all, the proof of its estimation in a community, we append the following list of sales here of pictures, etc., at auction, since 1880. And in this connection may be noted the fact that the American artist, as a rule, must die before a successful sale of his work can be made at auction, no matter how meritorious his performance may be.

In 1881 the Thomas Reid collection brought $70,916; and the pictures of S. A. Coale, Jr., $72,781.

In 1882 the second John Wolfe collection of eighty-two pictures sold for $129,955; the Levi P. Morton and Robert Hoe galleries were sold for $50,570.

In 1883 J. C. Runkle sold his pictures for $66,195.

In 1885 George I. Seney's paintings, March 31st, April 1st and 2d, went at $405,821.

In 1886 the estate of Mrs. Mary J. Morgan sold paintings, porcelains, silver, etc., etc., March 3d to 15th inclusive, at $1,205,153.30; and the paintings of Beriah Wall and J. A. Brown, March 31st and April 1st, were sold at $129,557.50.

In 1887 the estate of Robert Graves sold paintings and bric-à-brac, Feb. 9th to 15th inclusive, at $146,863.50; the estate of A. T. Stewart sold paintings, library, bronzes, bric-à-brac, etc., March 23d to 31st inclusive, at $575,079.42; the paintings of Henry Probasco, April 18th, sold at $168,920, — leaving his Oriental porcelains to go, April 19th, 20th, 21st, for the sum of $39,815.50; and the late Rev. Henry Ward Beecher's library, paintings, and bric-à-brac fetched, Nov. 8th to 17th inclusive, $31,738.76.

In 1888 the estate of Christian H. Wolff sold paintings, April 2d and 3d, at $26,035; the remarkable sale of Albert Spencer's second collection, sixty-eight pictures, fetched $284,025; and Henry T. Chapman Jr.'s paintings and bronzes sold, April 13th, 14th, 16th, at $74,365.

In 1889 J. H. Stebbins sold paintings, Feb. 12th, at $160,585; Elmer H. Capen and the estate of Wilmot L. Warren sold paintings, March 7th and 8th, at $69,782.50; and Wang Shih Yuing and Yang Yan Dock sold Oriental porcelains, March 7th, 8th, 9th, at $41,477.50.

In 1890 the estate of Samuel L. M. Barlow sold his library, paintings, and bric-à-brac, Feb. 3d to 12th inclusive, at $142,120.25; Walter Bowne, W. T. Evans, the estate of Bernhard Stern and Wm. H. Shaw, sold paintings, March 5th, 6th, 7th, at $106,296, leaving Oriental porcelains to go, March 6th, 7th, and 8th, at $28,410.

In 1891 George I. Seney sold paintings, Feb. 11th, 12th, and 13th, at $665,550; Brayton Ives sold books, manuscripts, Oriental porcelains, jades, swords, lacquers, etc., March 5th to 14th inclusive, at $275,310.75; and Vassili Verestchagin sold paintings, curios, rugs, etc., Nov. 17th to 21st, at $83,807.50.

In 1892 Henry Deakin sold Japanese and Chinese art objects, January 26th to February 1st, at $41,029.25; there was a sale in partition, to settle the estate of R. Austin Robertson, some time a member of the American Art Association, of paintings, Barye bronzes, Oriental porcelains, lacquers, metal work, etc., April 7th to 27th, May 3d, 4th, 5th, at $451,171.25, — and of art in warp and woof there were sales, October 24th to 29th, at $82,469; Deakin Bros. sold Oriental objects, November 28th to December 3d inclusive, at $29,774.25.

In 1893 the estate of Charles J. Osborn, the estates of Edwin Thorne, and Edwin S. Chapin, sold paintings, sculpture, bric-à-brac, etc., January 27th, 28th, at $163,646.50; Baron M. von Brandt sold Chinese porcelains and curios, February 21st, 22d, 23d, 24th, at $30,824; the Art of the Loom in the East made sales, March 31st, April 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, at $79,893; Knoedler & Co. sold oil paintings, April 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, at $384,670; the estate of John Hoey sold paintings, statuary, furniture, bric-à-brac, etc., April 22d to 26th inclusive,

No more satisfactory resorts for the leisure hour of a lover of art are to be found, than the various galleries for the exhibition and sale of pictures and bric-à-brac, fostered and supported by the taste of latter day New York.

Of art schools and classes, the Art Student's League and the Cooper Union Schools for men and for women are well to the fore in successful achievement.

The Associated Artists, of which Mrs. Candace Wheeler is the president, the Society of Decorative Art, and the School of Applied Design, all control work done by women, and are conducted by women with signal success.

The Tiffany Glass and Decorating Company, in Fourth Avenue, now produces a variety of objects in glass of a tone, texture, and finish than which nothing more artistically beautiful has ever been seen, including the brilliant new "Favrile" glass made by workmen trained in Louis C. Tiffany's individual methods.

The addition in 1881, by gift of the grandson of the founder, of a new hall to the Astor Library, seemed to make of that capacious building as

at $58,353.13; Capt. F. Brinkley, R. A., sold antique Chinese porcelains, May 9th and 10th, at $36,892.50.

In 1894 the estate of George I. Seney sold paintings, water colors, etchings, and engravings, February 7th, 8th, and 9th, at $213,703; E. O. Arbuthnot, of Shanghai, sold Chinese porcelains, April 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, at $32,410; and the estate of J. J. Peoli sold etchings, engravings, water colors, etc., May 8th to 12th inclusive, at $20,426.55.

In 1895, January 9th, the collection of Richard H. Halstead, twenty master works by George Inness, sold at $31,350, being the highest average in quality and price of any American paintings yet sold; April 25th, etc., there was a sale upon dissolution of the American Art Association, at $232,548, when the following notable works went and these prices were realized: a Vandyke at $50,000, a Sir Joshua Reynolds at $6,100, a Sir Thomas Lawrence at $5,000, a Gainsborough at $5,150, a Rubens at $5,500, a Porbus at $4,600, a Bronzino at $4,100, and a Monet at $4,250; that same year, November 25th, the estate of Paran Stevens sold pictures at $7,513, including a Meissonier at $3,500.

In 1896, January 9th, the studio effects of Wm. M. Chase, N. A., were sold at $21,053.25; January 23d the collection of N. Q. Poyse went at $62,900.60, including a Meissonier at $4,000, a Rousseau at $2,600, a Schreyer at $2,000, and a Détaille at $1,350; February 6th and 7th the collection of Childe Hassam, two hundred and eight examples of his own work, fetched $9,072.50. February 18th and 19th the collection of D. H. King, Jr., fetched $294,917, including a Troyon at $17,200, a Sir Thomas Lawrence at $10,700, a Hoppner at $10,100, a Porbus the younger at $8,000, a Rembrandt at $11,100, a Sir Joshua Reynolds at $4,900, a Jacque at $3,500, a Turner at $9,800, a Corot at $6,700, a Mauve at $6,675, a Knaus at $3,200, a Copley at $3,200, a Schreyer at $5,100, and a Daubigny at $3,400; and February 28th the collection of the late William Schaus (thirty-one paintings) sold for $187,825, including a Rousseau at $25,200, a Troyon at $24,500, a Diaz at $18,900, a Rembrandt at $18,600, a Corot at $8,000, a Daubigny at $10,150, a Fromentin at $6,700, a Frans Hals at $5,400, and a Rubens at $5,100. — being an average of quality and price higher than any collection ever sold in America.

complete and convenient a free reference library as New Yorkers could demand. In 1893 the Lenox Library, closed for a time for rearrangement of its treasures, supplemented by the pictures and ten thousand choice books left by the will of Mrs. Robert L. Stuart, had a formal reopening, and the public was made anew the beneficiary of this collection, to which the president, John S. Kennedy, also has added largely.

By the will of Samuel J. Tilden, who died in 1886, a capital of six millions of dollars was bequeathed to New York to carry out his favorite project of another free library. Family litigation over the will succeeded in breaking it, and nearly the whole of the estate went absolutely to his nieces, nephews, and a great-niece, — to the latter, Miss Laura Pelton, then recently married to William A. Hazard, three million dollars of it; but it is to be recorded that, though entitled to the whole of that great sum, she reserved for herself one million only, freely giving the other two millions to the intended library. With this remnant of Mr. Tilden's proposed munificence to New York in hand, the trustees of the corporation his executors had organized to carry out the intentions of the testator have arranged a consolidation of the Astor Library, the Lenox Library and (what remains of) the Tilden Free Library, — the most pleasing proffer the future makes for book-lovers and general readers in New York.

The Free Circulating Library, beginning its career modestly in 1808 in two rooms, with a circulation of one thousand books, had current in 1892 nearly half a million volumes. This beneficent spring, which has supplied such a stream to satisfy the thirst of certain portions of our public for literature, dispenses its bounty through several channels, having branch buildings at 49 Bond Street, 135 Second Avenue, 226 West Forty-second Street, 251 West Thirteenth Street, and a distributing stand at 1943 Madison Avenue.

The Free Library for Mechanics and Tradesmen is at 8 East Sixteenth Street. The library of the Cooper Union is open to all, and of late years has been frequented by between 1,600 and 1,700 readers per diem.[1]

Another free resort for all respectable students, women or men, is the fine library of the Young Men's Christian Association, in East Twenty-third

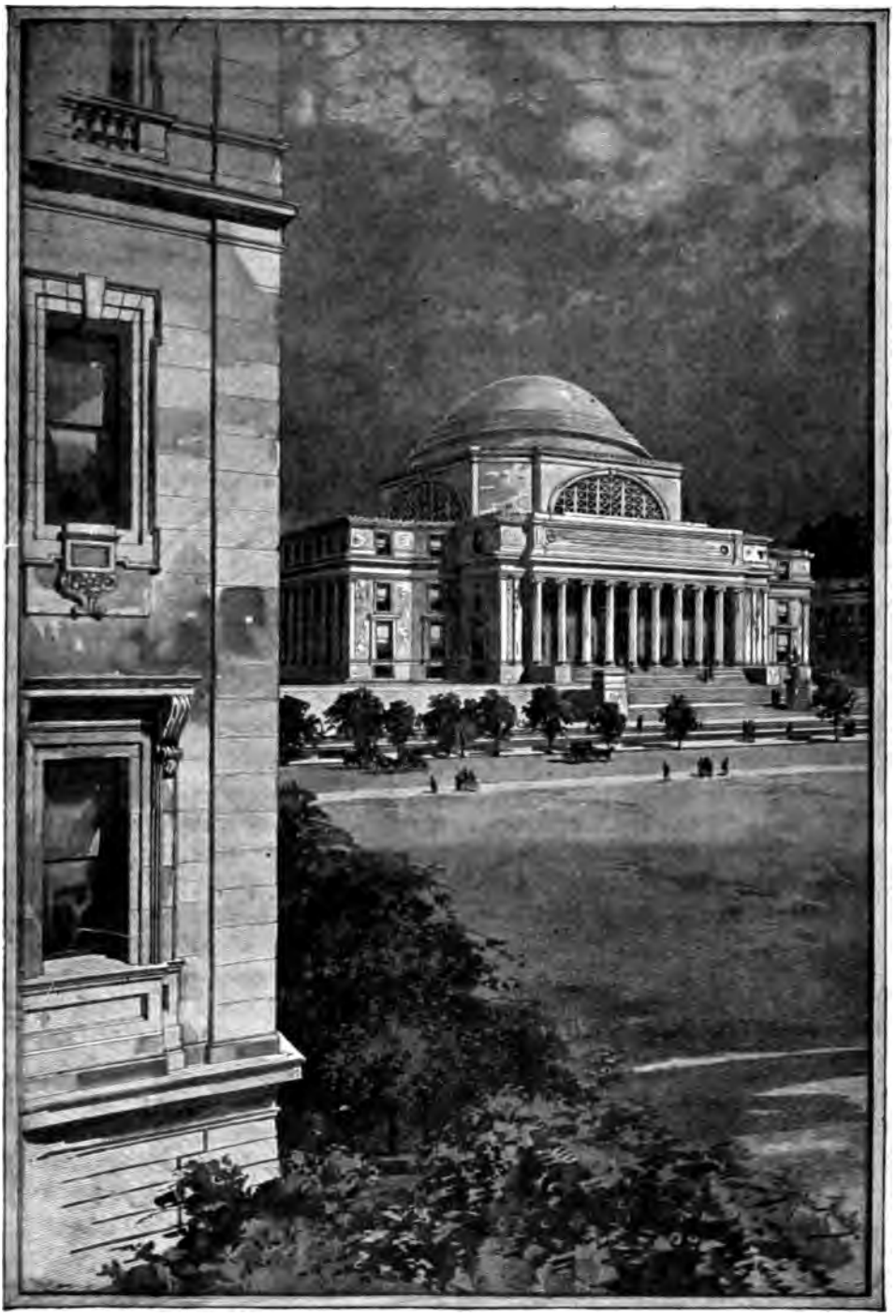
[1] This, as well as the success of the art schools of that institution, is an evidence of the ...ching intelligence of the honored founder. The death of Peter Cooper, on the 4th of ...1883, was justly regarded by all New York as a bereavement. Marks of respect to his ... were displayed upon public buildings, the Supreme Court was adjourned, and public ...dding both houses of the Legislature, adopted resolutions of regard and regret.

Street; it has the great attraction of being open in the evening, and during holidays. A free library devoted mainly to Hebrew literature is at 203 East Fifty-seventh Street. The library of Columbia College, at 41 East Forty-ninth Street, recently enriched by the addition of many donations of books, includes the Stephen Whitney Phœnix Library, the President Barnard Library, the Mary Queen of Scots Library, the Avery Architectural Library, Townsend's Civil War Record, and the libraries of the Huguenot Society and of the New York Academy of Science. It is remarkably well arranged for convenience of use; and to this varied banquet students and scholars of all grades are made welcome; there may be found, among other attractions, the current numbers of nine hundred magazines and other serial publications.

Libraries of Law, Science, Medicine, and Theology are established at various points throughout the city; and of special libraries, and those on general subjects attached to special institutions, there are many. Both the Society Library and the Historical Society Library belong more to the province of old New York than within the limits of this chapter. But in June, 1891, the latter purchased, for a building not yet erected, a fine site to the west of Central Park, at Eighth Avenue and Seventy-sixth Street, where, some day, the society's present overflow of things precious to him who would be reminded of bygone days and associations will be fitly displayed.

Of the private libraries in New York those best known to the public at the present time belong to Robert Hoe, Mrs. Drexel, Mrs. Astor, S. P. Avery, Loring Andrews, George Vanderbilt, J. Pierpont Morgan, J. J. Astor, George B. de Forest, R. C. Hawkins, Marshall C. Lefferts, T. A. Emmet, V. A. Blacque, Thomas J. McKee, Augustin Daly, Cornelius Vanderbilt, Beverley Chew, Rev. Dr. Dix, Justice Truax, Charles B. Foote, Laurence Hutton, Brander Matthews, William Dick, George T. Maxwell, C. W. Frederickson, J. H. V. Arnold; and we should here mention also those of E. D. Church, George F. Maxwell, and Paul Leicester Ford, in Brooklyn. In 1895 was sold in New York the library of the late Mrs. Norton Pope, of Brooklyn, including the "Morte d'Arthur," for which that lady had bid against the British Museum, securing it at the price of 1,950 pounds sterling, — a straw showing which way the wind of book-collecting blows in the new world to-day. To the numberless gems gathered by bibliomaniacs, and comprised in the collections noted above, it is possible here to refer merely, and only in passing.

No one qualified to speak with authority on the subject will deny that the advance of New York in the love of accumulating and enjoying



St. Luke's Hospital.

The Library of Columbia College.

precious books is marked and growing. The great dealers abroad are sure of finding among us purchasers for their best wares.

A subject of the greatest interest to New Yorkers is the remarkable advance in the methods we now enjoy of caring for the ills of human flesh. Not only have a number of new hospitals arisen, all equipped with the best appliances modern science can devise, but since 1880 the ambulance system and the trained nurse system have been brought to a pitch of excellence greatly assisting the skilled work of our surgeons or physicians.

In 1891 the New York Hospital — the Dean of our Hospital Faculty — added to its already spacious and imposing array of buildings a new edifice, to contain a library, a pathological museum, and a training school for women nurses, whose present quarters are as attractive as architectural finish and improved sanitation can make them.

In 1893 the corner-stone was laid on a site adjoining the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, in Morningside Avenue, for the new St. Luke's Hospital; and already the old buildings familiar to New Yorkers by that name have vanished from their place at Fifty-fourth Street and Fifth Avenue. The administration building of the new hospital bears the honored name of the founder, the Rev. Dr. Muhlenberg. In March, 1896, the Norrie Pavilion was opened on the new site, with one hundred and twelve beds, and the rest of the work there goes rapidly on.

The cluster of Vanderbilt charities, beginning with the College of Physicians and Surgeons contributed by the late William H. Vanderbilt, was continued by the erection, at the expense of his four sons, of the Vanderbilt Clinic opened in 1888; and the Sloane Maternity Hospital, added in 1886-87, by Mr. and Mrs. Wm. Douglas Sloane, the latter a daughter of William H. Vanderbilt, challenges special attention, furnished as it is with everything needful for the best treatment and for sanitation as a hospital for women, its beds made free in perpetuity.

Among other benefactions by individuals here for the better practice of the healing art is that incalculable blessing to New York and the whole country, the training school for nurses at Bellevue Hospital, erected near the hospital by Mrs. William H. Osborne. Within the grounds of Bellevue stand also the training school for male nurses built in 1888 by D. O. Mills, and the Carnegie Laboratory, a gift of Andrew Carnegie. At Bellevue may also be found the Townsend Pavilion, Library, and Chapel, a thank-offering of the late Mrs. R. H. L. Townsend upon recovery from illness, and several other structures virtually renewing the youth of this ancient and honorable institution. In

1890 an addition was made to the Roosevelt Hospital — in itself a grand memorial of a citizen's generosity — of the McLane operating room, given by the president of the College of Physicians and Surgeons in memory of his son, a young student who had recently died at Yale University.

In 1889 the Presbyterian Hospital, founded by James Lenox, was damaged by fire, with the result that a new series of handsome buildings has arisen, having a dispensary tower in Madison Avenue, — itself a notable object to one who surveys the vicinity.

The New York Post-Graduate Medical School and Hospital was opened in 1882, and serves the double purpose of a school for clinics and a hospital, including a babies' ward that has proved especially interesting to the feminine public. Hither come physicians and surgeons in active practice throughout the country, the old and the young, to be refreshed in their knowledge of methods of treatment of any and every malady, and to learn all that is new in the progress of their science or their art; and great has been the benefit to the profession at large, — many of the attendants returning every two or three years to spend several weeks or months under the lecturers.

In 1882 the Sisters of the Poor of St. Francis inaugurated the use of their new St. Joseph's Hospital; ten years later another Catholic hospital was established at Spuyten Duyvil Heights, called the Seton Hospital for Consumptives, already mentioned. Both of these institutions are well built and well sustained. To the Mt. Sinai Hospital a handsome dispensary was annexed in 1890. In 1885 an emergency hospital, governed now by the Department of Public Charities, was established at Gouverneur Slip, on the East River. For the treatment of dangerous contagious diseases in the population of the city, was built in 1884 the Riverside Hospital, on North Brother Island. Thither are sent also cases from quarantine; and, for temporary service of patients awaiting transportation, a reception hospital was erected in 1885.

For the special care of scarlet fever and diphtheria among the poor, the Willard Parker Hospital, on the East River at Sixteenth Street, was established in 1884; the great need for a similar establishment for patients of a better equipped purse has led to the consideration of another hospital for their use, to secure which Mrs. Minturn has taken the initiative.

Lebanon Hospital, occupying the old Ursuline Convent in Westchester, was started in 1891. To the Hahnemann Homœopathic Hospital substantial additions have been made within recent years. A small, well-kept hospital is St. Mark's, in Second Avenue, founded in 1890, and supported by voluntary offerings. In the same year the

Woman's Medical College of the New York Infirmary took possession of its premises in Stuyvesant Square. The Laura Franklin Free Hospital is a homœopathic institution for children, established in 1886, under charge of a Protestant Episcopal Sisterhood. In 1890 the old established New York Eye and Ear Infirmary added a new wing to the buildings it had before occupied. The New Amsterdam Eye and Ear Hospital, in West Thirty-eighth Street, was opened in 1888.

Two other important additions in late years to the city's list are the New York Skin and Cancer Hospital, for free service of the poor, and the New York Cancer Hospital, the latter representing a benefaction of the late Mrs. J. J. Astor. This fine, spacious, and beautifully mounted establishment combines all the best arrangements and facilities of the present day for the comfort of those to be served, and is intended chiefly for the free treatment of needy patients, though sufferers who can pay are also received and cared for. In 1888 St. Bartholomew's Hospital was established for free treatment of diseases of the skin. In 1892 the Protestant Episcopal Church in New York instituted a church dispensary for the immediate purpose of supplying medical aid and remedies to such worthy indigent people as can be discovered, who may be unwilling to apply to a general dispensary.

To further enumerate the hospitals, church associations, dispensaries, sanitariums, homes, aid societies and diet kitchens opened of late years in various portions of Manhattan Island, and all now in active service to the needy, is impossible here. Enough has been stated to show that New York is not only alert but eager in the cause of the health and physical welfare of her great population. An average of seventy-five thousand patients are thus here treated annually free of charge, who receive all that the utmost efforts of the best skill allow the wealthy patient to command in his own home. Good beds, pure air, the latest surgical appliances, the best drugs, admirably trained nurses, the foremost physicians and surgeons of the day, aided by young recruits from among the most efficient and distinguished of recent graduates of the best medical schools, — all are freely supplied to the poorest applicant at the gates of a great hospital, or at the door of either of many small ones. This is an inspiring thought, and a just occasion for proud comfort to the citizen who has at heart real civilization in the metropolis. Such institutions seem to render unnecessary the special hospitals founded for and maintained by Germans, Frenchmen, Swiss, Norwegians, and others in New York of alien birth, — though the spirit that prompts to such provisions by foreigners for their own countrymen deserves all praise. Certainly the immigrant who sees his vessel drop anchor under the beacon

of Bartholdi's light has nothing to complain of in the arrangements made, whether by his compatriots or by our own citizens, for the care of his health upon or after arrival.

Our tale now told, — although leaving much unsaid, — we commend to the reader a glance backward from the picture it presents to that of the little savage island clasped in the embrace of two great rivers, as described in the opening paragraph of Mrs. Lamb's History. What further development the years of the coming century may see New York attain, if measured by her achievement in the recent past, must surely satisfy the highest ambition of her citizens, and secure to their children the best rewards of modern civilized life.

APPENDIX.

A.

THE TREATY WITH BURGOYNE.

ARTICLE I. The troops under Lieutenant-general Burgoyne to march out of their camp with the honors of war; and the artillery of the intrenchments to the verge of the river, where the old fort stood, where the arms and artillery are to be left. The arms to be piled by word of command from their own officers.

II. A free passage to be granted to the army under Lieutenant-general Burgoyne to Great Britain, upon condition of not serving again in North America during the present contest; and the port of Boston to be assigned for the entry of transports to receive the troops whenever General Howe shall so order.

III. Should any cartel take place, by which the army under General Burgoyne, or any part of it, may be exchanged, the foregoing article to be void so far as such exchange shall be made.

IV. The army under Lieutenant-general Burgoyne is to march to Massachusetts Bay, by the easiest and most expeditious and convenient route, and to be quartered in, near, or as convenient as possible to Boston, that the march of the troops may not be delayed, when transports arrive to receive them.

V. The troops to be supplied on the march, and during their being in quarters, with provisions by Major-general Gates's orders, at the same rate of rations as the troops of his own army; and, if possible, the officers, horses, and cattle are to be supplied with forage at the usual rates.

VI. All officers to retain their carriages, bat horses, and other cattle, and no baggage to be molested or searched; Lieutenant-general Burgoyne giving his honor that there are no public stores contained therein. Major-general Gates will, of course, take the necessary measures for the due performance of this Article. Should any carriages be wanted, during the march, for the transportation of officers' baggage, they are, if possible, to be supplied by the country, at the usual rates.

VII. Upon the march, and during the time the army shall remain in quarters in the Massachusetts Bay, the officers are not, as far as circumstances will admit, to be separated from their men. The officers are to be quartered according to their rank, and are not to be hindered from assembling their men for roll callings, and other necessary purposes of regularity.

VIII. All corps whatever of Lieutenant-general Burgoyne's army, whether composed of sailors, bateau-men, artificers, drivers, independent companies, and followers of the army, of whatever country, shall be included in the fullest sense and utmost extent of the above Articles, and comprehended in every respect as British subjects.

IX. All Canadians, and persons belonging to the Canadian establishment, consisting of sailors, bateau-men, artificers, drivers, independent companies, and many other followers of the army, who come under no particular description, are to be permitted to return there: they are to be conducted immediately, by the shortest route, to the first British post on Lake George; are to be supplied with provisions in the same manner as the other troops, and to be bound by the same condition of not serving during the present contest in North America.

X. Passports to be immediately granted for three officers, not exceeding the rank of captains, who shall be appointed by Lieutenant-general Burgoyne to carry dispatches to Sir William Howe, Sir Guy Carleton, and to Great Britain, by the way of New York; and Major-general Gates engages the public faith that these dispatches shall not be opened. These officers are to be set out immediately after receiving their dispatches, and are to travel by the shortest route, and in the most expeditious manner.

XI. During the stay of the troops in Massachusetts Bay, the officers are to be admitted on parole, and are to be permitted to wear their side-arms.

XII. Should the army under Lieutenant-general Burgoyne find it necessary to send for their clothing and other baggage from Canada, they are to be permitted to do it in the most convenient manner; and necessary passports to be granted for that purpose.

XIII. These Articles are to be mutually signed and exchanged to-morrow morning, at nine o'clock; and the troops under Lieutenant-general Burgoyne are to march out of their intrenchments at three o'clock in the afternoon.

HORATIO GATES, *Major-General.*

CAMP AT SARATOGA, October 16th, 1777.

To prevent any doubts that might arise from Lieutenant-general Burgoyne's name not being mentioned in the above treaty, Major-general Gates hereby declares, that he is understood to be comprehended in it as fully as if his name had been specifically mentioned.

HORATIO GATES.

B.

MAYORS OF NEW YORK CITY SINCE 1776.

David Matthews (Tory), 1776–1784.
James Duane, 1784–1789.
Richard Varick, 1789–1801.
Edward Livingston, 1801–1803.
De Witt Clinton, 1803–1807.
Marinus Willett, 1807–1808.
De Witt Clinton, 1808–1810.
Jacob Radcliff, 1810–1811.
De Witt Clinton, 1811–1815.
John Ferguson, 1815.
Jacob Radcliff, 1815–1818.
Cadwallader D. Colden, 1818–1821.
Stephen Allen, 1821–1824.
William Paulding, 1824–1826.
Philip Hone, 1826–1827.
William Paulding, 1827–1829.
Walter Bowne, 1829–1833.
Gideon Lee, 1833–1834.
Cornelius W. Lawrence, 1834–1837.
Aaron Clark, 1837–1839.
Isaac L. Varlan, 1839–1841.
Robert H. Morris, 1841–1844.
James Harper, 1844–1847.
William V. Brady, 1847–1848.
William R. Havemeyer, 1848–1849.
Caleb S. Woodhull, 1849–1851.
Ambrose C. Kingsland, 1851–1853.
Jacob A. Westervelt, 1853–1855.
Fernando Wood, 1855–1858.
Daniel N. Tiemann, 1858–1860.
Fernando Wood, 1860–1862.
George Opdyke, 1862–1864.
C. Godfrey Gunther, 1864–1866.
John T. Hoffman, 1866–1868.
Thomas Coman (acting Mayor), 1868.
A. Oakey Hall, 1869–1871.
William F. Havemeyer, 1871–1874.
S. B. H. Vance, (acting Mayor), 1874.
William H. Wickham, 1875–1877.
Smith Ely, 1877–1879.
Edward Cooper, 1879–1880.
William R. Grace, 1880–1882.
Franklin Edson, 1882–1884.
William R. Grace, 1884–1886.
Abram S. Hewitt, 1886–1888.
Hugh J. Grant, 1888–1892.
Thomas F. Gilroy, 1892–1894.
William L. Strong, 1894–1897.
Robt. A. Van Wyck, 1897–1901.
Seth Low, 1902–

C.

RECORDERS OF NEW YORK CITY SINCE THE REVOLUTION.

Richard Varick, 1783–1789.
Samuel Jones, 1789–1796.
James Kent, 1796–1798.
Richard Harrison, 1798–1800.
John P. Provost, 1800–1804.
Maturin Livingston, 1804–1806.
Pierre C. Van Wyck, 1806–1807.
Maturin Livingston, 1807–1808.
Pierre C. Van Wyck, 1808–1810.
Josiah Ogden Hoffman, 1810–1811.
Pierre C. Van Wyck, 1811–1813.
Josiah Ogden Hoffman, 1813–1815.
Richard Riker, 1815–1819.
Peter A. Jay, 1819–1821.
Richard Riker, 1821–1823.
Samuel Jones, 1823–1824.
Richard Riker, 1824–1838.
Robert H. Morris, 1838–1841.
Frederick A. Tallmadge, 1841–1846.
John B. Scott, 1846–1849.
Frederick A. Tallmadge, 1849–1852.
Francis R. Tillou, 1852–1855.
James M. Smith, Jr., 1855–1858.
George G. Barnard, 1858–1861.
John T. Hoffman, 1861–1866.
John K. Hackett, 1866–1880.
Frederick Smyth, 1880–1894.
John W. Goff, 1894–

D.

GOVERNORS OF NEW YORK AS A STATE.

George Clinton, 1777 – 1795.
John Jay, 1795 – 1801.
George Clinton, 1801 – 1804.
Morgan Lewis, 1804 – 1807.
Daniel D. Tompkins, 1807 – 1817.
John Tayler, February – July, 1817.
De Witt Clinton, 1817 – 1822.
Joseph C. Yates, 1822 – 1824.
De Witt Clinton, 1824 – 1828.
Nathaniel Pitcher, February – July, 1828.
Martin Van Buren, 1828 – 1829.
Enos T. Throop, March, 1829 – 1832.
William L. Marcy, 1832 – 1838.
William H. Seward, 1838 – 1842.
William C. Bouck, 1842 – 1844.
Silas Wright, 1844 – 1846.
John Young, 1846 – 1849.
Hamilton Fish, 1849 – 1851.
Washington Hunt, 1851 – 1853.
Horatio Seymour, 1853 – 1855.
Myron H. Clark, 1855 – 1857.
John A. King, 1857 – 1859.
Edwin D. Morgan, 1859 – 1863.
Horatio Seymour, 1863 – 1865.
Reuben E. Fenton, 1865 – 1869.
John T. Hoffman, 1869 – 1873.
John Adams Dix, 1873 – 1875.
Samuel J. Tilden, 1875 – 1877.
Lucius Robinson, 1877 – 1879.
Alonzo B. Cornell, 1879 – 1882.
Grover Cleveland, 1882 – 1885.
David B. Hill, 1885 – 1891.
Roswell P. Flower, 1891 – 1894.
Levi P. Morton, 1894 – 1897.
Frank S. Black, 1897 – 1899.
Theodore Roosevelt, 1899 – 1901.
B. B. Odell, 1901 –

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS OF NEW YORK AS A STATE.

Pierre Van Cortlandt, 1777 – 1795.
Stephen Van Rensselaer, 1795 – 1801.
Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, 1801 – 1804.
John Broome, 1804 – 1811.
John Tayler (acting Lieut.-Gov.), 1811.
De Witt Clinton, 1811 – 1813.
John Tayler, 1813 – 1822.
Erastus Root, 1822 – 1824.
James Tallmadge, 1824 – 1826.
Nathaniel Pitcher, 1826 – 1828.
Enos T. Throop, 1828 – 1830.
William M. Oliver (acting Lieut.-Gov.), 1830.
Edward P. Livingston, 1830 – 1832.
John Tracy, 1832 – 1838.
Luther Bradish, 1838 – 1842.
Daniel S. Dickinson, 1842 – 1844.
Addison Gardiner, 1844 – 1847.
Hamilton Fish, 1847 – 1849.
George W. Patterson, 1849 – 1851.
Sanford E. Church, 1851 – 1855.
Henry J. Raymond, 1855 – 1857.
Henry R. Selden, 1857 – 1859.
Robert Campbell, 1859 – 1863.
David R. Floyd Jones, 1863 – 1865.
Thomas G. Alvord, 1865 – 1867.
Stewart L. Woodford, 1867 – 1869.
Allen C. Beach, 1869 – 1873.
John C. Robinson, 1873 – 1875.
William Dorsheimer, 1875 – 1879.
George G. Hoskins, 1879 – 1882.
David B. Hill, 1882 – 1885.
Dennis McCarthy, 1885 to Nov. 3.
Edward F. Jones, 1885 – 1891.
William F. Sheehan, 1891 – 1894.
Charles T. Saxton, 1894 – 1897.
Timothy L. Woodruff, 1897 –

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